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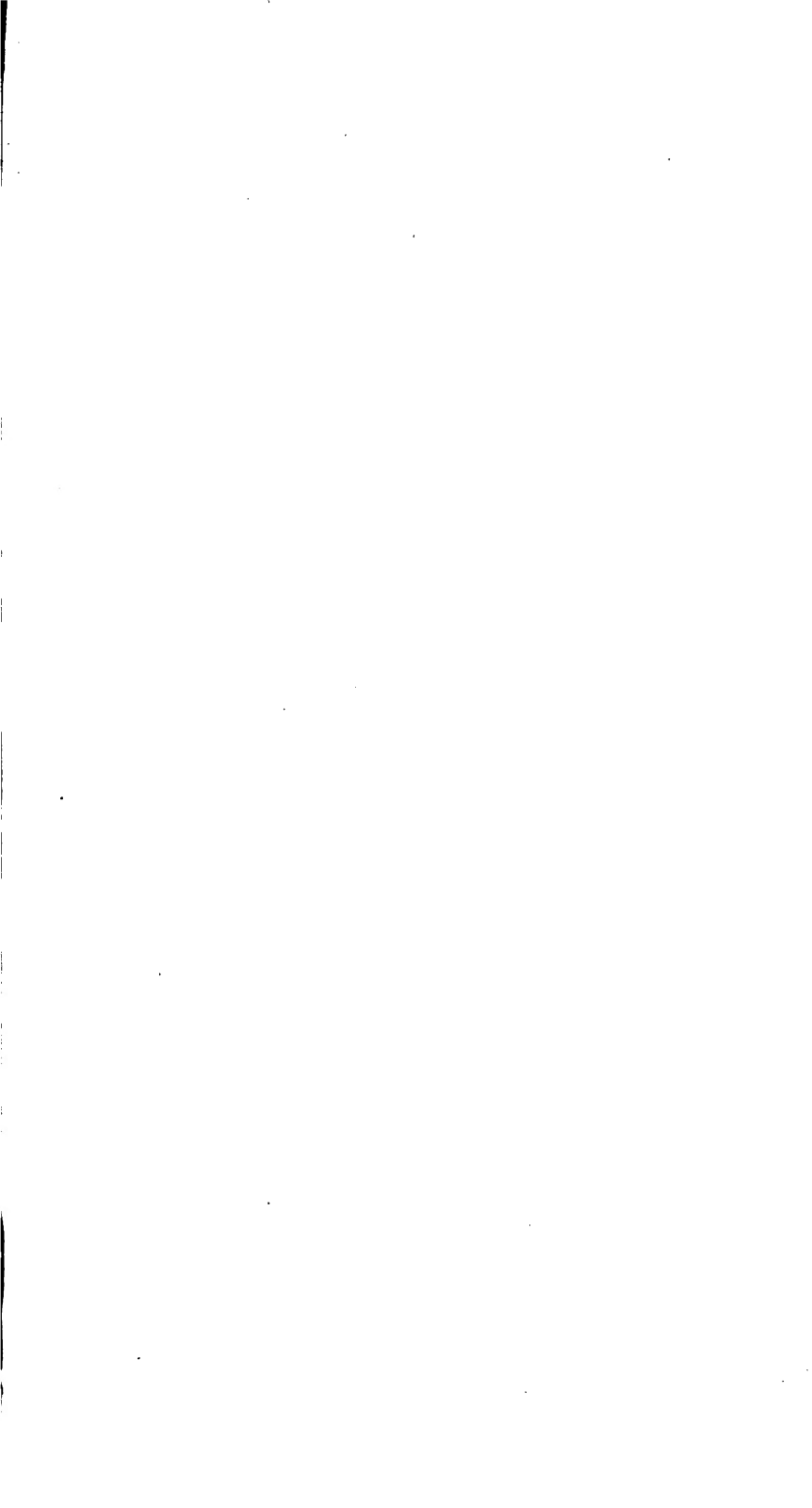
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM
THE REVOLUTION,
TO THE
END OF THE AMERICAN WAR,
AND

PEACE OF VERSAILLES IN 1783.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MR. HUME'S HISTORY.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

VOL. V.

Comprehending the American Part,
A NEW EDITION,

WITH CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

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CONTINUATION

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Recapitulation of the transactions of the English with the natives in the East-Indies from the year 1756—The entire conquest of Bengal by the English.

THE importance of the transactions in the East-Indies, and the many different accounts that from time to time have appeared, seem not only to justify, but even to render necessary, a recapitulation of many particulars already touched upon in the former volumes of this history. Thus will we be enabled to form a more just idea of the connection betwixt the various events, and of the motives by which our countrymen were influenced. This becomes the more necessary, when it is considered, that, in many cases, the conduct of the British towards the natives has been set forth in such a light as to be attended with no small degree of national reproach. It shall be our endeavour

VOL. V.

B

CHAP.
I.

1756.

CHAP. your, therefore, from accounts later than those which
 I. could be had in the former parts of this work, to set forth
 ~~~~~ the true state of facts, that the reader may, from the evi-  
 1756. dence laid down, be enabled to form a just conclusion.

Surajah  
 Dowlah  
 succeeds to  
 the nabob-  
 ship of  
 Bengal.

The year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, from which date we commence the present account, was marked by the death of the nabob of the three provinces, Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. He was succeeded in his government by his grandson Surajah Dowlah, who, before that time, had obliged his officers to pay him homage as scubah, or viceroy. As both the French and English had, before this time, found means to engage themselves as auxiliaries to the natives in their quarrels with each other, they were already become so formidable, that their former allies were in fact their subjects; and it only remained to be known whether the French or English were to be victorious, in order to ascertain which were to be masters of the country. In this situation, therefore, it is no wonder to find the Indians inconstant and treacherous, or to find the Europeans often quarrelling with their allies, and ready to pull down to-day those whom they had set up yesterday. At this time, however, the French were much superior in wealth and extent of territory to the English. By a conditional treaty, concluded in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, between M. Godeheu and Mr. Saunders, the French were to continue, until returns could be had from Europe, in the possession of all the provinces they had acquired by their intrigues in the Decan and Carnatic, the revenues of which amounted to near a million sterling; while those belonging to the English scarce afforded a tenth part of the sum. Thus insured of the possession of such valuable territories for at least eighteen months, they had an excellent opportunity of furnishing themselves with resources for carrying on war, in case the treaty should not be ratified by their respective courts; and this advantage was undoubtedly more than sufficient to balance the superiority of number in the British troops, which exceeded those of the French by a thousand men.

Character  
 of the na-  
 bob, and  
 cause of  
 his enmity  
 to the Eng-  
 lish.

On the accession of Surajah Dowlah to the nabobship, Mr. Drake, president at Calcutta, sent him a letter of congratulation, desiring, at the same time, his favour and protection in behalf of his countrymen. This was readily promised, and even more favour than had been shewn by his grandfather; but, in a short time, either from some disgust at the English, or a jealousy of the growing power of the Europeans in general, other measures were adopted.

According to Mr. Ives, this nabob "was a compound of **CHAP.**  
temerity, cruelty, ambition and avarice: he was particu-  
larly incensed at Mr. Drake, on pretence of his having **I.**  
afforded protection to some of his offending subjects;" **1756.**  
though it is more probable that his real motive was a desire  
of plunder.

Surajah Dowlah having, under pretence of marching  
into the Puhumeea country, raised a great army, intima-  
ted his displeasure to the governor of Calcutta, on account  
of his beginning to put the fortifications of that place in  
a proper state of defence. Though this was no more than  
what was absolutely necessary, on account of the great  
likelihood there was of a war betwixt France and England,  
the nabob threatened an attack in case the new works  
were not instantly destroyed. With this unreasonable de-  
mand, the governor and council promised to comply, though  
the event shewed that they meant nothing less; as they  
continued to exert themselves to the utmost in order to  
strengthen their fortifications, applying first to the French,  
and afterwards to the Dutch, for assistance, in case they  
should be attacked by the nabob.

As neither of these powers chose to give any assistance, **He takes**  
Calcutta was attacked on the 18th of June, and surrender- **Calcutta,**  
ed at discretion in three days. The nabob assured Mr. **and suffi-**  
Holwell, the governor of Calcutta, on the faith of a sol- **ciates the**  
dier, that no harm should be done to the English. In the **prisoners**  
evening they were commanded to go to a place where the **in the**  
soldiers were confined for trivial faults in the stocks. Not **Black Hole.**  
knowing the meaning of this, it only afforded them diver-  
sion for some time; but at last they were commanded by  
a party of the nabob's guard into the Black Hole, a prison  
only eighteen feet long and fourteen wide, with only two  
holes, barricaded with iron bars, to admit the air or light.  
The effects of this confinement were pathetically describ-  
ed by Mr. Holwell the governor, who was confined along  
with the rest. And, as a detail of this kind, extracted from  
Mr. Holwell's publication, has already been given, we shall  
here only observe, that out of one hundred and fifty peo-  
ple confined in this dungeon at eight in the evening, only  
twenty-two remained alive next morning.

By this horrid piece of cruelty, the vengeance of the Eng- **War**  
lish was thoroughly aroused. A plan of operations was **against him**  
immediately concerted, the execution of which, was com- **resolved**  
mitted to Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive. By reason **on.**  
of the monsoon season coming on, however, it was not  
till the 14th of December that they could arrive at Fulta,  
an inconsiderable village, to which the inhabitants of Cal-

CHAP. cutta had fled, and where they were reduced to the neces-

I. sity of performing the most servile offices, or even depending on the benevolence of others, in order to preserve their existence. They were crowded together in the most wretched habitations, clad in the meanest apparel, and had been

1756.

Curious anecdote of a sailor.

infested for five months with diseases incident to the climate, from the intemperance of which, they had not been able to secure themselves. Three days after the admiral's arrival, he wrote a very spirited letter to the nabob, which was soon after followed by an attack upon a fort named Bougee Bougee, strongly built, with a wet ditch round it. This fort was stormed by a single sailor, after a breach had been made, of which singular transaction Mr. Ives gives the following account: "During the tranquil state of the camp, one Strahan, a common sailor, having his spirits elevated with grog, strayed by himself towards the fort, under the walls of which he imperceptibly got. Having proceeded thus far undiscovered, he took it into his head to enter at a breach which had been made by the cannon of the ships; and having luckily got upon the bastion, there discovered several Moor-men sitting on the platform. Having flourished his cutlass, and fired his pistol, he cried out, "The place is mine," on which the soldiers instantly attacked him. Strahan, however, defended himself with astonishing resolution; but his cutlass being cut off about a foot from the hilt, he must have soon been overpowered, had not two or three other straggling sailors come to his assistance. Their huzzas roused the whole detachment, who had been sent ashore to storm the place in the morning; and the soldiers, rushing on to the attack, soon made themselves masters of the place, without any material loss, excepting only captain Dougal Campbell, who was unfortunately killed by a ball from one of his own party. Strahan, the hero of this expedition, was threatened with chastisement on account of his contempt of discipline; on which he replied, that "if he was flogged for this, he should never take a fort again as long as he lived." Had he been capable of promotion, however, the admiral intended to have raised him to the rank of boatswain; but his behaviour, both before and after this action, was so irregular, that this was found impossible. Some years after, Mr. Ives accidentally met him, and was informed that he had been in every engagement with admiral Pocock; that, in consequence of a wound he had received, he was become a pensioner to the chest at Portsmouth. He then acted as sailor in one of the guard-ships at Portsmouth, and declared,

that his highest ambition was to become cook of one of his majesty's capital ships." CHAP. I.

From Bougee Bougee, the English commanders directed their operations against two other forts, one of bricks, and the other of mud; which, being likewise easily reduced, they next proceeded to Calcutta itself. This too submitting, almost without resistance, they fixed upon Houghley as the next object of their military operations. This was a very large and opulent city, belonging to the nabob, situated on the river about thirty miles above Calcutta. Setting sail for this place on the 5th of January, they arrived before it on the 9th, and having cannonaded it till twelve at night, a practicable breach was made. Two attacks were then formed; fifty men went to the main gate, and kept a constant firing, while the principal force entered privately at the breach, and, with very little resistance, took possession of the city and fort, the enemy going to the place of the false attack, and then running away through one of the gates.

1757.  
Jan. 1.

Great success of the English.

The reduction of Houghley was followed by the burning of several granaries and storehouses belonging to the nabob. Passing through the village which contained these, they received intelligence of a body of the enemy encamped behind it. Without being in the least dismayed, however, they marched into the village for about a mile and an half, and then returning, set fire to the houses in their rear. A faint attack was made by about five thousand of the enemy, but they were easily repulsed; and such was the panic into which the Indians were thrown, that they allowed three sailors, who had by chance been left behind, to set fire to a number of villages adjacent, and to join their companions on a raft, without cutting off their retreat.

The nabob now incensed at the rapidity of the English conquests, determined to overwhelm their handful of forces at once, by his innumerable multitudes. Previous to any act of hostility, however, he sent a letter to Admiral Watson, acquainting him, that he had written an answer to his last, which had not been received: he complained of Mr. Drake, for receiving his subjects who had absented themselves from his court, and said, that for continuing this practice he had expelled him his country; nevertheless, he still professed himself desirous of peace, and assured him, that if the English would behave themselves like merchants, they might depend on his favour and protection; but concluded, with telling him, that "if he imagined, that by carrying on a war he could establish a trade

Correspondence between Admiral Watson and the nabob.

**CHAP.** in his dominions, he might do as he thought fit." In re-  
 1. turn to this, the admiral reproached him with the affair at  
 1757. Calcutta, and asked, how he could reconcile with justice, the destruction of so many innocent men, for the sake of one pretended guilty person? The nabob recriminated. "You have taken and plundered Hougley," says he, "and made war upon my subjects; these are not actions becoming merchants." Nevertheless, he still professed a desire of treating, and promised to restore all the Company's factories, and to allow them to trade on the same footing as formerly. "If the English," says he, "who are settled in these provinces, will behave like merchants, obey my orders, and give me no offence, you may depend upon it. I will take their losses into consideration, and adjust matters to their satisfaction. You know how difficult it is to prevent soldiers from plundering in war; therefore, if you will, on your parts, relinquish something of the damages you have sustained, by being pillaged by my army, I will endeavour to give you satisfaction, even in that particular, in order to gain your friendship, and preserve a good understanding for the future with your nation. You are a Christian, and know how much better it is to accommodate a dispute than to keep it alive; but, if you are determined to sacrifice the interests of your company, and the good of private merchants to your inclinations for war, it is no fault of mine. To prevent the fatal consequences of such a ruinous war, I write this letter."

The nabob having sent off his letter, advanced immediately with his forces, without waiting for any answer. The whole number of persons attending him, were not fewer than eighty thousand; while his opponents, including Asiatics as well as Europeans, did not amount to two thousand two hundred. Before any engagement took place, the nabob desired a conference. Two gentlemen were accordingly sent; but they, finding that his intention was only to amuse and gain time, returned without effecting any thing. Colonel Clive then went aboard Admiral Watson's ship, and was supplied from the fleet with four hundred seamen. They landed at one o'clock in the morning, and about four, the army marched to attack the nabob's camp. The intention was to have seized his cannon, amounting to about forty pieces, and attacked his headquarters; but when day-light appeared, there arose so thick a fog, that they could not see three yards before them, so that they missed their way; however, they killed great numbers of the enemy, with the loss of about fifty of their own, according to Mr. Ives, though other accounts make

The nabob's camp stormed.



the number lost at this encounter amount to three times that number. Mr. Grose states them at two captains of the company's forces, seventeen private soldiers, twelve seamen, and ten seapoys killed; with fifteen seamen, and fifty soldiers and seapoys, wounded. On the part of the enemy, he tells us, that there were one thousand three hundred killed and wounded, among the former of which were twenty-one officers. The nabob also lost four elephants, five hundred horses, and three hundred draught-bullocks, which agrees pretty well with the account given by Mr. Ives.

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I.

1757.

Though the English had not, in this engagement, been attended with all the success they could wish, yet the nabob was so alarmed, that he instantly retired about ten miles from his former situation; and, as the colonel seemed to threaten a second attack, kept his troops under arms all night. Certain intelligence, however, being now received, that war had commenced betwixt the French and English, it was no longer the interest of the latter to be at variance with the natives. Immediately after storming his camp, therefore, a letter was sent by the admiral to the nabob, in which he offered him, for the last time, proposals of peace. The nabob, equally weary of an unsuccessful contest, sent a letter inclosing the articles of a treaty, which was concluded on the 9th of February. These were, 1. That the English East-India Company should enjoy, without any dispute, the rights, privileges, and immunities allowed them by the king, or Great Mogul. 2. That all goods passing and repassing through the country by land or water, with English orders, should be exempt from any tax, fee, or imposition. 3. All the factories seized by the nabob should be returned; and all monies, goods, and effects, be restored or accounted for. 4. That the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta as they thought proper. 5. That they should have liberty to coin their own imports of bullion and gold. 6, and 7. That this treaty should be ratified with mutual oaths, signing or sealing; and, on these conditions, that a mutual peace and good understanding should take place.

Peace concluded,  
Feb. 9.

The peace now concluded was, as usual, of very short duration. The reason assigned by the English for the subsequent quarrel, was, that the nabob began to assist the French with men and money. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, however, he set off with all expedition for his capital, perhaps a little shy of his new friends, from the dreadful report he had heard of Admiral

Causes of  
a new  
quarrel.

**CHAP.** Watson's lower-deck guns, carrying balls of thirty-two pounds, which had been shewn to his ambassadors.

1757.  
Chander-  
nagore taken by the  
English.

Complaints  
of the na-  
bob against  
the Eng-  
lish.

The Indian war being thus happily ended for the present, the next object which naturally presented itself to the view of the English commanders, was the reduction of the French power in that country. An attack upon Chandernagore would instantly have been resolved upon, had not the French earnestly requested that a neutrality might still be observed betwixt the two nations in India. But this pacific prospect soon vanished, on its being suggested, that the government at Chandernagore, as subordinate to that of Pondicherry, had not power to conclude a treaty without the consent of their principals. The fort and settlement at Chandernagore was therefore attacked and carried, notwithstanding the nabob's endeavour to prevent it. The arguments he made use of were conveyed in the following words: " You have sent me an agreement not to disturb the tranquillity of my dominions; but it now appears that you have a design to besiege the French factory near Houghley, and to commence hostilities against that nation. It is contrary to all rule and custom, that you should bring your animosities and differences into my country; for, it has never been known since the days of Timur, that the Europeans made war upon one another within the king's dominions. If you are determined to besiege the French factories, I shall be necessitated, in honour and duty to my king (the Mogul) to assist them with my troops, as you seem inclined to break the treaty so lately concluded betwixt us. Formerly the Mahrattas infested these dominions, and for many years harrassed the country with war; but, when the dispute was accommodated, and a treaty of peace concluded, they never broke, nor will ever deviate from the terms of the said treaty. It is a wrong and wicked practice, to break through, and pay no regard to treaties made in the most solemn manner. You are certainly bound to abide by your part of the treaty strictly, and never to attempt to be the occasion of any troubles or disturbances in future within the provinces under my jurisdiction."

To this the admiral replied in the following terms: " Had I imagined that it would have given you any umbrage, I should never have entertained the least thoughts of disturbing the tranquillity of your country, by acting against that nation within the Ganges; and am now ready to desist from attacking their factory, or committing other hostilities against them in these provinces, if they will consent and agree to a solid treaty of neutrality; and

## CHAP.

## I.

1757.

If you, as Soubahdar (Viceroy) of Bengal, will, under your hand, guarantee this treaty, and promise to protect the English, from any attempts made, by that nation, against our settlements during my absence. I am persuaded, you have heard of no people in the world, who pay a stricter regard to their word, and to the faith of treaties, than the English. I have ratified the late treaty between you and the English with my hand and seal; and I now repeat my assurances, made in the presence of God and of Jesus Christ," &c.

Notwithstanding all this solemnity on both sides, however, it was not long before a quarrel took place. The nabob, influenced, it is said, by the French, charged the admiral with a design of attacking his dominions, as soon as he should have driven out the former. The admiral denied the charge, and the nabob seemed satisfied, and determined to give the French no assistance; only he told him, that as the van of the king of Delhi's army was advancing towards his dominions, he would march to Patna to meet them, promising, at the same time, that if the admiral would send him assistance, he would pay the troops a lack of rupees monthly, while they remained with him. To this, the admiral returned for answer, that he would most readily give him assistance, provided he would allow him to take Chandernagore, that he might not leave his enemies behind him; as, before that was done, he had no security of the English factories being in safety. The end of their correspondence, and what encouraged the English commanders to attack the French settlement, was the following passage of a letter from the nabob: "My forbidding war on my borders was, because the French were my tenants, and, upon this affair, desired my protection; on this, I wrote to you to make peace; and no intention had I of assisting or favouring them. You have understanding and generosity; if your enemy, with an upright heart, claims your protection, give him his life; but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do."

As this paragraph seemed to imply a consent that Chandernagore should be attacked, the British commanders immediately proceeded to the execution of their enterprise; and having met with their usual good success, they dispatched a letter to the nabob, acquainting him with what they had done, and requesting that there might be a continuance of friendship and good correspondence with him. To this, and several other letters, the admiral was not able to obtain any answer, until, at last, he received a complaint, that the English had plundered some of his territo-

CHAP. ries, and, that a demand had been made to deliver up Col-  
I. ligant, as belonging to one of the districts of Calcutta.

1757.

June 13.

This was replied to by the admiral: the nabob promised fair, but was always complained of for not putting his promises in execution; and, in the mean time, both parties prepared for coming to extremities. On the 13th of June, the nabob sent the following, which was his last letter to the admiral: "According to my promises, and the agreement made between us, I have duly rendered every thing to Mr. Watts, except a very small remainder. Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Watts, and the rest of the council at Cassimbuzer, under pretence of going to take the air in their gardens, fled away in the night. This is an evident mark of deceit, and of an intention to break the treaty. I am convinced, that it could not have happened without your knowledge, nor without your advice. I all along expected something of this kind, and, therefore, did not recall my troops from Plassey, expecting some treachery. I praise God, that the breach of the treaty hath not been on my part," &c.

Observa-  
tions on the  
nabob's  
conduct.

In excuse for what happened afterwards, Mr. Ives makes the following observations on the nabob's conduct; "By the letters, as well as by a multiplicity of facts, it is evident, that Surajah Dowlah, from the time of his signing the treaty with us, had shewn himself but little inclined to abide by any of its articles. It was, indeed, intended by him, to lull us into fatal security. He was very liberal in his promises, but always took care to put off the performance of them, and, that, upon such trifling pretences, as demonstrated his ill intention towards us. His positive orders at first, that we should not besiege Chandernagore, strongly indicated his attachment to our enemies; though, after we had taken that place, he put the best face upon it he could, and pretended, that he was not displeased with our success. We were not ignorant, however, that he had ordered a body of near two thousand men to the assistance of that garrison, who might have greatly obstructed, if not defeated, the success of our enterprize, if we had not found means to prevent their acting. It is certain, that a French corps, under the command of M. Law, was protected by him, and even in his pay; and that he had invited M. Bussy, with the French army, to enter Bengal against us. Besides these instances of his ill disposition towards us, it is to be remarked, that although four months were elapsed, the material points of the treaty were not fulfilled; and even his solemn engagement, to restore to the company, the villages, which, of right belonged to them, was evaded, without framing any excuse for such an atrocious

breach of faith.' The English, in this situation, saw no other remedy for their present grievances, nor any other method to prevent the fatal blow of extirpation, which was to be expected on the arrival of the French army, than by proposing openly, the man who was thus planning the ruin of the company's affairs, and only waited the return of the squadron to the coast of Coromandel to effect it."

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1757.

For these reasons, it was resolved, that the English should assume the character of absolute masters of the country, and manifest their power by dethroning the lawful sovereign, and setting up an usurper. This, however, would not have been easily effected, had not several of his grandees already entered into a confederacy to depose him. This conspiracy is excused by Mr. Ives, on the footing, "that he had displayed the severity of his nature, in so many instances, as to strike an universal terror; and his inconsistency and fickleness was such, that no person could think himself safe while near him, and in his power." The necessity of a revolution is said to have been suggested by colonel Clive, and the execution of it was left to him and Mr. Watts, who had been the company's agent at Muxadabad. The person who aspired to the nabobship at this time, was Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, who had married the sister of Aliverdy Cawn, Surajah's grandfather and predecessor; and him it was, now determined, by the English council, to support. It being necessary, however, that Mr. Watts should not be observed to have any frequent correspondence with Meer Jaffier, he employed Omichund, a black merchant, to negotiate the matter. This agent being insatiably avaricious, insisted, that he should have five per cent. of all the nabob's treasures, estimated at about eighty millions sterling, and could not be prevailed on, to accept of a less reward for his treachery, than thirty lacks of rupees, otherwise, he threatened to reveal the whole to the nabob. The principals, unwilling to lose the benefit of his negotiations, and, at the same time, determined not to comply with such an exorbitant demand, framed two treaties, in one of which, it was stipulated, the Omichund should receive the reward he demanded; but the other, and which was the real one intended to be kept, did not even mention his name. Both these treaties were signed by all the parties concerned, admiral Watson alone excepted, who could not be prevailed upon, to put his name to an engagement he did not intend to keep. The most material articles of this treaty were, 1. That no more French should be allowed to settle in Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá; and all the factories and effects of those already there, should belong to the English. 2. In

Treaty  
with Meer  
Jaffier con-  
cluded.

**CHAP.** consideration of the losses sustained by the capture of Calcutta, he agreed to pay to them one crore of rupees, amounting to one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds. 3. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants at Calcutta, he agreed to pay fifty lacks of rupees, amounting to six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. 4. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees, or, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds. 5. To the Armenian inhabitants on the same account, seven lacks of rupees, or eighty-seven thousand five hundred pounds. 6. The distribution of all these sums, amounting to two millions two hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds, should be left to admiral Watson, colonel Clive, Roger Drake, William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Becher, Esquires, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

Every thing being now in readiness, colonel Clive marched against the unfortunate nabob, with all the troops that could be collected, without forgetting, however, the ceremony of writing, to reproach him with his bad conduct, for which he was about to take ample vengeance. The nabob collected an army of about sixty thousand men for his defence; but scarce any superiority of number could have been sufficient to make up for their inferiority in discipline to the Europeans; and, besides, part of the troops being under the command of Meer Jassier, who, according to agreement, stood neuter, the victory was rendered still more easy than it would otherwise have been. This decisive engagement was fought at Plassey, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June, 1757. Only five hundred of the nabob's men were killed; but all his cannon, amounting to fifty-three pieces, were taken, together with his camp, elephants, &c. The miserable prince fled to his capital, which he reached in a few hours, being only twenty miles distant; but, not knowing whom to trust, left it the following evening, disguised as a Faquir, and took the road to Patna, with one or two attendants. These appear also to have forsaken, and probably robbed him; for, on the 3<sup>d</sup> of July, he was found wandering in a forlorn condition, and almost naked. In this situation, he was brought back to Muxadabad, and, a few hours afterwards, privately put to death by the eldest son of Meer Jassier, to whose custody he was committed.

In the mean time, Meer Jassier was complimented by his new allies, with the title of nabob. The inhabitants of Muxadabad were pacified, with assurances of friendship and protection; and colonel Clive, in person, handed the

Battle of  
Plassey,  
June 23.

Surajah  
Dowlah  
put to  
death.



Unfolded, on carpet and throne of state, to the thoughtful Meer Jaffier, who accepted these ensigns of dignity, without recollecting, that those who had conferred on him this power, could likewise take it away at their pleasure.

By this revolution the French were entirely driven out of Bengal. The glory of this achievement has been said to excel that of Alexander, who invaded India with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, notwithstanding which his troops could not be prevailed upon to follow him across the Ganges, while Colonel Clive's army would have followed him to the extremities of the earth. If our modern conquerors, however, had the prowess, they certainly had not the generosity of Alexander; for though he fought with Porus, and conquered his kingdom, he restored it to himself; while they put the crown on the head of a rebellious subject, whom they soon after deposed in favour of another usurper, and that third usurper in favour of the second, &c. Be this as it will, we cannot help acknowledging the truth of Mr. Grose's observation, that, by this transaction, more solid profit was reaped by the English East India company, than had been done by crowned heads and powerful armies in these bloody wars, which, at this time, drained the veins of Europe to the last ebb. The new nabob punctually fulfilled his engagements, though the treasures of which he took possession were far short of expectation. Of the sums he agreed to pay, amounting, according to Mr. Grose, to 2,062,500*l.* Colonel Clive sent down immediately 737,500*l.* to Calcutta; as much more was soon to follow as would make this last sum up to one half of the whole money to be paid; the other half was to be made up at three annual and equal payments. He had not, however, been long invested with the sovereignty, when he found himself in a very disagreeable situation. His mind was filled with continual dread of the resentment of Surajah Dowlah's relations; he had no confidence in his great men who surrounded him; nor could he, with any justice, put confidence in the English, farther than he knew himself to be subservient to their interest. But this was soon out of his power, his treasury having been exhausted, and his best revenues mortgaged, to supply the vast sums he had obliged himself to pay. Besides this, he had granted his new allies so many advantages in trade, to the detriment of his own customs, that he was almost entirely deprived of the few resources formerly left him. Hence was he driven to methods of raising money which rendered him odious to his subjects, without relieving his

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Meer Jaf-  
fier.

CHAP. necessities; his troops became mutinous; the rajahs, or  
 I. tributary princes, rebelled; and he was threatened, on  
 one hand, with an invasion from Shah-adah, the son of  
 the Mogul; and on the other, from the Mahrattas.

1757.

His suppo-  
 sed cruelty  
 and trea-  
 chery.

The Coun-  
 cil of Cal-  
 cutta re-  
 solve to de-  
 pose him.

Sept. 15,  
 1760.

Accounts  
 of his de-  
 position.  
 O.S. 19.

In this dreadful situation, Meer Jaffier, according to the cruel maxims of eastern policy, is said to have wreaked his vengeance on the family of his predecessor, and the most factious of his courtiers. His jealousy of the English prompted him to enter into various negotiations with the Indian powers, and even with the Dutch, against them; while the evident bad effect which some of the privileges granted to the former had upon his own interest, in a manner obliged him to infringe them; and, to complete his misfortunes, he lost his son by a stroke of lightning, the only one of his children who had arrived at the years of maturity. At this juncture it was *generously* resolved in 1760, in the council at Calcutta, to depose him; though the only plausible reason that could be suggested for so doing was, that he had already manifested such incapacity in his government, that whatever advantages they might expect from it, he must in a short time ruin himself, unless he was assisted, or even controuled, by some person of ability; and possibly the interest of the company in Bengal might be ruined along with him.

For these reasons, the council thought proper to conclude a new treaty with Mir Cossim Ali Cawn, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier, by which it was agreed to vest him with the sole power, leaving to Meer Jaffier only the empty title of sovereign. Of this revolution we have the two following accounts from the reports concerning East-India affairs laid before a committee of the House of Commons. "We resolved," says the governor, "to give the nabob the next day, 19th October, to reflect upon the letters I had delivered him, proposing some measures for regulating these abuses\*. I heard nothing from him all that day, but found by my intelligence, that he had been in council with his former advisers, whose advice I was sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country, and of the company. I therefore determined to act immediately on the nabob's fears. There could not be a better opportunity than that which the night of the 19th offered, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. Accordingly, I agreed with colonel

\* These were, in general, his cruelty, avarice, and extortion; partly perhaps natural, but undoubtedly occasioned in some degree by the circumstances already mentioned.

Caillaud, that he should cross the river with the detachment, between three and four in the morning; and, having joined Cossim Ali Cawn and his people, march to the nabob's palace, and surround it just at day-break. Being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed, I wrote a letter to the nabob, telling him I had been waiting all the day, in expectation that he would have settled the urgent affairs upon which I conferred with him yesterday; but, by his having favoured me with no answer, it plainly appeared, that all I could represent to him for the good of his country would have no effect, as long as the evil counsellors were about his person, who would, in the end, deprive him of his government, and ruin the company's affairs. For this reason, I had sent colonel Caillaud, with forces, to wait upon him, to expel those bad counsellors, and to place his affairs in a proper state, and I would shortly follow. This letter I gave to the colonel to send to the nabob at such a time as he should think most expedient. Measures were taken at the same time for seizing his three unworthy ministers, and to place Cossim Ali Cawn in the full management of all affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the nabob.

CHAP.

I.



2769.

"The necessary preparations being made, with all the care and secrecy possible, the colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Ali Cawn without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace, just at the proper instant. The gates of the inner-court being shut, the colonel formed his men without, and sent the letter to the nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and threatened to make what resistance he could, and take his fate. In about two hours, however, his resolution failed, and, therefore, he sent a message to Cossim Ali Cawn, informing him, that he was ready to send the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him; to discharge all arrears due to the troops; to pay the usual revenues to the king; to save his life and honour, and give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Ali Cawn was proclaimed; upon which, the old nabob sent notice to the colonel, that he depended on him for his life. The troops then took possession of all the gates, when the old nabob coming out of his palace, asked if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern. It was told him, that not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it had never been intended to deprive him. To this, however, Meer Jaffer replied, "That

**CHAP.** he had now no business in the city, where he would be  
**I.** in continual danger from Cossim Ali Cawn; and if he  
 was permitted to go and live at Calcutta, he should be  
 1760. contented."—He did not even think himself safe for one  
 night in the city. He was, therefore, supplied with boats  
 by Cossim Ali, and permitted to take away about sixty of  
 his family, with a certain quantity of jewels. He begged  
 that he might be permitted to sleep that night in his boat,  
 which was allowed. On the morning of the 22d of Octo-  
 09. 22. ber, he set out for Calcutta, where he arrived on the 29th,  
 being met by a deputation from the council, and treated  
 with all the respect due to his former dignity."—This  
 account was taken from a memorial drawn up at Fort  
 William, on the 10th of November, the same year, in pre-  
 sence of governor Vansittart and five other gentlemen.

Another account, taken March 11th, 1762, signed by  
 colonel Coote, and a like number of gentlemen, is to the  
 following purpose: "In September, 1760, when there  
 was not the least appearance of a rupture or disgust be-  
 tween us and the nabob Jaffier Ali Cawn, but friendship  
 and harmony subsisting, Mir Cossim Cawn, his son-in-law,  
 came down to Calcutta, and, having staid a short time,  
 returned to Moorsshedabad. A few days after, Mr. Van-  
 sittart, went up to that city, on the pretence of a visit to  
 the nabob Meer Jaffier. Colonel Caillaud, with two hun-  
 dred Europeans and some seapoys, attended him; who,  
 it was pretended, were going to join the army at Patna.  
 When Mr. Vansittart arrived Moradbaug, the nabob paid  
 him two visits, at the last of which, Mr. Vansittart gave  
 him three letters, proposing the reformation of the abuses  
 in his government; insisted on his naming some person  
 among his relations to take care of the soubahship, and  
 particularly recommended Cossim Ali Cawn, who was  
 sent for, and the nabob desired to stay till he came; but,  
 being greatly fatigued, was at last suffered to depart to his  
 palace. The night and following day, passed in concerting  
 measures with Cossim Ali Cawn, how to put in execu-  
 tion the plan before agreed on in Calcutta, where a treaty  
 was signed for this purpose. In consequence of these de-  
 liberations, our troops crossed the river the next night;  
 and being joined by Cossim and his party, surrounded the  
 nabob's palace. A letter was sent into the nabob, de-  
 manding his compliance with what had been proposed to  
 him. To this the nabob returned for answer, "That such  
 usage was what he never expected from the English;  
 that, while a force was at his gates, he would enter into  
 no terms." A message was then sent in, that if he did not

directly comply, they should be obliged to storm the palace. Astonished and terrified at this menace, he opened the gates, exclaiming, "That he was betrayed; that the English were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he perceived their designs against his government; that he had friends enough to stand at least one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were sacred enough to bind the English, yet, as he had sworn to be their faithful friend, he would never swerve from his engagement to them, and rather suffer death than draw his sword against them." He further desired to know, "What sum of money Cossim Ali Cawn was to give for the sobaship; and he would give half as much more to be continued. He hoped, however, if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his son-in-law, from whom he feared the worst; but wished they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of safety in Calcutta."

CHAP.

I.

1760.

"This last request was considered in the light of a voluntary resignation. Our troops took possession of the palace; Mir Cossim was raised to the Musnud, and the old nabob hurried into a boat with a few of his domestics and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he so lately held; as was also the scanty subsistence allowed him for his maintenance at Calcutta by his son-in-law. Thus, was Jaffier Ali Cawn deposed, in breach of a treaty, founded on the most solemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith."

"According to the same account, the company's servants, who were the projectors of the revolution, made no secret, that there was a present promised them, of twenty lacs of rupees from Cossim; who, it seems, was desirous of making the assassination of Meer Jaffier the first act of his power, and was very much displeased when he found that the English intended to give him protection at Calcutta."

"It was scarcely to be supposed that Cossim, raised to the supreme power by such unfair means, would continue faithful to those to whom he owed his elevation. At the commencement of the treaty, indeed, he had promised whatever his allies, or rather masters, required; but no sooner was he invested with an authority which he imagined would render him independent, than he began to guard against the overgrown power of the English, by every method he could devise. For this purpose, he increased the number of his troops, disciplined them in the European manner; and supposing Muxadabad, his capi-

Mir Cossim resolves to reduce the power of the English.

CHAP. I. tal, to be too near the English settlements, he set about erecting a strong fort at Rajahmoul, that the place of his residence might be at a greater distance from those, whom he could at best, but look upon as his pretended friends. Sensible, however, that the English would soon become jealous of his proceedings, he applied to the Mogul, insinuating to him that he was in danger from the English; hoping thereby to prevent his return to a state of dependency on the Mogul, and being obliged to pay the royal revenues to him. But though he succeeded in this so far, that the Mogul neither received any assistance from the English, nor was paid any part of the royal revenue; the monarch became at last so incensed at his conduct, that he declared he would suffer him to remain no longer in the subahship than he could prevent it; and, in the mean time, made an offer to the English of the dewanny, or collection of the revenues of Bengal. This office, as well as that of subdarree, or command of the troops and jurisdiction in the provinces, the expences of which are paid out of the revenues by the dewan, had, for some time past, been assumed by the nabobs of Bengal; and, the present offer of the king, would have been worth to the company, fifteen lack of rupees, or 187,500*l.* annually. But, besides this, the king offered to confirm to them the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, and to establish the influence of the English not only in these provinces, but as far as Delhi itself. In return for this, the king required their assistance to settle him on the throne, and to recover such parts of his territories as were in the hands of rebels. For this purpose, Sujah Dowlah, one of the most powerful men in the empire, offered to join the English with all his forces, in order to establish the king, who was then in the field, near Patna, and unable, by reason of the disputes prevailing at that time, to prosecute his journey to Delhi.

Offers of  
the Mogul  
to them.

A treaty  
with the  
Mogul re-  
solved on.

The servants of the company were at this time, in all probability, equally indifferent either to the mogul or nabob. The only question with them was, whether, by assisting the one or the other, they might more easily accomplish the ends they had in view for their own interest. At last, however, the committee at Calcutta, unanimously considering it as their interest to side with the mogul, a treaty was proposed, and letters sent to Sujah Dowlah for the purpose. The nabob, in the mean time, as has already been observed, had taken care to use proper methods for withstanding the power of the English. At his accession, he had ceded to the company a tract of land worth no



less than 700,000l. a-year, together with 70,000l. annually for the zemindaries of Calcutta, and of the 24th purgunnah. Having known, however, by experience, the distress incurred by his predecessor, by reason of the English privilege of carrying on the inland-trade without being subjected to any duties, he had probably determined, from the time of his accession, to deprive them of immunities so contrary to his own interest. But as this could not be done without a quarrel, he had used the means already mentioned for his security; and, among the rest, had, in the true spirit of an eastern monarch, cut off or imprisoned every nobleman in his dominions who had shown any warm affection to the English.

CHAP. I.

1760.

1762.

Though it is scarce possible that matters could have remained long in this state, without very strong suspicions and jealousies on each side, neither complaint nor remonstrance had been made on the part of the English; on the contrary, by disbanding most of their seapoys before the end of the year 1762, they had weakened their force so much, that Mir Cossim imagined he might safely act openly against them. His revenue at this time was indeed on a much better footing than that of his predecessor; but still it fell vastly short of its former limits. The free trade, which had been allowed to such an extent by reason of the exigencies of Meer Jaffer, and augmented in consequence of his own, now threatened to annihilate his customs entirely, by drawing all the interior as well as foreign commerce of Bengal from his own subjects into foreign channels. He, therefore, began every where to exact from the private English traders the payment of equal and regular duties; requiring, at the same time, that their disputes, if beyond their own limits, should be settled by his magistrates. This step produced such an alarm, that, in November, this year, the governor himself, Mr. Vansittart, thought proper to go along with Mr. Hastings to Mongheer, his place of residence, in order to have a conference with Mir Cossim.

Mir Cossim resolves on a war with the English.

Conference between the nabob and Mr. Vansittart.

On hearing their complaints, the nabob replied in the following terms: "If the servants of the English company were permitted to trade in all ports, and in all commodities, custom-free, as many of them now pretend, they must, of course, draw all the trade into their own hands, and my customs would be of so little value, that it would be much more for my interest to lay the trade entirely open, and to collect no custom from any person whatever, upon any kind of merchandize. This would draw a number of merchants into the country, and increase my reve-

**CHAP.** nes, by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of  
**I.** a large quantity of goods for sale; at the same time that  
 it would effectually cut off the principal subject of disputes which have disturbed the good understanding between us, an object I have more than any other at heart."

1762.

A treaty concluded by Mr. Vansittart, and disavowed by the council of Calcutta.

1763.

Jan. 17.

Murder of the deputies sent by the council to the nabob.

This reply to the remonstrances of the English governor reduced him to a very mortifying dilemma. It was impossible to avoid being struck with the force of the nabob's reasoning; he proposed nothing but what was certainly in his power to do, and which, if he had done, could have afforded no just matter of complaint; though it would effectually have cut off the private trade carried on by the gentlemen of the factory, and even, as they said, prejudiced that of the company itself. Mr. Vansittart, therefore, thought proper to submit to certain regulations and restrictions to be put upon the trade of the English in general, which, as the Indian magistrates began immediately to put them exactly in execution, produced complaints of partiality and rigour on the part of the English. The consequence was, that the council of Calcutta disavowed the treaty made by their governor, affirming, that he had assumed a power to which he had no right; that the regulations proposed by him were dishonourable to them as Englishmen, and tended to the ruin of all public and private trade. They affirmed, that the president's issuing out regulations, independent of the council, was an absolute breach of their privileges, and therefore sent orders to all the factories to pay no regard to any of the new regulations. Mir Cossim was again applied to for a third treaty; but he not only refused to treat with their deputies, but caused them to be murdered on their return, of which barbarous action the following account was sent home to England to the court of directors. "Mess. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, being furnished with proper instructions, were deputed to wait upon the nabob, in order to adjust the differences in an amicable manner. They accordingly arrived at Mongheer on the 12th of May, 1763, and had many conferences with him, in which he shewed a great averfeness to an accommodation, upon the terms offered to him. About this time, a supply of five hundred stands of arms, going to Patna, was stopped by the nabob's orders, and other acts of hostility committed; and affairs being come to an extremity, a war with Cossim Ali was unavoidable. Mess. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and measures were taken at the presidency to carry it on in the most effectual manner. Mr. Amyatt having taken leave of the nabob on the 24th

of June, and received the usual passports, set out in boats for Calcutta, accompanied with Mess. Amphlett, Wol-  
 laston, and Hutchinson, Lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and  
 Cooper, (Dr. Crooke, Mr. Hay and Gullett remaining  
 with the nabob as hostages). As the boats were passing the  
 city of Moorsshedabad, they were attacked, on the 3d of  
 July, by a number of troops assembled for that purpose on  
 both sides the river, and some of the gentlemen were killed  
 in their boats. Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a  
 few seapoys, whom he forbid to fire, and endeavoured to  
 make the enemy's troops understand, that he was furnish-  
 ed with the nabob's passports, and had no design of com-  
 mitting any hostilities: But the enemy's horse advancing,  
 some of the seapoys fired, notwithstanding of Mr. Am-  
 yatt's orders; and, a general confusion ensuing, that gen-  
 tleman, and most of the small party who were with him,  
 were cut to pieces.

CHAP. I.

1763.

This inhuman and treacherous behaviour having cut off  
 all hopes of accommodation, war was formally declared  
 against Mir Cossim, and his predecessor, Meer Jaffier, once  
 more proclaimed Nabob of Bengal in the beginning of July.

Meer Jaf-  
 fier pro-  
 claimed  
 Nabob.

Hostilities had indeed commenced before this time. About  
 300 miles from Calcutta, up the Ganges, stands the city of  
 Patna, a place of very considerable extent and great  
 trade, where the English East India company had a fac-  
 tory, with some Indian and European soldiers. These sud-  
 denly attacked and carried this great city on the 25th of  
 June, though defended by a strong garrison, with fortifi-  
 cations newly repaired. On the very first attack, however,  
 the governor and garrison fled; but the English, with the  
 utmost imprudence, having dispersed themselves in order  
 to plunder, the Indian commander suddenly returned with  
 a reinforcement from the country, and either cut them  
 in pieces, or obliged them to take refuge in their fort. In  
 the latter, however, they did not now imagine themselves se-  
 cure, and therefore resolved to abandon it, in order to fly  
 into the territories of a neighbouring nabob. With this  
 view, they crossed the Ganges; and during the first three  
 days of their march, met with no opposition; but being  
 at length overtaken and attacked by a superior force, they  
 were forced to come to an engagement. In the first en-  
 counter, they had the advantage, notwithstanding the supe-  
 riority of the enemy in numbers; but in a second they  
 were totally routed, and all of them either cut in pieces on  
 the spot, or taken prisoners.

Patna sud-  
 denly at-  
 tacked and  
 taken by  
 the Eng-  
 lish, but  
 instantly  
 retaken,  
 June 5.

The forces which took the field under Major Adams,  
 consisted at first of no more than one regiment of the

**CHAP.** king's troops, a few of the company's two troops of European cavalry, ten companies of seapoys, with twelve pieces of cannon. By routing the enemy in two encounters, on the 11th and 14th of July, they cleared their way to Moorshedabad, the capital of the province. The Indians, however, having drawn up their forces, to the number of ten thousand, on the opposite side of the river, a third engagement ensued, in which the English gained a complete victory: after which, as the rainy season began to set in, the major pushed his way directly to the capital. He found the Indians again disposed to obstruct his passage, having strongly fortified themselves betwixt him and the city, with intrenchments fifteen feet high, defended by a numerous artillery. It being impossible, with his small number of troops, to force a place of this kind, the major made a feint, with a small body, against that part where the Indians had collected their principal strength; and, while the enemy were amused with this appearance, the main force of the army marched round their fortifications in the night, appearing by day-break at the opposite quarter, where they had but a slight guard. This struck the Indians with such terror, that they abandoned their fortresses and the city, without further resistance.

**I.**  
1763.  
Major  
Adams  
marches  
against the  
nabob.  
July.  
The Indians  
defeated.

July 23.

Aug. 2.

Mir Cossim  
entirely de-  
feated.

Encouraged by such great success in the beginning of his enterprise, the major pushed on to seek Mir Cossim, who had indeed been very active in his own defence. Notwithstanding all his care, however, he had not been able to complete his soldiers in the European discipline in such a manner as to make them in any respect a match for those under the English commander, though the latter now found them oppose him in a manner very different from what they had done formerly. The two armies met on the banks of a river called Nunas Nullas. The Indian commander had chosen his post with great judgment; his army was divided into brigades, with a good train of artillery well served, the same accoutrements, arms, and clothing, and even much of the same order and spirit with the English. Yet, notwithstanding this superiority to what they were formerly, and their vast numbers in comparison with those of the English, the Indian army, consisting of 20,000 horse and 8000 foot, were entirely defeated, with the loss of all their cannon.

After this engagement, the Indians never chose to venture a pitched battle with the English, but contented themselves with fortifying and defending strong posts in the best manner they could. At a place called Auda Nulla, protected in the front by a considerable swamp, on one

side by the mountains, and on the other by the river Ganges, they had thrown up a great fortification, on which were planted 100 pieces of cannon, having in their front a deep ditch of 54 feet in breadth, and full of water in every part but that which was next the mountains ; so that no place remained for the English to carry on their approaches, excepting a space of about 200 yards, lying between the swamp and the river. A formal siege of this place therefore commenced, and was continued, without any sensible progress, from the 21st of August to the 4th of September, when the Indians again, suffering their attention to be drawn to the side of the Ganges, where the principal force of the attack had hitherto been directed, were totally routed, and their intrenchments forced with prodigious slaughter ; vast numbers also being drowned by their throwing themselves into the Ganges.

CHAP.

I.

1763.

After this defeat, the Indians seem to have abandoned themselves to despair, making no stand at any other place of defence, though they had several others betwixt Auda Nulla and Mongheer. Even this city, the residence of Mir Cossim himself, and which he had been at the utmost pains to fortify, held out no longer than nine days, so that now the only resource of the nabob was the city of Patna.

Oct. 11.

In the mean time, Mir Cossim, exasperated at the progress made by the English arms, which he was unable to prevent, according to the barbarity usual among Asiatics, determined to revenge himself on the prisoners he had taken at Patna. These he caused to be murdered in the most inhuman manner ; one Somers, or, as the Indians call him, *Soomeroo*, a German deserter from the company's service, being the perpetrator of the villainy. The account of this execrable affair, sent by Major Adams to the secretary of state, is as follows : " *Soomeroo*, having invited our gentlemen to sup with him, took that opportunity to borrow their knives and forks, to entertain them in the English manner. At night, when he arrived, he stood at some distance in the cook-room, to give his orders ; and, as soon as Mess. Ellis and Lushington entered, the former was seized by the hair, and pulling his head backward, another cut his throat ; on which Mr. Lushington immediately knocked down the murderer with his fist, seized his sword, with which he wounded one, and killed two more, before he was cut down himself. After this, the gentlemen, being alarmed by Mr. Smith, stood upon their defence, and repulsed the seapoys with plates and bottles. *Soomeroo* then ordered them to the top of the house, to fire down on the prisoners, which they obeyed with reluctance, al-

English prisoners  
cruelly  
murdered  
by Mir  
Cossim.

CHAP. leging that they could not think of murdering them in that manner; but that if they would give them arms, they would fight with them; on which he knocked down several of them with bamboos. The consequence was, that all the gentlemen were either shot, or had their throats cut. In this, or some other equally inhuman manner, perished, in one house, forty-nine gentlemen, of whom twenty-five were in irons, with about fifty soldiers in irons; nine gentlemen, with the remaining part of the English who were prisoners, being put to death in other parts of the country, the whole number amounting to between two and three hundred. Dr. Fullerton was the only person who escaped, having received a pardon from the tyrant a few days before this massacre."

Nov. 6.  
Mir Cossim  
flies to Su-  
jah Dow-  
lah.

Such monstrous cruelty did not long go unrevenge'd; Major Adams instantly set out from Mongheer to Patna, in order to drive the nabob from his last resource. The event was conformable to the success which had all along attended the English arms. Though the Indians behaved with much greater spirit than could have been expected from them, the place was taken by storm after a siege of eight days; the nabob, having lost all his fortified places, was obliged to fly for refuge to Sujah Dowlah, grand vizier to the Great Mogul, and nabob of a neighbouring province. By him he was kindly received, and protection granted to his person; but he refused to admit his army, or to take any step by which his own country might be rendered a seat of war. Thus was Mir Cossim entirely deprived of his dominions, and the English rendered unconditionally masters of Bengal, an extent of territory not inferior to the most celebrated European kingdoms. Major Adams, however, did not long live to enjoy the honour he had acquired, dying of a disorder in his bowels soon after the taking of Patna; but before that time he had resigned the command of the army to Major Carnac, with a design to return to Europe himself.

Dec. 9.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Mogul espouses the cause of Mir Cossim—Correspondence with Sujah Dowlah—Renewal of the war, and successes of the English—Sujah Dowlah surrenders himself—Death of Meer Jaffier, and transactions with the young nabob—Dissentions among the company's servants ended, and a treaty concluded with the Mogul and Sujah Dowlah by Lord Clive.*

ON the flight of Mir Cossim, a deputation was sent CHAP. from the governor and council of Calcutta, to propose II. an alliance with Sujah Dowlah, with promises of assisting him against Mir Cossim, or any other invader; in return for which it was expected, that he would do his utmost to seize and deliver up the fugitive nabob with his effects. This design was communicated to Major Adams on the 8th of December; but as he was to resign the command on the day following to Major Carnac, it was recommended to the latter to watch the motions of Mir Cossim, and if he should be joined by Sujah Dowlah, or the Mogul himself, to advance with the army towards the banks of the river Carumnassa, and oppose any enemy that might attempt to enter the country. 1764.

It could scarcely be supposed that the embassy above mentioned would be favourably received; and accordingly, in the month of February, Major Carnac received advice, February. that Sujah Dowlah had resolved to assist Mir Cossim in the recovery of his government. The president and council on this, thought proper to write to Sujah Dowlah, the purport of which letter was, "that they could not give credit to the report, considering the former connections subsisting between him and the chiefs of the company; and were persuaded that he would not act in such an inequi-

Correspondence with Sujah Dowlah.

CHAP. table maner ; but, if he really intended to take Mir Cossim  
 II. into his friendship, they were resolved to keep Bengal free  
 from troubles, by carrying the war into his own dominions.”  
 1764.

In answer to this, Major Carnac soon after received the following answer :—“ Former kings of Indostan, by exempting the English company from duties, granting them different settlements and factories, and assisting them in all their affairs, bestowed greater kindness and honour upon them than either upon the country merchants or any other Europeans ; moreover, of late, his majesty has graciously conferred upon you higher titles and dignities than was proper, and jagheers and other favours since ; notwithstanding these various favours which have been shewn you, you have interfered in the king’s country, possessed yourselves of districts belonging to the government, such as Burdwan, Chittagong, &c. and turned out and established nabobs at pleasure, without the consent of the Imperial court. Since you have imprisoned dependents upon the court, and exposed the government of the king of king’s to contempt and dishonour ; since you have ruined the trade of the merchants of the country, granted protection to the king’s servants, injured the revenues of the Imperial court, and crushed the inhabitants by your acts of violence ; and since you are continually sending fresh people from Calcutta, and invading different parts of the royal dominions, and have even plundered several villages and purgunnahs belonging to the province of Illahabad ;—to what can these wrong proceedings be attributed, but to an absolute disregard to the court, and a wicked design of seizing the country to yourselves ? If you have behaved in this manner in consequence of your king’s commands, or the company’s directions, be pleased to acquaint me of the particulars thereof, that I may shew a suitable resentment. But if these disturbances have arisen from your own improper desires, desist from such behaviour in future ; interfere not in the affairs of the government ; withdraw your people from every part, and send them to their own country ; carry on the company’s trade as usual, and confine yourselves to commercial affairs. In this case, the Imperial court will more than ever assist you in your business, and confer its favours upon you. Send hither some person of distinction to inform me properly of all circumstances, that I may act accordingly. If (which God forbid !) you are haughty and disobedient, the heads of the disturbers shall be devoured by the sword of justice, and you will feel the weight of his majesty’s displeasure,



which is a type of the wrath of God ; nor will any sub-  
missions or acknowledgments hereafter avail you, as your  
company have of old been supported by the royal favours.  
I have therefore wrote to you, you will act as you think  
adviseable, and speedily send me an answer.”

CHAP.

II.

1764.

Along with this letter, which was directed to the pre-  
sident and council of Calcutta, Major Carnac received ano-  
ther for himself, much to the same purport. The resolu-  
tions of the council upon these remonstrances of Sujah  
Dowlah were, not to hearken to any of his arguments, but  
instantly to begin an offensive war ; “ it being,” say they,  
in their instructions to Major Carnac, “ beyond all  
doubt, that our successes against the powers of this em-  
pire, have been owing to acting offensively, and always push-  
ing the attack ; and this appears the more necessary at this  
time, as the ill disposition of our troops is likely to be in-  
creased by nothing so much as inaction.”

War with  
him re-  
solved on.

At this time, indeed, the affairs of the English appear  
to have worn but a very indifferent aspect, as well on ac-  
count of the strength of the enemies forces, as of the  
mutinous and disobedient spirit of the troops of the  
company themselves. The activity and spirit of the In-  
dians was no doubt augmented by the death of Major  
Adams, whose name had been for a long time so formida-  
ble in that part of the world. While he lived, therefore,  
the princes who secretly were in the interests of Mir Cos-  
sim thought it prudent to keep themselves quiet ; but now,  
being no longer under any such restraint, they openly es-  
poused his cause by taking the field. The state of affairs at  
that time will be best understood from the report of Col.  
Munro to the House of Commons. In the month of April  
1764, he had orders to return to Europe with such of his  
majesty's troops as did not choose to insist in the service of  
the company, but was prevented from embarking, by two  
expresses from Bengal, which brought intelligence that  
Sujah Dowlah and Mir Cossim had entered the province  
with an army of sixty thousand men ; that Major Adams  
was dead and the company's affairs in the utmost danger ;  
for which reasons it was requested, that he would take  
upon him the command of as many troops as could be  
spared from the presidency of Bombay, and with them  
join the army at Patna, were he should take the command  
of the whole ; Major Carnac, to whom the command had  
been resigned by Major Adams, being obliged to act on  
the defensive by the numerous forces of Sujah Dowlah,  
who had invaded the province.

Bad situa-  
tion of the  
English af-  
fairs.

“ I found,” says the colonel, “ the army, Europeans as  
well as seapoys, mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threaten-

CHAP. II. ing to carry off their officers, demanding an augmentation of pay, and large sums of money, which they said the nabob had promised, and disobedient to all order. Four hundred Europeans had gone off to the enemy, in a body, some time before. It being necessary, in the first place, to conquer this mutinous disposition, I went with a detachment of the king's and company's Europeans from Patna, with four field-pieces of artillery to Chippera, one of the cantonments. The very day, or the day after I arrived, a whole battalion of seapoys went away to join the enemy. I immediately dispatched an hundred Europeans, and a battalion of seapoys, to bring them back to me. The detachment came up with them in the night-time, and brought them back to Chippera. I desired the officers to pick me out fifty men of the worst characters, and who, they thought, might have enticed the battalion to desert to the enemy; and out of these fifty, to choose out twenty-four. These last being tried by a court-martial, and found guilty of mutiny and desertion, were sentenced to death, the manner being left to me. I immediately ordered four out of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns, and the artillery officers to prepare to blow them away. A remarkable circumstance occurred: four grenadiers represented, that, as they always had the post of honour, they thought they were intitled to be first blown away: the four battalion-men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied and blown away; upon which, the European officers of the battalions of seapoys, who were then in the field, came and told me, that the seapoys would not suffer any more men to be blown away. I ordered the artillery-officers to load the four field-pieces with grape-shot, and draw up the Europeans, with their guns in the intervals; desired the officers to return at the heads of their battalions; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, and if one of them attempted to move, I would give orders to fire upon them, and treat them the same as if they were Sujah Dowlah's army. They did ground their arms, and did not attempt to take them up again, upon which, I ordered sixteen more of the twenty-four men, to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the same as at first, which was done. I ordered the other four to be carried to a cantonment, where there had been a desertion of the seapoys some time before, with positive orders of the commanding officer, to blow them away in the same manner as before, which was accordingly done."

Twenty-four deserters blown away from the mouths of cannon.

This dreadful execution having put an end to the mutiny and desertion prevalent in the army, the colonel was ena-

2V  
60

bled to take the field against the enemy with some hopes of success. His forces, indeed, consisted of but a few thousand men, of whom, scarce a seventh-part were Europeans, which small number was probably despised by his enemies, whom no experience had yet taught to avoid a pitched battle with European commanders. A long series of wars, indeed, which to them, were only a continuation of losses and defeats, had at last taught the Indians something of the European manner of fighting, and posting themselves, in proper situations, to prevent their being attacked at a disadvantage. Owing to this, and some instructions they had received from certain Europeans, the British commander found his enemies so advantageously posted, that he did not choose to make an immediate attack. The Indian army, at this time, lay at Buxard, about one hundred miles above Patna, with a morass, well lined with cannon in front; their troops also stretched out, to such a length, as must necessarily out-flank the British forces, let them be extended as wide as possible. At one end of the morass, was a small wood, which the Indians had taken care to occupy with a sufficient number of men, who would not fail to annoy the British army very much, should they make any attempt on that side, as the cannon in front threatened the most dreadful destruction, should they march directly up.

Battle of  
Buxard,  
Oct. 22.

Major Munro, having encamped just without the reach of the cannon-shot of the enemy, and taken proper measures for having his line of battle formed, in case of any sudden emergency, found them in motion to attack him, about eight o'clock in the morning of the second day of his encampment. The action began about nine, with a discharge of the Indian cannon on the British troops; and, as one of their batteries played upon his flank, Major Munro detached a battalion of seapoys, with one gun, to endeavour to silence it, which was effected by this, and another battalion afterwards sent to support it. Having then made proper dispositions for avoiding the morass, and clearing the small wood already mentioned, the two armies came to close action. The dispute was now soon decided; the Indians were totally routed before twelve, and moving slowly off, the major ordered the line to break in to the columns and pursue.

The In-  
dians de-  
feated.

In his account of this battle, the major informs us, that, about two miles from the scene of action, there was a rivulet, where the enemy had a bridge of boats, which they pierced and sunk before the rear of their army got over. Thus, about two thousand of them were drowned or stuck

CHAP. II. in the mud ; nevertheless, it was the best piece of generalship Sujah Dowlah shewed that day ; for, had major Munro crossed the rivulet, which he might have done by means of the boats, the whole of Sujah Dowlah's army would either have been taken, or drowned in the carnassa. The jewels, also, belonging to him and Mir Cossim would also have been taken, the value of which was computed at upwards of two millions sterling.

1764.

The English army consisted of little more than four thousand men, of which, not above a thousand were Europeans. The nabob's army was not less than forty thousand men. The killed and wounded of the English army, amounted to eight hundred and forty-seven ; of the nabob's, two thousand were killed in the field of battle, exclusive of those that were drowned. The major had not surgeons to dress his own wounded, and could not give the wounded of the enemy any assistance ; but he went five days together, to give rice and water to such of them as would take it.

The day after the battle, the Mogul himself, who had been kept a state prisoner in the camp of Sujah Dowlah, wrote a letter to major Munro, felicitating him on his victory, and desiring to be taken under the protection of the English ; on which condition, he promised to give them Sujah Dowlah's country, or any thing else they pleased. This request was complied with, after permission had been obtained from the governor and council of Calcutta ; and the Mogul, who had left Sujah Dowlah's camp the night before the battle, was taken under the protection of the English commander.

Sujah Dowlah, not disheartened by his bad success, sent his minister to major Munro with overtures of peace ; but this was refused, unless, under the condition of delivering up Mir Cossim, and the assassin Somers, or Soomeroo. The latter was by birth a German, and a general officer in the nabob's service. He had before been a serjeant in that of France, from whence he had deserted to the English, and from them to Mir Cossim. Sujah Dowlah, however, refused to give up either the one or the other ; on which the major declared, that he would not make peace with him otherwise, even though he should offer him all the treasures he possessed. On this, the nabob sent another message, informing the major, that if he would make peace with him, he would put him on a way, of getting into his power, both Mir Cossim and Soomeroo. The minister then desired him to let captain Stables go with him to the nabob's camp, as he perfectly understood the language

The captain consented to risque himself in this expedition, CHAP. II.  
but returned with an answer, that Sujah Dowlah, would not, by any means, consent to give up either Mir Cossim, or Soomeroo; but if the major would send two or three English gentlemen, who knew Soomeroo, the nabob promised to send for him to an entertainment, and in presence of those gentlemen, he would order him to be put to death. At the same time, a sum of money was offered to captain Stables, to prevail with the major to agree to his terms of peace: "But, says major Munro, in his account, as I never would do this, the next thing to be considered was, the driving Sujah Dowlah entirely out of his country, and the manner of settling it."

1764.

The expulsion of the nabob seemed now indeed to be a matter of no great difficulty: The battle of Buxard had proved so decisive, that the enemy now lost all their possessions on this side the river, except a single fort named Chanda Geer; but it was exceedingly strong by nature, and commanded by an Indian unusually valiant and faithful. It stood on the top of a rocky hill, on the very brink of the river Ganges, by which it might easily be supplied with provisions, while the hill itself afforded such numbers of stones that no other weapon seemed necessary for its defence. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the enterprise, however, the British commander, after battering the walls, and making a breach, ordered an attack in the night time, hoping to find the enemy asleep, and off their guard as usual.\* But their intercourse with the Europeans had now taught them better; they were not only awake, but well prepared for the reception of their enemies: Such volleys of stones were discharged by the garrison, who made use of both hands and feet on the occasion, that the assailants found themselves obliged to abandon the enterprise, after losing a considerable number of men, and though they renewed the attack next night, they were attended with no better success than before. Colonel Munro, therefore, thinking it improper to waste his strength on a place so well defended, withdrew his forces, and encamped under the walls of Baneras. Shortly after he was recalled to England, and the command of the troops devolved upon Sir Robert Fletcher.

The British repulsed at Chanda Geer.

In the mean time, Sujah Dowlah raised a new army; but, after some skirmishes, was attacked on the 14th of

\* At the close of the evening, it is usual for every Indian soldier to eat an inconceivable quantity of rice, and many take after it some kind of drugs; so that about midnight the whole army is often in a dead sleep.—*Cambridge's Hist.*

**CHAP. II.** January, 1765, and driven off the field by the new commander, who next resolved to make another attempt on fort

1765.

Jan. 14.

Chanda Geer surrendered.

Eliabad taken.

May 20.

Sujah Dowlah surrenders himself.

Meer Jaffer dies.

The method he followed was precisely the same with that adopted by colonel Munro, and his success would, in all probability, have been no better, had not the garrison mutinied for want of pay; and obliged the governor to surrender. On delivering up the keys to Sir Robert, he regretted, with tears, his not being able to make a better defence, and that the mutinous disposition of his garrison had obliged him to throw himself on the mercy of the enemy. "I have endeavoured," says he, "to act like a soldier; but deserted, by my prince, and left with a mutinous garrison, what could I do?" Then, laying his hand on the koran, and pointing to the soldiers, "God and you," adds he, "are witnesses, that to the faith of the English I now trust my life and fortune."

The reduction of Chanda Geer, was followed by that of Eliabad, the enemies' capital, a strong city, situated between sixty and seventy miles above Chanda Geer, near a point of land formed by the junction of the rivers Ganges and Yumna. This was the last exploit of Sir Robert Fletcher, who was now superceded by general Carnac, whom the company had appointed to the command of the army. Having no enemy to face him in the field, he disposed of his troops in such a manner as seemed most advantageous for the securing of his new conquests, and keeping the country quiet: Sujah Dowlah, however, though apparently in a desperate situation, was resolved not to yield to his hard fate. Finding his own troops unable to face those of the company, he applied to the Mah-rattas, the most warlike of all the Indians, who inhabit the mountains to the south-west of his territory. These new enemies, however, though formidable to their neighbours, were utterly unable to cope with the English forces. On the 20th of May, this year, they were defeated, and obliged to retire with precipitation into their own country; which so depressed the unhappy nabob, that he surrendered himself to General Carnac, without making any other stipulation in his own favour than that the general should await the decision of Lord Clive concerning him.

In the beginning of February, died Meer Jaffer, the nabob of Bengal. The succession was disputed betwixt his son Najem il Dowlah, a prince about eighteen years of age, and a grandson by Miran, his deceased eldest son, at that time only about seven. According to the English laws of succession, the title was in favour of the latter, but as the Mahometan custom supported the former, and he was looked upon to be of a moderate temper, and pos-

lacked of little ambition, it was determined in a council at Calcutta to support the pretensions of Najem. A debate arose concerning the terms on which he should be admitted to his new dignity. The late nabob had, by treaty, been obliged to support an army of twelve thousand horse, and as many foot, but it was now thought proper to accept of a pecuniary compensation instead of this army; a resolution was, therefore, passed, that he should settle on the East India Company, a part of his revenue, amounting to more than 800,000*l.* sterling, annually; that he should discard his favourite and prime minister, Nuncomar, retaining in his room, a person appointed by the council, who was likewise to act in the capacity of governor to the nabob himself; the council was also to have a negative on the nomination of all the superintendants or collectors of his revenues; he was to take their advice, receive their complaints, and, in short, to act in an entire subserviency to their will and pleasure in all things.

CHAP.  
II.

1764.

The young nabob of Bengal harshly treated by the Company's servants.

The young prince had discernment enough to perceive the thralldom intended for him, and opposed the treaty to the utmost of his power. His remonstrances were in vain; he was obliged to sign it without the smallest abatement or relaxation of terms; nay, to add to his mortification, he was not only compelled to part with his great favorite Nuncomar, but to send him to Calcutta to be tried for a treasonable correspondence with Sujah Dowlah. The unhappy prince used every method in his power to prevent the destruction of one so dear to him, but to no purpose; though he at last declared, that he would, in person, attend him in his journey, in order to be present at the trial; and Nuncomar himself offered 140,000*l.* sterling to avoid the danger; at last, however, he was set at liberty even without a trial.

By this time lord Clive was arrived at Bengal, with unlimited powers from the company, lodged in himself as commander in chief, president and governor. His lordship was accompanied with four other gentlemen, viz. Mr. Sumner, brigadier-general Carnac, Mr. Varel, and Mr. Sykes, who, along with him, were denominated a select committee, and were authorized to act entirely independent of the council. The other servants of the Company were not a little surprized and incensed at such a complication of powers in the person of one man, especially when they found he had brought along with him covenants, to be signed by themselves, engaging to accept of no more presents from the natives on any account whatever. This was the more mortifying, as the custom

Arrival of Lord Clive.

Dissensions among the Company's servants.

CHAP. of making presents to those from whom even the administration of justice is expected, prevails universally over the east, and it was by the presents made to them that the company's servants had been enabled to acquire their fortunes, or indeed even to live comfortably; the scanty allowance of their masters being insufficient to maintain them with any decency.

II.

1764.

Before these orders of the company were made public, the late treaty had been signed, and large presents as usual made to the deputies. It was not imagined, that the promulgation of the new orders could be attended with any retrospect: nevertheless, as these orders had been in the country, though not published, before the signing of the treaty, a rigorous enquiry was instituted into all the transactions from the time lord Clive landed, and several resolutions were formed by the select committee, reflecting severely on the conduct of those who had received the presents.

By this last proceeding, the dissention which had already begun to take place, was inflamed to a very great degree, and the most violent disputes took place between the partisans of the select committee, and those of the council. On the part of the former it was urged, that by the custom of accepting presents, all kind of justice and virtue had been lost among the servants of the company. Luxury, corruption, and venality, had been introduced to an extreme degree; and every thing had given way to the desire of accumulating immense fortunes in a short time; and of this, several striking instances were produced; particularly of some who, in the space of two years, had acquired one hundred thousand pounds, and others who had amassed a million and an half in no very long time. On the other hand, it was answered, that the gentlemen in question had been of the greatest service to the company, and that to them alone was owing the present happy establishment of the company's affairs; that not a single point had been given up in consequence of these presents, nor indeed had they been accepted until the treaty was fully concluded; nay, though offers had been made to a larger amount than that of the presents themselves, on the part of the nabob, they had been uniformly rejected; not to mention, that such rigorous enquiries came with a very bad grace from those who had already acquired princely fortunes by the very means which they now so much condemned; the allowance of the company was too small even to afford subsistence in the country; nor could it be supposed, that gentlemen would undergo the multitude of dangers to which they



were exposed in the East-Indies for such trifling salaries, unless the company allowed them to make their fortune in some other way. CHAP. II

1765.

The dissensions were still farther increased by an arbitrary exertion of power in the committee, with regard to filling up the vacancies in the council of Calcutta. Instead of nominating those gentlemen whose seniority in service entitled them to the succession, they sent for others of a much shorter standing from Madras. This, it is said, produced a memorial to the directors at home, and a very severe scrutiny into the powers by which the select committee had been authorised to take so much upon them; but the latter, regardless of every step of this kind, proceeded in the full exercise of the unlimited authority with which they had been invested; sometimes making the council acquainted with their transactions, but never allowing them to give an advice or opinion with respect to them.

Lord Clive having thus settled the company's affairs, in relation to the management of their servants, next proceeded to Eliabad, with full power to conclude a treaty with Sujah Dowlah. The fate of that unfortunate prince now turned out much better than he expected. Lord Clive perceived, that by depriving him of his possessions, the territories of the company lay exposed to perpetual incursions from the Mahrattas, Afghans, and other barbarous nations, who, for a long time, had spread ruin and desolation through the northern parts. He, therefore, resolved to restore him to his kingdom, as he alone was capable of defending it; the Mogul family, ever since the fatal invasion of Kouli Khan, having been utterly unable to retain the distant nabobs in subjection, much less to defend their extensive dominions against foreign enemies. Thus was Sujah Dowlah converted, at once, from an implacable enemy to a stedfast friend. He regained possession of all his dominions, excepting a small territory assigned to the Mogul, the revenue of which amounted to about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; the company were constituted the Mogul's perpetual *dewans*, or receivers of his revenues from the provinces of Bengal, for which they were to pay an annual sum of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, besides another revenue of six hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds to the nabob of Bengal, for defraying the expences of civil government, and the support of his dignity; while the remaining part of the revenue, belonging to the company, was calculated by lord Clive at no less than one million seven hundred thousand pounds per annum.

7.

[illegible]

## C H A P. III.

*Disturbances in the American colonies on account of the stamp act—Change of ministry—Death and character of the duke of Cumberland—Parliamentary debates on taxing the colonies—Stamp act repealed—Declaratory and other bills passed—New change of ministry.*

**W**HILE the affairs of Britain flourished in the East, the most fatal dissensions had taken place between the American colonists and the mother country; and which, even at this time, seemed ready to come to the ultimate decision of all human disputes. The very first accounts of the stamp-act being proposed, had occasioned great disturbances, which were further increased on hearing that it had passed both houses; but when certain intelligence arrived, that it was to take place in its full extent by the beginning of November, the popular fury broke out in the most outrageous manner, especially at Boston. All the ships in the harbour were put in mourning, the bells were rung muffled, the act was printed with a death's-head affixed to it, and hawked about the streets, under the title of "The folly of England, and ruin of America." It was reprobated by numberless essays in newspapers and others, one of which, intitled, "The Constitutional Courant, containing matters interesting to liberty, and no way repugnant to loyalty," had, for a device, a snake cut into thirteen pieces, each marked with the initials of one of the colonies, with the motto, *Join or die*, in large letters above. Such were the methods by which the lower classes expressed their resentment, and which were undoubtedly countenanced by those of higher rank. The resentment of the latter, indeed, though less openly expressed, was no less determined. The arguments

CHAP.  
III.

1765.

Violent  
commo-  
tions in  
America  
on account  
of the  
stamp-act.

CHAP. they used, consisted mostly of those which were so warmly  
 III. agitated on this side of the water ; but two observations  
 1765. seemed peculiar to the American countenance. One was, that, by this act, any person had it in his power to bring an action originating at one end of the continent to the other, at the distance of two thousand miles, without the aggrieved party being able to bring an action of damages, even though the judge should certify that there was no probable cause for the prosecution. The other was, that judges were interested in giving a decree in favour of the party suing for the penalties of the act, being allowed, by way of commission, a large share of these penalties.

In this manner things proceeded from bad to worse. The act, as printed at the king's printing house, and sent to America, was publicly burnt, along with the effigies of those who were supposed to have had the most active hand in promoting it ; while the highest honours were paid to such members of parliament as had distinguished themselves by their opposition. The news of these violent proceedings intimidated many masters of ships from taking any stamps on board, while those who did, suffered severely for their temerity, being obliged to surrender their cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, who treated the stamps in the same manner as they had done the act itself. In short, to such an extremity did the opposition to this act arise, that by the time it should have taken place, there was not a sheet of stamped paper to be found throughout the continent, excepting such as had been protected either by the ships of war, or deposited in some fortresses on land. In Canada, the news-printers, who, in terms of the act, printed on stamped paper, could find no sale for their works ; but in other parts of the continent, this business went on as usual without stamps, the printers alleging, and no doubt very justly, that they durst do no otherwise for fear of the popular fury.

The fate of those unfortunate persons who had come from Britain as commissioners of the stamp duties may easily be conjectured. Some were fain to return from whence they came ; others obliged to renounce, in the most public and solemn manner, all connection with their intended office ; and those who had resolution to hold out in defiance of all danger, had their houses plundered and burnt, or otherwise destroyed. No rank or quality was sufficient to protect from these outrages. The governor of New-York was obliged to deliver up a small quantity of stamped paper he had preserved, and to promise that he should never require its being used, merely to prevent it from being de-

stroyed. Other governors and chief justices, on whom this disagreeable service had devolved, were every where treated in such a manner, as showed that all respect and deference for the authority of the mother country was instantly to cease. Many of the higher classes now mixed with the populace; provincial assemblies refused to concur with their governors in attempting to suppress those disturbances; nay, when the rioters happened to be apprehended and brought before them, the slightest punishment that could with decency be contrived was inflicted upon the delinquents; and, instead of calling in the military to quell the mobs which happened almost every day, the cannon belonging to the forts and ship-yards were spiked up, lest some hostile use should have been made of them by the servants of government.

CHAP.  
III.

1765.

The provincial assemblies, finding themselves seconded by innumerable meetings of people of all ranks, proceeded to avow their independence in the most explicit terms. The justices of the peace in a district of Virginia resigned their commission, and lawyers chose rather to decline business than carry it on with stamped paper. The opposition was rendered complete, by an association among the merchants, to import no more goods from Britain after the 1st of January, 1766, and to recal those orders they had already given, if not answered before that time, until the stamp-act, as well as those relating to sugar and paper money should be repealed; while the colonies of Virginia and South-Carolina threatened to put a stop to the exportation of tobacco, an article of immense value to government, on account of the vast sum annually produced by the duty on its importation into Britain.

In the mean time the British ministry, whom the discontents in America, and the violent clamours of opposition at home, had rendered very unpopular, fell also under the displeasure of his majesty, the cause of which is said to have been the little respect shewn to the Princess Dowager of Wales in the framing of the regency bill; for, in its original state, her name was not mentioned among those who in the event of the crown devolving upon a minor, were to have any share in the government. The new administration was formed on the recommendation of his Royal Highness the late Duke of Cumberland. It consisted of the Marquis of Rockingham, first Lord of the Treasury; the Duke of Grafton, and the Right Honourable Mr. Conway, brother to the Earl of Hertford, Secretaries of State, and the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal. During the short time this new ministry continued in office, many popular acts were

Change of  
Ministry  
July.

CHAP. passed. Nothing, indeed, could be more unfavourable  
 III. than the aspect of affairs when they first took the lead.

1765. The colonies, by applying to Ireland for such commodities as they could not possibly want, had greatly benefited that kingdom, while Britain was depressed in the same proportion; our manufactures were at a stand, provisions extremely dear, and a miserable populace unemployed, and in a starving condition; the colonies in the utmost state of anarchy and confusion, as has already been related, and popular licentiousness carried to such an height as could be exceeded only by an actual rebellion. It cannot, indeed, be supposed, that the Americans were totally free of inconvenience from the effects of their non-importation agreement; but their warehouses were full of British goods as yet unpaid, while their country affording most of the necessaries of life in great abundance, prevented the inhabitants from being equally affected with those of Britain. There was a necessity, therefore, of instantly enforcing the stamp-act by the extremes of war, or of repealing it altogether. In this situation, the ministry lost their illustrious patron, William Duke of Cumberland, who died the 31st of October, 1765. He had felt some symptoms of illness the preceding night, which, however, were so slight, that they did not prevent him from preparing to assist at one of the councils frequently held to bring matters forward for the consideration of the Privy Council. Here he was suddenly taken ill again, and almost instantly fell senseless into the arms of the Earl of Albemarle.

Death and  
 character  
 of the Duke  
 of Cumber-  
 land.

The death of his Royal Highness was universally lamented, with the most sincere marks of affliction. He possessed every quality requisite to adorn the high station in which he was placed. To the knowledge of letters he added a consummate experience in the art of war, so that he was universally allowed to be one of the best soldiers in Europe; nor was he less versant in the arts of peace, at the same time that his extensive benevolence, and which displayed itself in his countenance, rendered him a blessing to all around him. He laid out the greatest part of the revenue, settled upon him for his services, in improving Windsor Park, which, by the free access to it, was rendered in some measure almost as much the property of the subject as of the sovereign.

By the death of this illustrious personage, the ministry found themselves obliged to encounter a most formidable opposition, composed not only of those who had been active in framing the stamp-act, but also of many who at first had opposed it. The former contended, that it was

still proper, as it had originally been, to enforce the stamp-act; and the latter, that though the act was in itself improper, the enforcement of it now became absolutely necessary, that the authority of the mother country over her colonies might be preserved inviolate.

CHAP. III.  
1765.

On the meeting of parliament, December 17th 1765, a consideration of the American affairs, and of the most proper methods for restoring tranquillity to the colonies was recommended from the throne, and a recommendation of the same kind was given in the speech which followed the recess on the Christmas holidays. In taking these matters into consideration, the parliamentary right of taxing the colonies was debated in the most full and ample manner, and, at the same time, with a moderation of temper seldom or never to be met with in any of the subsequent debates, either public or private, which were carried on during this unhappy contest.

Debates in parliament on the American affairs.

On the part of the Americans, it was argued, from the natural rights of mankind, the original design of government, which was the good of society; as well as from Magna Charta, that no British subject can be legally taxed but with his own consent, or that of his representatives; and, as the Americans were not represented in Parliament, they could not of consequence be legally taxed. Examples were brought from the counties palatine of Chester, Durham, and Lancaster, the marches of Wales, and from the clergy; none of all these being for a long time subject to parliamentary taxation. It was not, however, denied, that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies externally, by laying duties on their ports, or those enjoined by the navigation-act; but those complained of were the internal taxes, which could be levied only by the body of the people.

To this it was replied, That the constitution of the country was already fixed, and consequently, that no arguments drawn from the natural rights of mankind or the original institution of government, could now be of any signification. The examples adduced were alledged not to be fair, or to the purpose. The marches of Wales, or the borderers, were privileged for a short time, on account of their having assisted King Edward in his wars. One of the counties palatine was taxed fifty years before it sent members to Parliament; and, as for the clergy, they never seem to have been free from parliamentary taxation. Arguments were likewise drawn from the violent disputes, and even civil wars, that had formerly taken place among the colonies, by which their incapacity to govern them-

CHAP. selves was plainly shown ; and it was alledged, that they  
 III. must, in a short time, fall under the jurisdiction of some  
 foreign power, if they did not continue in subjection to  
 1765. Britain. Lastly, The distinction betwixt external and in-  
 ternal taxation was said to be fallacious, as a tax laid on  
 any particular place necessarily affects the whole empire.  
 The obligation betwixt the mother country and the co-  
 lonies must be natural and reciprocal, viz. defence on the  
 one part, and obedience on the other ; and, if the colonies  
 were to be obedient in one point, they must be so in every  
 other or not at all.

The question, however, was not now to be decided by  
 argumentation. The whole empire, on this as well as the  
 other side of the Atlantic, was in a ferment. Petitions had  
 been received from the merchants of London, Bristol, and  
 several other large trading towns of England and Scotland,  
 setting forth, that, by the new laws and regulations relat-  
 ing to America, trade was greatly decayed ; many thou-  
 sand manufacturers, seamen, and labourers, who had for-  
 merly been employed in various departments relative to  
 the American trade, were now not only unemployed, but,  
 that the total stagnation of that trade had occasioned many  
 bankruptcies, and was likely to occasion many more. The  
 petitioners were therefore under a necessity of applying to  
 the House, in order to secure themselves and families  
 from ruin, to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from  
 becoming a burden to the community, or emigrating, in  
 order to seek bread in foreign countries, &c.

A petition, to the same purpose, was sent from the  
 island of Jamaica, and others from the colonies of Virginia  
 and Georgia, setting forth the utter inability of these pro-  
 vinces to pay the stamp-duty. But neither the number of  
 petitions, nor the arguments of ministry, had any effect  
 upon the opposite party. On the contrary, they affected to  
 consider the petitions themselves, as the effects of minis-  
 terial artifice ; but, even granting them to be genuine, they  
 contended, that it was better to submit to a temporary in-  
 convenience, than totally to give up the dependence of the  
 colonies on the mother-country, which must infallibly be  
 the consequence, were the stamp-act, at this time, to be  
 repealed.

Repeal of  
 the stamp-  
 act.

The general voice of the nation, however, was so strong  
 for the repeal of the stamp-act, that the ministry at last  
 carried their point, though, when the bill, for this purpose,  
 was sent to the upper house, no fewer than thirty-three  
 lords entered a protest against it at the second reading,  
 and twenty-eight at the third. But the news of the repeal



was received with universal demonstrations of joy, both in Great-Britain and America. CHAP. III.

That the ministry might not seem to be wanting in their endeavours to preserve the authority of the parent-state, at the same time that they repealed the stamp-act, another was passed, to indemnify such as had incurred penalties on account of it; and a requisition was also made to the provinces of North-America, to make proper compensation, to such as had suffered, on account of their adherence to government, during the late exertions of popular violence. An act was likewise passed, at the same time, by which the dependency of the colonies on Great-Britain, was declared in the most explicit terms; all votes, resolutions, or orders, which had been passed by any of the general assemblies in America, by which, they assumed to themselves, the sole and exclusive privilege, of taxing his majesty's subjects in the colonies, were annulled, and declared contrary to law, derogatory to the legislative authority of parliament, and inconsistent with their dependency upon the crown.

1765.  
Declaratory and other bills passed.

By this expedient, of framing the declaratory bill, it was thought, that the honour of the mother-country would be sufficiently safe, and that the Americans, having obtained what they so much desired, would now, with one consent, return to their duty. At the same time, to shew, that their desire was equally great, to redress the grievances of their own country-men, the ministry procured a repeal of the cyder-act, the news of which, was received, with almost as much joy in the cyder-counties, as the repeal of the stamp-act had been in America. In foreign affairs also, they interfered with success. They concluded an advantageous treaty with the Empress of Russia, and settled the long-contested affair of the Canada bills, and Manilla ransom. By these proceedings, they had become extremely agreeable, to the people; but, when it was generally imagined, that they had thus thoroughly fixed themselves in office, a sudden change took place. On the 30th of July, 1766, the duke of Grafton was appointed first lord of the treasury, the earl of Shelburne, secretary of state, lord Camden, lord high Chancellor, right honourable Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, and the earl of Chatham (raised to the dignity of peerage a few days before) lord privy seal; and a great number of other changes were made in the various departments of state.

Change of Ministry.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Great expectations formed from the new Ministry—Their imprudent conduct—East-India affairs brought before Parliament, against the inclination of the Company—War with Hyder Ally—Restrictions imposed on the India Company—Contest with the Ministry, and temporary accommodation of matters with them.*

CHAP. IV. **T**HE accession of lord Chatham (formerly the celebrated Mr. Pitt) to the new ministry, gave the most favourable hopes of their wise and vigorous conduct; but the acceptance of a peerage, had not only diminished his popular influence, but placed him in a disadvantageous situation, as he had no longer an opportunity of exerting that powerful eloquence, which, in the house of commons, had often produced such wonderful effects. Many people, however, still continued to expect great things; but their hopes were finally overthrown by his lordship's bad state of health, which, after an unsuccessful trial of the bath waters, obliged him to relinquish all attention to business, so that the other ministers were left to act as they thought proper.

The conduct of the present administration was not attended with any eclat. The first affair of any consequence which engaged their attention, was the high price of provisions. This had excited great complaints, as well as tumults, through many parts of the kingdom, so that, in not a few instances, the magistrates had been obliged to call in the military to suppress them. As the parliament was not then sitting, two proclamations were issued, of date 11th and 26th September, 1766; the former for putting in force the laws against forestallers, &c. the lat-

1766.  
Great expectations  
from the  
new ministry.

Imprudent  
conduct of  
the new  
ministry.

CHAP.  
IV.

1766.

ter to prevent the exportation of corn. As this last prohibition, however necessary at the time, could not have been legally imposed without an act of parliament, wheat being still below the price at which it might, according to law, have been exported, the ministry not only subjected themselves to the popular odium, by encroaching on the privileges of parliament, but were afterwards obliged to bring in a bill of indemnity to secure the framers of their new law from punishment. On this occasion also, the first symptoms appeared, of that jealousy and disaffection among themselves, which afterwards weakened their hands, and occasioned an universal languor throughout their proceedings.

The great success of the East-India company in their treaties with the Mogul and princes of Bengal, has been already related. The proprietors, however, having known of all this wealth as yet only by report, and seen their servants return wallowing in riches, while their masters received little or nothing, began to insist for an increase of dividend, which at this time stood at six per cent. the lowest at which it had ever been, even in the most distressed situation of the company's affairs. The directors, who considered nothing but the debts of the company, were of a quite different opinion; in consequence of which, two factions immediately arose, whose disputes produced such consequences as neither party at the time had dreamed of. A report arose, that government designed to interfere in the affairs of India, and, though this, for some time gained little credit, all parties were fully convinced of its truth, by a written message from the first lord of the treasury, dated September 24th, 1765, in which it was set forth, that, "As the affairs of the East-India company had been mentioned in parliament last session, it was very probable that they might be taken into consideration again; therefore, from regard to the company, and that they might have time to prepare their papers for the occasion, notice was given, that the parliament would meet some time in November."

East-India  
company's  
affairs  
brought  
before par-  
liament.

The transactions in parliament relative to India affairs, commenced with the appointment of a committee for regulating them, and inquiring into the state of the Company. Their charters, treaties with different powers, letters of correspondence, the state of their revenues, &c. were called for, with an account of all the expences of government on the Company's affairs, whether in the military or any other department. As the intention of ministry by entering into this vigorous scrutiny was plainly to attempt some relief of the distresses of government, by seiz-

CHAP. ing part of the vast revenue of the Company, the greatest  
 IV. part of the session was consumed in violent and fruitless  
 debates. On the part of the Crown it was urged, that the  
 1766. Company could have no right to the vast conquests it had  
 made in the east; their charters did not give any title to  
 acquisitions by conquest; it was dangerous to trust too  
 much power in the hands of a trading company; and,  
 even granting it to be, in every respect, expedient to do so,  
 yet the vast expence of government, in protecting the  
 Company, gave it a just title to all the revenues arising  
 from the conquests. On the other hand it was answered,  
 that the Crown had made no reservation of any right to  
 conquests made by the Company; the charter had been  
 fairly purchased, and confirmed by act of parliament; and  
 it was a dangerous infringement of public faith, as well  
 as an invasion of private property, to question them. Be-  
 sides, if the Crown could pretend any just title either to  
 the possessions themselves, or their revenues, the matter  
 ought to be tried in a court of common law, and not be-  
 fore the House of Commons, which, according to the con-  
 stitution of Britain, was neither the interpreter of laws,  
 nor the decider of legal rights.

An accom-  
 modation  
 with minist-  
 ry propo-  
 sed.

Whatever might have been the issue of the matter, had  
 a more full discussion of it taken place, the most judicious  
 part of the Company's friends thought it better to propose  
 terms of accommodation with the ministry, than to carry  
 things to extremities. Proposals were accordingly made;  
 but the ministers were now so much divided, and at vari-  
 ance, that they could put no confidence in one another.  
 The Company were therefore once more obliged to have  
 recourse to parliament. An accommodation was in conse-  
 quence effected, by which the Company was to enjoy its  
 former privileges, on condition of paying the sum of  
 400,000 l. annually for three years. A dividend of six  
 and a quarter per cent. was allowed; but they were re-  
 stricted from exceeding ten per cent. until the next meet-  
 ing of parliament.

This last restriction which took place in consequence of  
 a bill brought into parliament for regulating the making of  
 dividends by the East India Company proved extremely  
 disagreeable. The former debates were renewed with more  
 acrimony than ever; and the Company perceiving that it  
 struck directly at their privileges, offered to bind them-  
 selves, in case it could be laid aside, from any farther in-  
 crease of dividend during the time of the temporary agree-  
 ment. The proposal, however, was rejected; the advo-  
 cates for the bill pretended, that it was necessary to pre-



vent any further increase of dividends, least the credit of the Company should be affected. A regulation was likewise necessary to prevent the fluctuation of India stock, which, if allowed to go on, not only tended to introduce a pernicious spirit of gaming, but likewise to keep down the other stocks, whose rise had a great effect in reducing the interest of the national debt; and that no encroachment might be made, by any dividend of the Company, upon the revenue of its late territorial acquisitions.

By the opposers of the bill it was shewn, that the Company was certainly in a situation to divide 80,000l. among themselves, even after their agreement to pay 400,000 l. annually to government. The fluctuation of India stock could be as effectually prevented by restraining the dividend to twelve and a half as to ten per cent.; and the Company were not averse to this restriction. Finally, it was urged, that the arguments used against the territorial right of the Company to their acquisitions in the country was a precedent of the most dangerous nature, and extremely unbecoming the justice as well as dignity of parliament; and that such a legislative interference with the rights of a trading Company, whose effects were well known to be adequate to every necessary purpose, was altogether without example.

While government seemed thus intent on curbing the Company's power at home, a new and very troublesome enemy had arisen in the east. This was Hyder Ally or Hyder Naig, who, from a common seapoy had made himself master of a considerable part of the Malabar coast, and become one of the most formidable princes of India. Having long served in the European armies, he was well acquainted with their discipline and manner of fighting; and of this knowledge he now endeavoured to avail himself, by introducing it among his own troops. He also procured some renegadoes to assist in managing his artillery.

War with Hyder Ally.

The conquests he had as yet made were by no means sufficient to satisfy the ambition of this new prince. He was sensible, that the forces of the East India company were by far the most formidable enemies he would have to contend with, and therefore attempted to strengthen himself by alliance. Having prevailed on the Nizam of Deccan to renounce the friendship of the Company, he took the field in conjunction with his ally, at the head of a formidable army, to which the Company opposed another under Colonel Smith, inferior indeed, as usual, in numbers, but much more to be dreaded on account of the military skill of the officers and bravery of the soldiers. The two

CHAP. armies met on the 26th of September, at a place called  
 IV. *Errour* near Trinomallée. The event was similar to what  
 had happened in former battles of this kind; the Indians  
 were overthrown with the loss of a great number of men  
 and seventy pieces of cannon. The pursuit lasted two  
 days. The Nizam was happy to renew his alliance with  
 the Company at a very considerable expence; and Hyder  
 Ally himself was obliged to transfer the seat of war to a  
 mountainous country, where he could not again be forced  
 to a decisive action.

1767.  
 Sept. 26.  
 The Indians de-  
 feated.

Feb. 25,  
 1768.

An enterprize was next projected at Bombay against  
 Mangalore, one of Hyder Ally's principal sea-ports, where  
 all his ships lay. Four hundred Europeans, and eight hun-  
 dred seapoys were employed in the execution, and the  
 event was conformable to their wishes. The place was  
 reduced with very little loss, 25th February, 1768; nine  
 vessels of considerable size, and several smaller ones, were  
 taken; but as a garrison too small for the defence of the  
 place, was injudiciously left. Hyder Ally quickly retook it,  
 making prisoners of all who had been left for its defence.

Fatal conse-  
 quences of  
 appointing  
 field depu-  
 ties in the  
 British Ar-  
 my.

Encouraged by this success, he proceeded vigorously in  
 the prosecution of the war; while, on the part of the  
 British it was managed in a more disgraceful manner than  
 had ever been known in that country. In order to pro-  
 mote the interest of some particular persons, *field deputies*  
 had been appointed to superintend and direct the motions  
 of the commander in chief; and as these were deeply  
 concerned in contracts for the army, they took care to  
 direct its motions in such a manner as best suited their  
 own interest. The effects of this appointment may  
 be easily imagined. The officers finding themselves over-  
 ruled in those operations of which they and they only were  
 judges, quitted the service in disgust, or became careless in  
 the execution of their duty; nay, some were even known  
 to desert the cause of their country, and enter into the ser-  
 vice of their barbarous prince who opposed them; a thing  
 hitherto unknown in the annals of Britain; while forts,  
 easily tenable, were given up in such a shameful manner  
 as to afford but too just reason to suspect that they had  
 been betrayed to the enemy.

In the mean time Colonel Smith, now raised to the  
 rank of General, was penetrating, with the success usual-  
 ly attending the British arms, into the heart of the ene-  
 my's country, and would, undoubtedly have made himself  
 master of their capital, had he not been prevented by the  
 dissensions arising from the unhappy project of appointing  
 field-deputies. Hyder Ally was too discerning not to im-

prove the advantage given him by the langour which instantly appeared in the operations of his enemy. By the celerity of his troops, consisting principally of horse, he got between the British forces and the Carnatic, rendering it instantly necessary, by the ravages he committed, for General Smith to return to the defence of the Company's territories. Thus were the British at once deprived of all the advantages they had gained; every town and fort they had conquered in the enemy's territories was abandoned: Hyder Ally's reputation was augmented to an incredible degree, and allies poured into him from all quarters.

CHAP.  
IV.

1768.  
Hyder Ally  
ravages the  
Carnatic.

The absence of General Smith was severely felt by the Company's allies. The nabob of Arcot, against whom Hyder Ally had a particular enmity, on account of his long and faithful attachment to the British cause, had his territories ravaged without mercy; and even when the English army returned, it was found insufficient to make an effectual defence. Hyder Ally, by his attack on the dominions of Arcot, had deprived them of one of their principal resources; he now fully understood the great superiority of the enemy in close engagements, and for that reason avoided encounters of this kind with the utmost care; instead of this he harassed them by continual attacks on their detached parties, wearied them out by endless marches and pursuits, and ravaged the country in such a manner as effectually to complete its ruin; while, by the continual accession of new adventurers, his army, in autumn 1768, was augmented to ninety thousand men; the Mahratta princes courted his alliance, and he now threatened to become the most formidable enemy the British had ever encountered in these parts.

As the urgency of affairs instantly required some vigorous exertions, Colonel Wood was detached, with a considerable body of troops, to reduce one of the enemy's forts named Mulwaggle. Being repulsed in the first attempt, Hyder Ally thought he might safely venture to attack them, as their whole number consisted only of four hundred and sixty Europeans, and two thousand three hundred seapoys. The force he employed on this occasion amounted to no less than fourteen thousand horse, twelve thousand men armed with match-lock guns, and six battalions of seapoys. Even such armies as these would formerly have been easily defeated by the force which now opposed them; but here the case was found very different; the field of battle was lost and won five or six times; and, on the part of the British, three hundred were

Battle of  
Mul-  
waggle,  
Oct. 4.

CHAP. killed and wounded, among whom were several brave  
 IV. officers; many were taken prisoners, and two pieces of  
 1768. cannon lost. On the part of the enemy the loss was immense; but where numbers could be so easily replaced, the loss of men was scarcely felt; so that if any consequence attended the battle, it was only to give Hyder Ally an additional lesson, not to come to a close engagement with the Europeans, whatever his superiority in numbers might be.

This victory, if it may be so called, made no difference in the manner of conducting the war. The devastations of Hyder Ally went on as usual, and dissention continued to rage among the British troops. The expences of the campaign now became so high, that the establishment of Madras was found insufficient to support them; it was therefore necessary to make application to Bengal; and as the remittances from thence were made in a base kind of gold coin, the Company are said to have lost 40,000 l. by the exchange.

Peace concluded.

Hyder Ally, in the mean time, having given the slip to the army in the Carnatic, advanced within a few miles of Madras, which occasioned such an alarm, that the council thought proper to enter into a negotiation with him; but, though the Indian prince shewed himself sufficiently willing to enter into a definitive treaty, he absolutely refused a truce of fifty days, which the council had required, lest they should make use of this interval in making fresh preparations for war. A treaty was therefore concluded on the 3d of April, 1769, the terms of which simply were, that each party should restore the places taken during the war, and sit down contented with the expences they had been at. A perpetual league, offensive and defensive, was entered into, and a free trade allowed betwixt the Carnatic and the dominions of Hyder Ally.

Measures taken by the company to retrieve their affairs.

In the mean time, however, the success with which Hyder Ally had carried on the war, not only threatened to raise up a new enemy in Sujah Dowlah, who had greatly increased his army, but spread a general alarm at home, where measures were instantly resolved upon, for the reformation of those abuses which had occasioned so much loss and disgrace, not only in India, but in Britain, as the value of India stock was already sunk upwards of sixty per cent.—It was now determined, to send three gentlemen, well versed in the company's affairs, to India, under the title of *supervisors*, with full power to examine the conduct of those who were already there, and regulate every thing according to the best of their judgment.



This new scheme gave the greatest alarm to the friends of those gentlemen already in the east ; a strong party was formed against the appointment of supervisors ; and, while both parties wasted their time in fruitless debates, the ministry once more interfered, by demanding, that a servant of the crown should have a principal share in the direction of the company's affairs.

CHAP. IV.

1766.  
Interference of the ministry.

By this time, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and colonel Ford, had been chosen supervisors, and their commissions actually made out ; but as the company well knew the importance of being supported by a naval power in their transactions with the Indian princes, application was made to government for two ships of the line and some frigates. To this, no direct answer was given at that time, though, by the appointment of Sir John Lindsay to the command of the squadron, it was thought to imply a tacit consent. As the request, however, had hitherto been made only by the directors, it was thought necessary, in order to add greater weight to it, that government should be addressed on the subject by a general court of the proprietors. This was accordingly done on the 27th July, and another court appointed to be held the 11th of August following, in order to receive the answer. At this last, a letter was read from lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, setting forth, that " the commission, appointing the present supervisors, had been taken into consideration by his majesty's servants, and that it was their opinion, that it was, in some respects, illegal : That he was sorry to find, in an answer he had received from the direction, with regard to the appointment of a naval officer, with full powers to adjust all maritime affairs in India, that they had not fully acceded to it. He now, therefore, begged of the directors, that they would reconsider the commission in general, and that the particular article of granting unlimited powers to a naval officer, might be laid before the proprietary at large."

Supervisors appointed, June 14.

July 27.

In consequence of this letter, a long correspondence ensued between the directors and the ministry ; during the course of which, the designs of the latter became more apparent. It was now perceived, that the naval officer above-mentioned, was designed, in fact, to superintend the supervisors ; and that in all affairs, whether naval, military, or political. To this the directors replied, that though they were willing to allow the naval officer a certain share in the government, along with the council of Bengal, it was yet thought improper to confer such extraordinary powers on a single person, which could not but produce the greatest confusion, by the continual interference consequent up-

**CHAP.** on it. In answer to this, another letter from his lordship  
**IV.** was read in a court, 'held August fifteenth, in which he acquainted the proprietors, that "by the answer given to his last, he was of opinion, that he had been in some degree misunderstood; his idea never was to invest any naval officer with plenipotentiary powers; and that to prevent any future misunderstanding, he would only recommend the discussion of two points: 1st, The reconsideration of the commission; and, 2dly, The degree of power proper to be vested in the naval officer.—With regard to the former, he would not pretend to speak on it; but with regard to the second, as government had, by the eleventh article of the definitive treaty, in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, made conditions, at the request of the company, with several Indian princes, it highly respected their honour, that an officer of the crown should be at the head of all matters offensive and defensive."

1769.  
 August 15.

It now became evident, that the intention of ministry was to deprive the company of all power over their territorial acquisitions in the east; and as the matter was certainly of the greatest importance, the court was adjourned to the 30th of the same month, in order to give sufficient time to the members to form their opinions; and, when the time came, violent debates, as usual, took place.

On the part of the company, it was urged, that if the king's officers were once allowed to interfere with the affairs of Indian government, the power of the company was, from that moment, at an end. An application to government for assistance, at the same time that the servants of the crown were invested with independent powers, was at once to give up the territorial acquisitions in the east; as the consequences might easily be foreseen, whenever any dispute should arise betwixt the company's servants and those of the crown: and if the company was unable, by itself, to defend its territorial acquisitions, it would be much better to surrender them at once, than to be constantly at the mercy of a minister. The interference of government in commercial affairs, it was contended, had uniformly proved detrimental, and even ruinous, as might easily be demonstrated by a comparison of the French and Dutch East-India companies. It was evident also, that the demands of the British ministry had risen in proportion to the ill-judged concessions which the company had already been prevailed on to make. They had granted government an annual sum, much larger than what they proposed to divide among themselves, without any renewal of their charter, or stipulation in their favour; and this ought to have

been a sufficient gratification to ministry, without immediately making a new requisition which struck at the company's very existence.

To all this, the ministerial party replied, That the king's commission would add dignity to the negotiations carried on with the Indian princes, who, being sovereigns themselves, would much more readily treat with the officers of a sovereign prince, than the servants of a company of merchants, whose rapacity they had already experienced, and whose misconduct, unless speedily counteracted by a vigorous interposition of government, would not fail to occasion the total extermination of the British in that part of the world. It was likewise evident, that nothing could, for the future, so effectually prevent these enormities, as an appointment by his majesty of some person of rank, honour, and integrity, who might be a sufficient check on the rapacity of their servants, at the same time that he would not only be answerable for his own conduct to his majesty, but also to the nation in general.

These arguments being urged at great length by their respective partisans, the question was at last put, "That this court will give the officer of the crown, commanding ships of the line, a share in the deliberations and resolutions of the company, merely with regard to the two objects of making peace and declaring war, when his majesty's forces are employed." Every thing, however, was thrown into confusion by the rejection of this question, as ministry had already taken care that the commission for the naval commander should be made out. It became necessary, therefore, that a compromise should be made; and for this, the situation of affairs, on the Gulph of Persia, offered a fair opportunity. The chiefs on that coast, taking advantage of the troubles in which the Persian empire was involved, had declared themselves independent, and throwing off all regard to order, had embroiled the affairs of the company. With regard to the Gulph of Persia, therefore, the naval commander was allowed to have power to make peace, or war, but beyond this his jurisdiction was not to extend. The demand for ships of the line for the bay of Bengal, was now withdrawn, though two frigates were appointed for that service, and to carry the supervisors, whose powers were at last fully adjusted, and a final stop put to this formidable contest.

Difference between the company and ministry accommodated.

## CHAPTER V.

*Extreme jealousy and disobedience of the American colonies—  
New disturbances on account of the imposition of certain  
taxes—Violent disputes betwixt the governors and their  
assemblies—New office of secretary of state for the colo-  
nies—People of Boston assemble under the name of a  
convention—Progress of the discontents in Massachu-  
setts Bay.*

CHAP. V. **I**T cannot be denied, that the attempt of the ministry on the East-India company, carried along with it the idea of despotism, and a wish to vest the crown with an absolute right over the property of the subject. From this, among many other causes, we may partly derive the extreme jealousy of the American colonies, their irreconcilable aversion to the British ministry, and their perpetual and utter abhorrence of any conciliatory measures. The repeal of the stamp-act in 1766, had not produced that complacency which might reasonably have been expected. The declaratory bill, setting forth the supremacy of Great-Britain in such explicit terms, had produced an inclination to resist in every thing, whether of any consequence or not. An act of parliament had been passed the same session, with regard to the accommodation of the troops at New-York; but the assembly of that province, without the least regard to this act, thought proper to settle them according to a method of their own. However, as ministry did not incline to use any violent measure at present, no farther punishment was inflicted, than suspending the legislative power of the assembly of that province, until they should fully comply with the terms of the act.

Disobedi-  
ence of the  
assembly of  
New-York.

1766.

But when some other acts were passed in the parliament of 1767, imposing duties on glass, painters' colours, and tea, imported into the colonies, their former fury revived with all its violence. On this occasion, the disturbances, as before, began at Boston. In the month of October, several resolutions were passed, at a meeting of the inhabitants, for the encouragement of American manufactures, restraining the use of superfluities, and promoting economy. A long list of articles, imported from this country, was produced at the meeting, which it was determined, either not to use at all, or in as little quantity as possible. It was particularly recommended, to encourage the making of paper, glass, and all those articles on which the duties had been laid. At this meeting, also, several regulations were made with regard to the article of dress and funerals; every method, in short, being tried to make the American colonies as independent as possible of the mother country.

This measure being readily adopted by all the other colonies, gave encouragement to the Bostonians to proceed still farther. A circular letter was sent, of date, February 11, 1768, from the speaker of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, to all the other assemblies of the colonies, setting forth the bad tendency of the late acts of parliament, representing them as unconstitutional, and an infringement of the rights of Englishmen; exhorting the other colonies, at the same time, to enter into an union with them, that so all their proceedings in the common cause might harmonize together.

Similar resolutions were quickly taken throughout all the rest of the colonies; and, in the mean time, the most inveterate enmity took place between the governors of the provinces and their assemblies. It was easily perceived by the former, that the final purpose proposed by the people of North America, was a total independency on the mother country; while, on the other hand, the assemblies, conscious that this was their real aim, affected to consider those steps which their governors were indispensibly obliged to take, in order to preserve even a shadow of the royal authority, as so many encroachments on their liberty. All good agreement was, therefore, entirely at an end; the correspondence betwixt the governors and their assemblies was nothing but a continued course of altercation and mutual accusation, each party watching how they might find faults in the conduct of the other, sufficient to justify to the world the system they had already established in their own minds. In this dis-

CHAP.  
V.

1767.

October.

Feb. 11.  
1768.

Diffention  
between  
the gover-  
nors and  
their as-  
semblies.

CHAP. V. } 1768.

tracted state, it is not to be supposed, that the correspondence between the governors of the American colonies and the British ministry, could be calculated to impress the latter with any favourable opinion of the people there; and, indeed, some unfortunate discoveries of this kind tended to drive matters to extremities sooner than perhaps would otherwise have been the case. A letter from lord Shelburne to governor Bernard of Massachusetts Bay, was, by his order, read before the assembly of that province. It contained very severe censures on the conduct of the assembly, and was heard with great indignation. The assembly instantly charged their governor with having misrepresented, and set them in an unfavourable light to his lordship; and, therefore, required him to lay before them, copies of such letters as he had written to his lordship concerning them; which being refused, they wrote letters not only to lord Shelburne, but the rest of the ministry, recriminating on their governor, and asserting that to his bad conduct and misrepresentation it was, that such a bad opinion had been formed of them at home. These letters, at the same time, contained the strongest professions of loyalty, but were filled with the most severe invectives against the late act of parliament, which they stiled unconstitutional, and subversive of their liberties. The governor, finding himself at a loss what to do, adjourned the assembly, though, at their next meeting, he found them in better humour.

March 4.

Secretary  
of state ap-  
pointed for  
the colo-  
nics.

In the mean time, the ministry finding the American affairs so full of perplexity, appointed a secretary of state for the department of the colonies alone. Lord Hillsborough, who was appointed to this new office, instantly set about writing a circular letter, dated April 22d, to the governors of the provinces, with a view to counteract that of the assemblies already mentioned. In this, he condemned the assembly's letter without reserve; setting it forth as of a most dangerous and factious nature, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, subversive of the true principles of the constitution, and of the authority of parliament; and concluding, that his majesty expected, from the known affection of the respective assemblies, that they would treat it with the contempt it merited, by taking no notice of it. By another letter to governor Bernard, that of the assembly was reprobated in much the same terms, with this addition, that it had been carried through a thin house, and in the end of a session, from whence his majesty concluded, that it had been carried by surprize through the house of representatives.

In consequence of this representation of the matter, the governor, willing to try every peaceable method in his power, proposed that the assembly should rescind the resolutions of the former concerning the circular letter, and for this purpose, he laid before them the last part of lord Hillsborough's letter, which, indeed, contained a requisition from his majesty, that these resolutions should be rescinded. By this unexpected requisition, the assembly were for some time not pleased; however, they at last requested, that he would lay before them his full instructions on the subject. The governor then laid before them the whole letter, by which they perceived, that in case they did not comply with the demand made upon them, the governor was required to dissolve them, and transmit a copy of their proceedings to be laid before the parliament. To all this, the assembly gave no answer for about a week; but at last, on being urged to it by the governor, the question was put for rescinding the resolution of the last house, and carried in the negative by 92 to 17.

During the time of these disputes between the assembly and their governor, the licentious disposition of the people of Boston continued to increase. A violent uproar took place on the 10th of June, in consequence of some officers of the revenue having seized a sloop, laden with wine, belonging to one of the principal merchants of the place. The officers, on their first seizure, had made a signal to the Romney man of war, by the assistance of which they were enabled to secure their prize. This did not, however, secure the persons of the commissioners and revenue officers. The populace, enraged to find that they could not recover the sloop, pelted the commissioners with stones, attacked their houses, and burnt a boat belonging to the collector, committing such other acts of violence, that the revenue officers found themselves obliged to take refuge first aboard the Romney man of war, and then in Fort William, situated on a small island in Boston harbor. This licentious behaviour was by no means discouraged by the assembly, as it ought to have been; on the contrary, as though nothing had happened, after their positive refusal to rescind the resolutions concerning the circular letter, they set about framing a letter to lord Hillsborough, as well as answers to the messages of the governor; in all of which they laboured to vindicate the proceedings of the last assembly as well as their own, and to prove that nothing had been done but what became dutiful subjects, struggling against an unjust invasion of their rights and privileges. They denied in the most positive

Disturbance at Boston, June 19.

**CHAP.** terms, that the circular letter had been passed in a **this**  
**V.** house, or carried on by any kind of surprize ; they main-  
 1768. tained that it was perfectly legal in itself, being only de-  
 signed as the foundation of a petition to his majesty for a  
 redress of grievances. To rescind the resolutions, by which  
 the circular letter had been passed, would be to no pur-  
 pose, unless the letter itself could also be rescinded, which  
 was impossible, as it had already been circulated, and ope-  
 rated its full effect. They commented very freely on the  
 requisition itself, representing to his lordship, that it was  
 unconstitutional, and without a precedent, to command a  
 free assembly, under pain of dissolution, to rescind any  
 resolves, especially those of a former house. They com-  
 plained greatly of base and wicked misrepresentations, by  
 which his majesty had been influenced against them ;  
 though they still continued to possess the greatest respect  
 and loyalty.

Assembly  
 of Massachu-  
 setts  
 Bay dissol-  
 ved.

Sept. 1a.

In conse-  
 quence of  
 which the  
 people as-  
 semble un-  
 der the  
 name of a  
 convenc-  
 tion.

All this, however, had no weight with their governor ;  
 he dissolved the assembly while they were preparing a pe-  
 tition to remove him from the government, and thus in-  
 creased the discontent already too prevalent. The general  
 ill humour was also further augmented by the arrival of  
 intelligence, that a petition, formerly addressed to the  
 king, had been refused from the colony agent, on pretence  
 that he was not properly authorised to deliver it, having  
 been appointed by the assembly without consent of the go-  
 vernor. They were thrown into the utmost consterna-  
 tion by the news of two regiments being embarked from  
 Ireland, and several detachments rendezvoused at Hali-  
 fax for the support of the civil government at Boston. A  
 meeting of the inhabitants was held at Faneuil hall, and  
 a committee appointed to wait on the governor, in order  
 to know what reasons he had for intimating the approach  
 of his majesty's forces, and at the same time to petition  
 him to call another general assembly as soon as possible ;  
 to this the governor replied, that he had no authority to  
 assert any thing concerning the arrival of the forces, his  
 information having been only of a private nature ; and,  
 with regard to the calling of another assembly, he could  
 do nothing, being required by his instructions to wait the  
 pleasure of his majesty in this respect.

The committee having received this answer, entered  
 into a full consideration of the present state of affairs ;  
 this ended in a tedious detail of their rights, and the late  
 infractions of them. Several resolutions were formed  
 against the legality of introducing the troops, founded on  
 an act of William III. by which it was declared to be un-



CHAP.  
V.

1768.

lawful to keep a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of parliament. Another resolution of greater consequence was also passed; and this was the holding of a new assembly under the title of a *Convention*, the powers of which appear not to have been exactly determined, but its legal existence they pretended to derive from a clause of an act of king William, concerning the frequency of parliaments. The vote for this assembly was instantly followed by another, founded, likewise, on an act of parliament, by which the subjects were authorized to keep arms. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Boston were desired, such as had no arms, to furnish themselves with them; and those who had, to put them into thorough repair, in case of any sudden emergency. A day of public fasting and prayer was then appointed, after which the meeting dissolved.

In consequence of the votes passed at this general meeting, the selectmen of Boston sent a circular-letter to those of the other towns in the province; and though nothing could be more slender than the pretences of this transaction, to any sanction from acts of parliament, only one town (Hatfield) out of ninety-seven in the province, had the courage to refuse their assent. The stile of this circular letter so much resembled that of the Americans on all other occasions of complaint, that we shall here insert the most remarkable passages: "Taxes," say they, "equally detrimental to the commercial interests of the parent-country and the colonies, are imposed upon the people without their consent; as also for the maintenance of a large standing army, not for the defence of the newly acquired territories, but for the old colonies, and in time of peace. The decent, humble, and truly loyal applications and petitions from the representatives of this province, for the redress of these heavy and very threatening grievances, have hitherto been ineffectual, being assured from authentic intelligence, that they have not yet reached the royal ear; the only effect of transmitting these applications, hitherto perceivable, has been a mandate from one of his majesty's secretaries of state, to the governor of this province, to dissolve the general assembly, merely because the late house of representatives refused to rescind a resolution of a former house, which implied nothing more, than a right in the American subjects to write an humble and dutiful petition to their gracious sovereign, when they found themselves aggrieved.

"The concern and perplexity into which these things have thrown the people, have been greatly aggravated by a late declaration of the governor, that one or more regi-

Sept. 14.

CHAP. V. ments may soon be expected in the province. The design of these troops is, in every one's apprehension, nothing short of enforcing, by military power, the execution of acts of parliament, in the forming of which the colonies have not, and cannot have, any constitutional influence. This is one of the greatest distresses to which a free people can be reduced."

1765.

As favourable answers to this letter were received from all the towns of Massachusetts Bay, Hatfield alone excepted, the opposition of the inhabitants of this place only served to expose them to the ridicule of the rest of the province; the convention met, and sent a message to the governor, disclaiming all legislative authority. But this he refused to accept, lest he should, by so doing, give his sanction to it as a legal assembly. He then sent a message to them, requiring, but in very mild terms, that they should immediately disperse themselves without doing any business, at the same time threatening worse consequences if they proceeded. The convention framed a remonstrance in answer to this message; but the governor refusing to accept of that, or any other message from them, they began to be seriously afraid they had proceeded too far; and, therefore, after appointing a committee to draw up a report, in which they assigned the causes of their meeting, disclaimed all pretences to authority, and recommended the greatest deference to government. After this, having prepared a proper representation of their transactions to be transmitted to the agent for the colony at London, they broke up the assembly, September 29, 1768.

The convention dissolved.

Sept. 29.

Thus peace seemed to be, in some measure, restored at Boston, to which the arrival of the fleet from Halifax, having on board two regiments, the very day the convention broke up, undoubtedly contributed not a little, as did also the arrival of general Gage with other two regiments from Ireland a little time after. The seeds of dissention, however, were not now to be eradicated. Resolutions, similar to those taken at Boston, had been entered into by almost all the other colonies. They had expressed the highest approbation of the conduct of the Bostonians, and the most determined resolution to coincide with their measures. They did not even scruple to avow their approbation of these measures to the secretary of state; animadverting with great freedom on the requisition, as well as several other parts of his letter; while most of them entered into resolutions not to import any more goods from Britain after the beginning of January, 1769, until such time as the obnoxious acts of parliament were repealed.

## C H A P. VI.

*Death of the duke of York—Parliament meets—Debates on the Nullum Tempus bill—Mr. Wilkes chosen member for Middlesex—Disturbances on his account—Increased by his sentence—Proceedings in parliament with regard to him—His expulsion, re-election, and final incapacitation as member of parliament—Election of colonel Luttrell—Violent commotions, debates, and petitions, on this subject—The patriots at last wearied out—Prefacement of Mr. Wilkes,*

**D**URING these disturbances in the colonies, affairs had been in no very agreeable situation at home. In the month of August, 1767, the nation was deprived of his royal highness the duke of York, who died at Monaco, having some time before undertaken another tour through Europe. His death was occasioned by a fever, arising originally from too violent exercise in dancing, and afterwards neglected. Immediately after the ball, he gave orders for his carriage to convey him to Toulon, from whence he was distant three or four leagues. The gentlemen who attended him, perceiving his royal highness greatly fatigued, represented to him, that there was a necessity for his remaining where he was, if not to go to bed, at least to cool and shift himself. This salutary advice, however, was rejected; his royal highness declaring, that there was no occasion for such precaution, as he would wrap himself up in his cloak, which he accordingly did, and stepped into his carriage. This happened on the 9th of August. Next day, he complained of a chilliness and shivering. The disorder, however, appearing to be slight, did not prevent him from going to a comedy the same night; but there his highness found himself so much worse, that he was obliged to leave it, being manifestly feverish. By

C H A P.  
VI.

1767.  
Death of  
the duke  
of York,  
August 17,  
1767.

**CHAP.** drinking plentifully of diluting liquors and proper care being taken in other respects, he was greatly better in the morning; on which he again took the unhappy resolution of setting forward to Monaco. In his journey thither, his royal highness was greatly incommoded by the heat of the weather, and next day was obliged to confine himself to his bed. Every possible advice and assistance was given, but in vain; the fever was unconquerable; and his royal highness, now fully sensible of his danger, prepared for the event with becoming fortitude. He retained his senses to the last moment, took an affectionate leave of all his attendants, and expired with the piety and resignation of a Christian.

**Death of**  
**Mr. Charles**  
**Town-**  
**shend, Sep-**  
**tember 4.**  
**Ministerial**  
**changes.**

During the recess of parliament this year, also died Mr. Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, the loss of whom proved a great detriment to the ministry, already divided and weak-handed.

About this time, several changes took place among the great officers of state. Lord Mansfield was appointed chancellor of the exchequer on the 12th of September, and Lord North on 1st December, Mr. T. Townshend paymaster of the forces, in room of Lord North, Earl Gower lord president of the council, Earl Hillsborough and Lord Weymouth secretaries of state, the former, as already related, being appointed to a new department for the colonies.

**Parliament**  
**meets, Nov.**  
**24.**

At the meeting of parliament, November 24, 1767, the speech from the throne recommended an attention to the distresses of the people, occasioned by the dearth of provisions, and the reduction of the national debt. The city of London presented a petition, containing a complaint on the high price of provisions, and containing several proposals for removing it. No better expedient, however, could be found at this time, than the importation of wheat and flour from America.

The next object of this parliament was the East India Company. Their agreement to pay four hundred thousand pounds to government was to last another year; but as the bill for restraining the dividends to ten per cent. was now about to expire, another was introduced to restrain them in the same manner for another year. This apparent resolution to persevere in such an arbitrary measure, greatly alarmed the Company, who therefore strongly petitioned against it. The most violent debates also took place in the house concerning it; but though it was evident, that the former bill had increased the very mischiefs it was intended to remedy, the ministry carried their point a second time by a great majority.

The most remarkable transaction during this session, **CHAP. VI.** however, was the introduction of a bill for quieting the possessions of the subject, and for amending and rendering more effectual an act of the twenty-first of James I. for the general quiet of the subject against all pretences of concealment whatever. The circumstances which led to the introduction of this famous bill were as follow :—The family of the Duke of Portland had, for seventy years, possessed a large estate in the north of England, consisting of the honour of Penrith in Cumberland, with the appurtenances. The grant of this estate had been obtained from William III. and the forest of Inglewood, with the manor and castle, of Carlisle, had been considered as parts of it, and enjoyed by the family in common with the rest ; though it is probable they had not been particularly specified in the grant, being, perhaps, thought to be expressed with sufficient perspicuity as parts of the whole ; and it is possible that King William, on account of his frequent dissention and altercation with his parliaments, might not choose to be very particular in the specification of what he granted to his favourite.

1768.  
Remarkable case of the Duke of Portland.

After so long possession of the subject, it was scarce to be imagined that any dispute concerning it could arise ; however, on the 9th of July, 1767, Sir James Lowther, **July 9.** who possesses a very large estate in the same county, presented a memorial to the lords of the treasury, shewing, that he was informed, that the forest of Inglewood, and the soccage of Carlisle, had been long withheld from the crown, without its receiving any benefit from them ; for which reason, he prayed for a lease of his majesty's interest thereon for three lives, upon such terms as should seem proper to their lordships. The matter being referred to the surveyor-general of the crown-lands, he gave it as his opinion, that the lands in question had not been conveyed by King William's grant, but were still vested in the crown ; he therefore recommended to their lordships to grant the lease. This report was returned without any opinion of the gentlemen of the law being taken ; the surveyor was no lawyer ; nor was any notice of the transaction sent to the duke. The latter, however, having at last **Oct. 10.** obtained information, he presented a memorial, praying to be heard before any important step was taken in consequence of Sir James Lowther's application. His memorial was answered by a letter from the secretary of the treasury, desiring him to lay before the board a state of his claim and title to the forest of Inglewood, which they promised to refer to the surveyor-general ; and, at the

CHAP. same time, send him back his report on Sir James Low-  
 VI. ther's memorial; promising likewise, that no step should  
 be taken for the decision of the matter in question, until  
 everything relating to the duke's title should be fairly dis-  
 cussed.

In consequence of these promises, the duke entered in-  
 to a most tedious and difficult investigation, during the  
 course of which, it became necessary to examine whether  
 the facts delivered in the surveyor's report were faithfully  
 stated or not; but when application was made at the sur-  
 veyor's office for this purpose, permission to examine his  
 authorities was absolutely refused. On this, the duke pre-  
 sented another memorial to the board, setting forth, that  
 Dec. 2. as all public records ought, and by all courts of judica-  
 ture are directed, to be inspected for the benefit of the  
 parties interested, an order might be issued to the survey-  
 or's office for liberty to inspect such surveys, court-rolls,  
 &c. as related to the affair in question. To this it was  
 answered by the secretary to the board, that an order for  
 the purpose mentioned in the memorial should be given,  
 not as a matter of right, but of candour and civility.

Notwithstanding these promises, however, and though  
 the clerks received the usual fees for making out the or-  
 der, it could never be obtained. At last, it was said to have  
 been sent to the surveyor's office; but, on enquiry, the  
 receipt of any such order was denied; though it after-  
 wards appeared, that it had not only been sent, but an an-  
 swer returned to it, two days before the application on the  
 part of the Duke of Portland. The answer made by the  
 surveyor was a remonstrance against the inspection of any  
 papers by those who litigate the rights of the crown.

But, while the agents of the Duke of Portland were thus  
 shamefully trifled with, the grants of Sir James Lowther  
 were actually made out, and had passed through all the  
 offices, excepting that of the exchequer; and this without  
 the duke knowing any thing of the matter. At last, he  
 was informed by a letter from the secretary of the treasu-  
 ry, that the grant was passed, and the leases already signed.  
 The duke had then no resource but to attempt to stop it  
 before the court of exchequer, and even here he was dis-  
 appointed. The chancellor informed him, that he was pres-  
 sed to affix the seals instantly; and, in virtue of his office,  
 1768. was obliged to comply with every order from the board of  
 treasury.

The affair now became very serious. The subject in dis-  
 pute was not indeed of much value in itself, but of vast  
 importance in its consequences. The foundation on which

the ministry founded this extraordinary procedure, was the absolute law and maxim of the royal prerogative, "*Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*," by which the claims of the crown could not be invalidated by possession for any length of time whatever. To revive this law in the present age must have been attended with the most pernicious consequences that can be imagined; for, as most of the lands of the kingdom have been formerly in the hands of the crown, it would now be extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, to shew that great part of them did not still belong to it. As the landed interest, therefore, were so generally affected by the consequences of this act, the transaction excited not only a very great popular clamour, but a general discontent throughout the whole kingdom.

In the course of the debates on this subject, it was made evident, that the *nullum tempus* act had been enforced only by the worst and most arbitrary princes, and even by them with the utmost caution; that it had been reprobated by the most learned writers on the law, and constantly held by them as subversive of all natural equity, and the maxims of free government: That, in the reign of James I. a law was passed to restrain its bad consequences; and as the constitution became better established, this law was only made retrospective, as it could never be supposed, that a law would be revived in more enlightened ages, which had been held in abhorrence in those of barbarity and ignorance. The revival of it could only answer the most arbitrary purposes; and, in the present case, it was evidently to produce an undue influence at the next general election, as the different principles of the parties sufficiently evinced.

On the part of the crown, it was urged, That the subjects in question were not any part of the honour of Penrith, as they were neither specified nor understood in the grant: That the right being certain, it was no more a fault in the crown, than in any private person, to assert it: That it would be happy for the people if many such resurrections were made, as by this means a revenue would be procured by the crown without laying any burden upon them, with other arguments so totally void of any colour of reason, that, notwithstanding the great influence of administration, they were obliged to change their mode of defence; and, pretending that it was too late in the season, put off the matter to the next. Even this was not done without the utmost difficulty; the measure was so universally odious, that a majority of no more than twenty could be procured on the occasion.

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VI.

1768.

The ministry is obliged to put off the decision of the Duke of Portland's case.

CHAP. VI. Such arbitrary and unfair proceedings of the ministry, could not but have a very considerable effect in rivetting

1768.

Mr. Wilkes appears, and is chosen member for Middlesex.

March 28.

in the minds of the people those prejudices which now produced such disturbances, not only throughout the whole continent of America, but in the island of Britain itself. A new and unexpected object of contention now appeared. Mr. Wilkes, who had formerly been persecuted and outlawed, having spent several years in very distressed circumstances abroad, suddenly made his appearance, and as the parliament was at the end of this session dissolved by proclamation, boldly offered himself a candidate for representing the city of London. He was received by the populace with the loudest acclamations, and encouraged by many respectable citizens, some of whom entered into an association for his support, and the payment of his debts. He was, however, foiled in his attempt to represent the city of London; but, though he miscarried in this, his next enterprize was attended with better success, and he was chosen member for Middlesex by a great majority. It now became necessary to take some steps to disengage himself from the severity of the sentence under which he lay; for which purpose, he appeared voluntarily before the court of King's Bench; and though it was contrary to law that he should be committed to prison upon his voluntary appearance, he was soon after apprehended on a writ of *capias ut lagatum*, and sent to the Marshalsea prison. As he proceeded along the street, the populace assembled, took the horses from the carriage, and drew it themselves to the door of a tavern, where they set the prisoner at liberty; but soon after he again voluntarily surrendered himself, and was committed.

Young Allan killed by a soldier.  
May 10.

During this period of Mr. Wilkes's imprisonment, the populace demonstrated the most extravagant attachment to him, which produced many disagreeable transactions. The most remarkable, was the death of a young man named Allan, who was shot by some soldiers as being concerned in a mob, though he really was not. The particulars of this unhappy affair were as follow:—On the 10th of May, 1768, the populace having taken it into their heads that Mr. Wilkes was to be conveyed from the prison to the parliament house, assembled with a design to shew their usual mark of affection, viz. that of drawing his carriage thither. Having demanded him at the prison, they became very riotous on being refused; so that it was found necessary to read the act. But, while this was doing, stones and brickbats were thrown about with such violence, that it could not be accomplished; on which the soldiers fired, and one



of them unhappily mistaking young Allan for one of the ringleaders, though it afterwards appeared that he was not at all concerned, pursued him for a considerable way into a cow-house, and there shot him dead. After this the riot increased; more soldiers were sent for, who having fired on the mob, five or six people were killed on the spot, and about fifteen wounded.

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VI.

1768.

The pursuit and slaughter of a single person, even though active in the mob, could not but appear excessively cruel; but when it was considered, that the unhappy victim was entirely innocent, we can scarce wonder at the universal flame occasioned by this transaction, especially when the trial of the person supposed to have killed him was concealed. Government interposed its authority to prevent any publication, and no enquiry was made after the real author, (though the person accused declared that he knew him,) notwithstanding the remonstrances of the public, and the petitions of the father of the young man himself.

In the mean time, Mr. Wilkes carried every thing before him. Already the idol of the people, their adoration was increased almost to madness by the imprudence of the ministry in still continuing their persecution. As he was now assisted by the best counsel the kingdom could afford, his outlawry underwent the most full and critical examination; the consequence of which was, that it was at last declared illegal, and consequently reversed. Still, however, he was detained in custody until he should be punished for the crimes for which he was originally apprehended, (viz. the publication of the North Britain and the Essay on Woman.) For these, his ultimate sentence was to be imprisoned for twenty-one months, and to pay a fine of a thousand pounds; in consequence of which, he was again committed to the Marshalsea.

Final sentence of Mr. Wilkes

By this sentence, the ministry entailed on themselves the universal hatred of the populace, which did not fail to express itself by every possible method during the term of their hero's imprisonment; while, at the same time, their proceedings were considered as illegal and unconstitutional by a vast number of the most respectable people throughout the kingdom. The ministry indeed were not wanting in excuses for their own conduct, particularly in the affair of young Allan. They represented, in the strongest terms, the licentious disposition of the rabble; nay, that such was the unhappy infatuation, they said, that juries could scarcely be got to do justice to soldiers when brought before them; and that even the soldiers themselves

CHATHAM could scarce be persuaded to discharge his duty properly, unless by new and unusual rewards.

1768.

Lords  
Chatham  
and Shel-  
burne re-  
sign.

This general accusation of the people could not be supposed to increase the popularity of the ministry; and the general dissatisfaction was greatly augmented by the neglect of Lord Chatham, who still continued to make one of the ministry, though for a long time never seen or heard of. Their contempt of this nobleman first became apparent by the removal of Sir Jeffrey Amherst from the government of Virginia, which though a sinecure office, had been avowedly bestowed on him as a reward for his great services during the war of 1755, and which he no doubt justly deserved. This was immediately followed by the resignation of Lord Shelburne, who was succeeded by Lord Weymouth; and soon after by that of Lord Chatham, himself, who was succeeded in his office by the Earl of Bristol.

Nov. 6.

Thus, at the meeting of parliament, November 6, 1768, the ministry found themselves on all sides perplexed and embarrassed.—Abroad, the libentious and independent spirit of the colonies knows no bounds, while the distractions at home were scarce inferior to those abroad. A most violent party now demanded, that Mr. Wilkes should be considered as representative of the county of Middlesex, for which he had been duly elected by the people; while the ministry, on the other hand, without regard to this election, considered only his private character, or perhaps the offence he had given to themselves; and, as they supposed the house of commons had a negative voice with regard to the admission of members among them, it was determined that Wilkes should not have a seat in parliament. The contest was begun by a petition from Mr. Wilkes himself, enumerating and complaining of the various proceedings with regard to himself, from the time of his being apprehended by a general warrant in 1763, to his imprisonment in the King's Bench in 1768. A very heavy charge was brought against Mr. Webb, late secretary to the treasury, who was, in consequence, ordered to attend the house; and a copy of the records relating to the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, was ordered to be laid before the house; the journals and resolutions of the house in 1763 were also examined, and a day appointed for reconsidering the matter. Some of the most distinguished members in opposition were of opinion, that the best method the ministry could have followed on this occasion, would have been to take no notice of the petition, as they saw that the consideration of it would quickly raise a flame not so eas-

Mr.  
Wilkes  
petitions  
Parliament  
Nov. 14.

fly to be extinguished. Their opinions however, were over-ruled; Mr. Webb prepared for his defence, and Mr. Wilkes was allowed to attend at the bar, and to be assisted by proper counsel.

After some debates, the final decision of this matter was deferred to the 27th January, 1769; but, before the ministry had properly adopted any plan of procedure, Mr. Wilkes had, by another transaction, afforded matter for a fresh prosecution.—A letter had been written, previous to the death of young Allan, by one of the secretaries of state to the chairman of the quarter sessions at Lambeth, recommending to the magistrates to call the assistance of the military, without losing a moment, if there should be occasion; and to make use of them effectually, if they found the civil power in any manner of way insulted. Injunctions of this kind had been suspected at the time; but Mr. Wilkes having found means to procure a copy of the letter, published it in a news-paper, with some comments of his own, in which the above mentioned affair was styled a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project deliberately planned and determined upon. The secretary, provoked at this, complained of it to the house of lords as a breach of privilege. A complaint was made at the same time to the Commons, and the two houses had a conference upon the subject. Mr. Wilkes did not hesitate a moment to acknowledge himself the author of the remarks, and publisher of the letter; but his boldness was not in this instance attended with any success. His remarks were declared an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to inflame and stir up the minds of his Majesty's subjects to sedition, and to a subversion of all good order; at the same time, the complaints set forth in his petition were declared to be frivolous, and that he had not made good his charge against Mr. Webb.

These decisions were followed by an expulsion of this patriot from the House of Commons, on a division 219 against 137; but, instead of diminishing, this new instance of ministerial vengeance greatly increased his popularity. His condemnation of the secretary's letter was universally approved, as no measure could have been more violently execrated by the people; while the courage of their hero, in opposing himself alone to the vengeance of the Court, was no less applauded. A meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex was held, in which the cause of Mr. Wilkes was set forth as that of the people; and he was considered, notwithstanding his expulsion, as the only proper candidate that could be chosen. At the second election, therefore, the votes were almost unanimous in his

CHAP. VI.

1769.

Publisher of letter from the Secretary of State.

Is expelled from the Commons, but repeatedly re-chosen. Feb. 5.

Feb. 16.

**CHAP.** favour; notwithstanding which, the return was no sooner made to the House than it was resolved, 235 against 87, that Mr. Wilkes having been expelled this session, was and is incapable of being elected a member of the present parliament. His election was accordingly declared null, and new writ issued for another.

**VI.**

1769.

This produced another meeting of gentlemen at a tavern in London, with the avowed intention of supporting Mr. Wilkes, who having been a sufferer, as they said, in the cause of the people, it was but reasonable that he in the mean time should receive some assistance from them. Accordingly, a subscription was immediately set on foot, and upwards of 3000l. subscribed at once, for his support. The whole kingdom seemed to be moved, and the most determined resolutions were entered into, not only with regard to Mr. Wilkes, but the conduct of members of parliament in general.

Representatives of the people supposed to have no right to act contrary to their will.

About this time a new opinion was first publicly broached, and insisted on with great vehemence, viz. That the representatives of the people, who sat in parliament were, in truth, only the servants of their constituents, and had in no case any right to proceed in a manner contrary to the general sense of those who elected them. It is not surprising that a doctrine of this kind should be eagerly received by the bulk of the people, as tending to give them a degree of consequence beyond what they had ever been supposed to possess; while, on the other hand, it was equally disagreeable to the representatives themselves, as degrading them below those, whom, in every instance, that of flattering them for their voices at elections alone excepted, they affected to treat with the utmost contempt. Some of the members, however, condescended to receive the instructions of their constituents, particularly those of Middlesex, London, and Westminster. By these they were directed to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the infraction of the laws by the arbitrary proceedings of the ministry. Several censures were passed upon their late conduct. An enquiry into the affair at St. George's Fields, where so many people had been killed, was most strenuously recommended; as well as endeavours to conciliate the differences between the mother country and colonies, which now threatened to become worse than ever. With these injunctions, the members above mentioned promised an implicit compliance; but the measure was too humiliating to be generally complied with, and most of the representatives asserted, that, when once they were chosen,

Instruction given to some members by their constituents.

it was impossible that they could hold themselves account-  
able for their conduct ; but must be allowed the free ex-  
ercise of their judgment in whatever related to the af-  
fairs of the nation.

CHAP.  
VI.

1769.

In the mean time, the election of a member for Mid-  
dlesex had been put off for a month ; but, as it was ex-  
tremely probable that Wilkes would be chosen a second  
time, the ministry encouraged another candidate, a Mr. <sup>Mr. Wilkes</sup>  
Dingley, to set up against him. This, however, served <sup>re-elected,</sup>  
only to render them more contemptible. The ministerial <sup>and his</sup>  
candidate was fain to abandon the attempt, without even <sup>election</sup>  
being put in competition with the favourite of the people, <sup>declared</sup>  
whose election thus passed a second time unanimously. <sup>null and</sup>  
<sup>void.</sup>

The new election of Mr. Wilkes met with no more  
approbation from the House than the former ; but, though  
it was instantly declared null and void, the Middlesex  
freeholders did not in the least swerve from the resolu-  
tion of electing him a third time ; and, had the ministry  
contented themselves with this continual rejection, the  
affair might have been looked upon rather in a ridiculous  
light than otherwise. A new measure, however, was now  
adopted, which threatened the most serious consequen-  
ces. This was, to consider Mr. Wilkes as no antagonist  
to whatever other candidate should make his appearance,  
and to annihilate the votes of those who declared in his  
favour, however numerous and respectable they might be.  
For this purpose, Colonel Luttrell was chosen, who hav-  
ing, in spite of popular discouragement, entered the lists  
with Mr. Wilkes, and procured two hundred and ninety  
six votes in his favour, was declared duly elected, and  
took his seat in parliament, notwithstanding Mr. Wilkes  
was voted for by eleven hundred and forty three of the  
freeholders.

Colonel  
Luttrell  
chosen by  
ministry,  
and Mr.  
Wilkes  
further si-  
nally inca-  
pacitated.

This proceeding, it must be confessed, bore a very  
threatening aspect. If the ministry could, in any one  
instance, over-rule the voice of the people, and by their  
authority put a negative on their voice, where there was  
no legal disqualification, they might do so in every other,  
and thus there would be an end of the liberty of the sub-  
ject at once. The matter, therefore, was looked upon to  
be very serious, especially as the measure had been adop-  
ted by a great majority of the Commons. A petition  
against it was presented to the House, but to no purpose ;  
it was confirmed by a very considerable majority. The  
people at large now took the alarm, and an infinite num-  
ber of polemical writings appeared on the subject ; in  
which, however, it was obvious to remark, that the orna-

Violent  
commo-  
tions on ac-  
count of  
the Mid-  
dlesex elec-  
tion.

CHAP. ments of language and animation of expression, if not  
 VI. the strength of argument, were entirely on the popular  
 side.

1769.

By the opponents of the ministry it was said, that the right of electors to choose representatives for themselves, was one of the most sacred parts of the constitution; that the house of commons was only a delegated body, without any power inherent in itself; nor could its members pretend to dispute the rights of their constituents, without overthrowing the foundation of its own existence, as well as destroying the principles of the constitution. The qualifications of freeholders were regulated by the laws of the land; and those of every county were authorised to return whom they thought proper, nor were any restraints to be put upon them arbitrarily at the pleasure of the ministry. New restraints could only be enacted by the conjunct voice of king, lords, and commons; otherwise they could only be collected from the custom and usage of former parliaments.

In the present case, the usage of parliament, as well as every thing else, was in favour of Mr. Wilkes. He had no legal disqualifications; these are generally known and enumerated by law-writers; and, among them, a resolution of the house of commons is not to be met with; nor is any court sufficiently absolute to determine any thing to be a *custom*, merely by calling it so: That, with regard to expulsion itself, it could not be considered as rendering the person afterwards incapable of a place in parliament; nay, even when the causes of Mr. Wilkes's expulsion were considered, it became, in a manner, impossible to tell for what reason he had been expelled. The two offences for which this punishment had been inflicted, were, the publication of the North-Britain, and an obscene pamphlet. With respect to the North-Britain, he had been punished in a former parliament; and it was contrary to law to try him for it a second time. As to the pamphlet, he had received sentence for it, from the house of lords in a former parliament also; but this was not any offence against the commons, nor cognizable by them; and as for the comment on lord Weymouth's letter, it was as little within their jurisdiction.

Matters being thus evidently perplexed with regard to the legality of Wilkes's expulsion, it became requisite for the ministerial party, to maintain, that expulsion necessarily implied an incapability of sitting afterwards. Most of the precedents, however, brought forth on this occasion, were manifestly not to the purpose; as happening either

in times of barbarity, or of internal disorder in the king-  
dom, when the constitution itself was totally unhinged  
and perverted. Such were the expulsions in the time of  
Charles I. when forty-nine members were expelled at once;  
every one of whom was incapacitated from sitting in par-  
liament at any future period; but at that time it is well  
known, that the prevailing party was only taking measures  
to clear the house of their obnoxious brethren; and that  
to put this scheme beyond any possibility of opposition, no  
new writs were issued at the time of expulsion, and fre-  
quently not at all. Since the time of the restoration, how-  
ever, no such examples have taken place; the power of  
the house of commons has never gone beyond expulsion;  
nor is it proper that it should, except in cases of bribery  
and corruption. It is, besides, to be considered, that a pow-  
er of expulsion lodged in the house of commons, can only  
be made use of to disgrace and harass individuals, without  
any danger to the community; but, if the house abuse its  
power, in the execution of this privilege, by depriving the  
constituents of their power of re-electing the expelled  
member, there is not then any remedy against ministerial  
oppression, if they can once prevail so far as to procure a  
majority in favour of the expulsion of such members as  
may be obnoxious to them.

In answer to these arguments, it was urged by the mi-  
nisterial party, that the house of commons had long pos-  
sessed a power of expelling their members; and, unless  
the expulsion implied also an incapacity, it could answer  
no purpose, as the expelled party might, in so short a  
time, be re-elected, as was most glaringly conspicuous in  
the present instance, which rather tended to expose the  
house to contempt, than any thing else. The pretended  
right of the freeholders of Middlesex to re-elect Mr.  
Wilkes, was the same with claiming a right to do wrong,  
or to elect a man who ought evidently not to be elected;  
and that if the house of commons were bound to receive  
all who were elected by freeholders, and not disqualified  
by the letter of the law, it was equally incumbent on the  
freeholders not to return improper persons. The laws,  
with whatever judgment they might have been originally  
framed, could not be applicable to all possible cases; and,  
had it been supposed, that the freeholders would have made  
any improper or dangerous use of the privileges they en-  
joyed, it is not probable that they would have been trusted  
with them; but, it certainly could never be supposed, that  
people would choose an infidel to be the guardian of their  
religion, a beggar to guard their property, or a convict to

CHAP.  
VI.

2769

CHAP. be the framer of their laws; yet all this had been obstinately  
 VI. insisted upon with regard to Wilkes, and was, in truth,  
 the foundation of the present clamour.

1769.

With regard to the powers of the house of commons itself, they must evidently extend to the judgment of all cases of election. The measure in question, of returning colonel Luttrell as a member for Middlesex, was far from being an injury to the country. On the contrary, the offence was given by the freeholders themselves, who had obstinately persisted in returning an improper person, tho' multitudes of other candidates might have been found; so that the supposed violation of the rights of election, by returning one with an inferior number of votes, will vanish. Those who obstinately persist in voting for an unqualified person, are to be considered as not voting at all. Their right of suffrage, indeed, is not denied; but if the elector perseveres in refusing to exercise this right according to law, he wantonly suspends his right for the time; and his act being illegal, is consequently void, and he is only in the situation of a man who does not attend; he suffers no enquiry; he knows the consequence of what he does; and, if he chooses to indulge his humour, it cannot even be accounted an hardship.

Such were the arguments by which a majority of the house of commons were ostensibly influenced to determine finally on the incapacity of Mr. Wilkes to sit in parliament. But whatever weight they might have with the members of the house, they had very little with the generality of the English nation, which was now thrown into the most violent ferment. The ministry, conscious of their unpopularity, strove to hide it, by procuring as many addresses as possible from different parts; but the little success which attended their endeavours, served rather to set them in a contemptible light than otherwise. From Scotland, indeed, they flowed in great plenty: but the known enmity subsisting between the English patriot and the generality of that nation, at once assigned the reason, and put the greatest possible stigma upon them. Their stile, their profuse and unnecessary professions of loyalty; and, above all, their representing the adherents of Wilkes as disaffected, and little less than open rebels, excited the utmost resentment, and the most bitter invectives. Petitions of the English counties and principal towns were sent from all quarters, by way of counterpart to the addresses. The general strain of these, was the redress of grievances, the removal of bad ministers, and the banishment of evil counsellors from the royal presence for ever, as having endeavoured

Many petitions presented.

Petitions presented.



to alienate the affections of the subjects, and deprive them of their most valuable privileges. CHAP. VI.

On this occasion, the county of Middlesex was the foremost to represent the injuries they had sustained; and presented a petition, which was supposed to have defeated its own purpose by its extreme tediousness, and recapitulation of all the grievances which had taken place for six or seven years. The city of London succeeded; after which there was a sudden stop, occasioned by some doubts of the legality of petitions to the crown, against an act of the house of commons, or the power of the crown to grant redress, even supposing the complaint to be just, and the petition to be legal; while others were disgusted with the manner in which the two first were drawn up, and complained of them as containing trifling, stale, or doubtful matters. These difficulties, however, were quickly overcome by the activity of the persons who took the lead in the business. It was remarked, that the improper execution of any measure could never ultimately affect the propriety of the measure itself. If the right of election had been violated, it was absurd to expect redress from the house of commons, who had been the offending party. The crown could not, indeed, make void an act of the house of commons; but it could dissolve the parliament, when another might be chosen, the majority of which would, perhaps, think differently. Nor could the right of petitioning the crown, on this subject, be denied, since the house of commons had expressly resolved, that the people had a right to petition for the dissolution, as well as the calling or sitting of parliaments.

By arguments of this kind, the business of petitioning was revived in full vigour. Seventeen counties, with several cities and boroughs, addressed the throne on the subjects above-mentioned. All complained of grievances, but many pointed out no particular mode of redress. Some only hinted at the dissolution of parliament as a remedy; while those from Yorkshire, Westminster, and some other places, expressly prayed for it. The livery of London, in the mean time, petitioned, remonstrated, and petitioned again; but to none of those petitions was any regard paid. On the contrary, when the parliament met on the 9th of January, 1770, the speech from the throne, instead of taking any notice of the petitions, or the violent commotions throughout the whole kingdom, began with an account of the distemper among the horned cattle. Opposition, enraged at this neglect, redoubled their efforts in parliament, to get the petitions brought into consideration. An amendment to

Jan. 9.  
1770.

CHAP. the address was proposed, to assure his majesty, that they  
 VI. would immediately inquire into the causes of the discon-  
 tents prevailing in every part of his majesty's dominions.

1770.

The subject of the petitions was violently disputed; but while the one party urged, in the strongest manner, the discontents and grievances as strong reasons for an amendment, their antagonists denied the existence of either grievance or discontent. Some of the more moderate among the ministerial party, indeed, owned, that some few grievances did exist, though very much exaggerated. The discontents they did not deny; and declared themselves willing to consider them at another time; nay, even to reconsider the Middlesex election, as well as to inquire into the alleged grievances, and to consider of the proposed methods of redress; but they utterly refused to concur in the amendment, as they said, this would be to criminate themselves: and, in effect, to petition for their own dissolution. A great majority, however, insisted that the discontents, as well as the petitions, were owing to the members in opposition. They asserted, that the greater part of gentlemen possessing large fortunes, of the justices of peace, and of the clergy, in some of the counties, had not signed the petitions; even a majority of the counties had not petitioned; the inferior freeholders had not understanding sufficient to know the reason of their signing the petitions: Those who constituted the bulk of the petitioners were set on by the designing and factious. By such persons the people were inflamed, speeches made, and writings published, tending to abuse government, inflame the people, and vilify parliament; and even tho' a majority of such freeholders had taken it into their heads to send petitions to the throne, they ought not to be regarded, but treated as the acts of an ignorant rabble, incapable of judging what they were about.

Such opprobrious treatment produced a similar behaviour of the members in opposition. They avowed their having taken a part in the business of petitioning; that they had delivered their sentiments to their constituents. They affirmed, that they were in duty bound to give an account of their conduct in parliament, to those who elected them; that they had neither sought petitions nor petitioners; on the contrary, the petitioners had sought them, as every one had been struck with terror and astonishment at the unprecedented decision concerning the Middlesex election. They even acknowledged, that they had gone to the meetings of the freeholders; nay, that they thought it their duty so to do, and to give every legal assistance they could to those who sought only the redress of grievances. They ridiculed

the insinuations of some who mentioned meeting, writing, CHAP, and speaking, as improper methods of setting forth their VI. grievances, by asking, in what other methods their sentiments could be conveyed? They insisted also, that, though 1770. it might be true that the lower class of freeholders did not immediately feel the grievances complained of, it was a sufficient reason of complaint, that they saw or heard of others involved in them, and that they were certainly approaching. Neither could any argument be drawn from their defect of intellectual faculties; for though they might not, perhaps, have had discernment enough to have found them out of themselves, yet when they were pointed out by others, we must suppose them totally devoid of rational faculties, were they to remain in ignorance any longer. With regard to the objection, that the majority of gentlemen of large fortune had not signed the petitions, it was denied in some instances; and in others it was observed, that gentlemen were much influenced; the justices of the peace being immediately under the influence of the Crown; nor could any body of men be more under the same influence than the clergy; and yet the petitions had been signed by many of both these classes. All these superior classes of freeholders, therefore, whose independence had been so much boasted of, were in truth far from being free from influence; while those whom ministry affected to despise, as if neither themselves nor their opinions were of any account, were the only persons possessed of a truly independent spirit, upon whom neither threats nor influence could have any effect.

These debates were carried on with the utmost acrimony, and not without threats on the side of the ministerial party, and defiance on the other. The proposed amendment, however, was rejected by a great majority, and the address passed in the usual form.

A few days after the opening of the session, a great number of resignations took place. Among others, Lord Camden resigned the seals, which were, after some difficulty, accepted by Mr. Charles Yorke. This gentleman having died suddenly three days after, the seals were put under commission; and Lord Mansfield was appointed to supply Jan 22, the place of Lord Chancellor, as speaker of the House of Peers. Sir John Cust resigned his office of speaker of the House of Commons, on account of his bad state of health; in consequence of which, two candidates were proposed to succeed him, viz. Sir Fletcher Norton by the ministry, and Thomas Townshend, Esq. by the opposition. On a division, Sir Fletcher was chosen by a great majority, 237

Resignations,  
Jan. 17.  
1770.

CHAP. against 121. Sir John Cust died on the 24th January  
 VI. 1770. Four days after, to the general astonishment of the  
 nation, the Duke of Grafton resigned his office of First  
 Lord of the Treasury, and was succeeded by Lord North,  
 at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer. In short, the  
 whole of administration seemed to be falling to pieces.

1770.  
 Jan. 28.

In the midst of this season of heat and discussion, which  
 in a greater or lesser degree was extended to every part of  
 the kingdom, a bill of the greatest benefit to the constitu-  
 tion, and importance to the nation, was brought into the  
 House of Commons. It was intitled, "An act for regula-  
 ting the proceedings of the House of Commons on contro-  
 verted elections," generally known by the name of the  
*Grenville bill*, from the late Mr. George Grenville, a lead-  
 ing member of the opposition, who brought it into the  
 House. The plan of this excellent bill was laid down upon  
 the constitutional idea of trials by jury. Upon a petition  
 being presented and a day appointed to try the merits, the  
 House is to be counted. If one hundred members are not  
 present, it is to adjourn till so many are assembled; at which  
 time, the names of the members of the House are to be put  
 into six boxes or glasses, to be drawn alternately, and read  
 by the Speaker, till forty-nine are drawn. The sitting  
 member and petitioners may also nominate one each. Lists  
 of the forty-nine are to be given to the sitting member,  
 the petitioners, their counsel, &c. who, with the clerk,  
 are to withdraw, and to strike off one alternately, begin-  
 ning on the part of the petitioners, till the number be re-  
 duced to thirteen, who, with the two nominees, are to be  
 sworn a select committee to determine the matter in dispute.  
 This bill was warmly opposed by ministry. In this in-  
 stance, however, they were unsuccessful.

March 7.

An event which took place a few days after, as it re-  
 newed all the heat and debate within doors, so it added  
 new force to the ill humour and discontent without, and  
 spread a general alarm throughout the kingdom. This  
 was the address, remonstrance, and petition of the livery  
 of London, presented on the 14th of March, 1770. The  
 prayer of this petition was for a dissolution of parliament;  
 but the language in which it was conveyed was so uncom-  
 monly free and bold, that we shall here present the reader  
 with the most remarkable passages, in the words of the  
 petition itself.

March 14.

Remark-  
 able peti-  
 tion and re-  
 monstrance  
 of the city  
 of London.

"We have already," say they, "in our petition, duti-  
 fully represented to your Majesty the chief injuries we  
 have sustained. We are unwilling to believe, that your  
 Majesty can slight the desires of your people, or be re-

gardless of their affection, and deaf to their complaints. CHAP.  
Yet their complaints remain unanswered, their injuries VI.  
confirmed, and the only judge removable at the pleasure  
of the Crown has been dismissed from his high office,  
for defending in parliament the laws and the constitution. 1770.

"We, therefore, venture once more to address ourselves to your Majesty, as to the father of your people; as to him who must be both able and willing to redress our grievances; and we repeat our application with the greater propriety, because we see the instruments of our wrongs, who have carried into execution the measures of which we complain, more particularly distinguished by your Majesty's royal bounty and favour.

"Under the same secret and malignant influence, which under each successive administration had defeated every good, and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the House of Commons have deprived your people of their dearest rights.

"They have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship money by Charles I. or the dispensing power assumed by James II. A deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legislature itself can be no more valid without a legal House of Commons, than without a legal Prince upon the throne.

"Under James II. they complained that the sitting of parliament was interrupted, because it was not corruptly subservient to his designs: We complain now, that the sitting of this parliament is not interrupted, because it is corruptly subservient to the designs of your Majesty's ministers. Had the parliament under James II. been as submissive to his commands as the parliament at this day is to the dictates of a minister, instead of clamour for its meeting, the nation would have rung, as now, with outcries for its dissolution.

"The forms of the constitution, like those of religion, were not established for the form's sake, but for the substance. And we call God and men to witness, that as we do not owe our liberty to those subtle distinctions which places, pensions, and lucrative employments have invented; so neither will we be deprived of it by them: but as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved.

"Since, therefore, the misdeeds of your majesty's ministers, in violating the freedom of election, and depraving

CHAP. the noble constitution of parliaments, are notorious, as  
 VI. well as subversive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm; and since your majesty, both in honour and justice, is obliged inviolably to preserve them, according to the oath made to God and your subjects, at your coronation; we, your majesty's remonstrants, assure ourselves, that your majesty will restore the constitutional government and quiet of your people, by dissolving this parliament, and removing those evil ministers forever from your councils."

1770.

Repented  
by his  
majesty.

Such extraordinary freedom could not fail of giving offence. His majesty replied in the following words: "I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of my subjects: but it gives me great concern to find, that any of them should have been so far misled as to offer me an address and remonstrance, the contents of which, I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

"I have never made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people. With this view, I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering in such a conduct, that I can either discharge my own duty, or secure, to my subjects, the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend: and while I act upon these principles, I have, a right to expect, and I am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people."

The above remonstrance, however disagreeable to the court, has been looked upon by the popular party as a master-piece; and the lord-mayor, as he passed along the streets to deliver it, was attended by an immense number of people, who testified their approbation by loud shouts. The majority of parliament, understanding how vehemently they had been accused to the sovereign himself, were fired with indignation. A motion was made the very next day for an address, that, a copy of the remonstrance, as well as of his majesty's answer, should be laid before the house, and, after violent debates, carried by a majority of more than two to one. Another motion was then made for the concurrence of the house of lords; which, being also carried, the address was completed at a conference of the two houses, and presented accordingly. It strongly

reprobated the contents of the remonstrance, returned thanks for the answer given to it, which was represented as a fresh instance of his majesty's perseverance in adhering to the principles of the constitution; and some censures were passed on the insidious suggestions of ill-designing men, and the excesses of a few misguided persons who had been seduced from their duty.

CHAP.

VI.

1770.

By all this, the partisans of the popular party were far from being discouraged. During the very time of the debates on the London remonstrance, Mr. Beckford, the lord-mayor at that time, owned with marks of exultation, the part he had taken in it. He declared, that it was he who put the question in the common council; and, though he had authority to put a negative upon any resolution of the aldermen, he would not do it in that instance. The remonstrance charged the parliament with corruption; and he should be happy to bring the matter to the trial. After the remonstrance had been condemned in the address above-mentioned, lord Chatham made a motion in the house of lords, for reversing the adjudications of the commons with regard to Mr. Wilkes; and a few days after, for a resolution to declare, that the advice which induced the late answer to be given from the throne to the London remonstrance, was of a most dangerous tendency, &c.

The ill success of these motions did not lessen the activity of the patriots without doors. Another remonstrance to the throne, was presented on the 23d of May, 1770, which was likewise conceived in very spirited terms, but met with no better success than the former.

A second remonstrance, May 23.

To this address his majesty was pleased to reply—"I should have been wanting to the public as well as to myself, if I had not expressed my dissatisfaction at the late address.

Rejected by the king.

"My sentiments on that subject continue the same; and I should ill deserve to be considered as the father of my people, if I could suffer myself to be prevailed on to make such an use of my prerogative, as I cannot but think inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom."

Though very little encouragement seemed to be given by this answer to enter into any conversation with his majesty on the subject, Mr. Beckford, who had presented the address, begged leave to make a reply; which, being granted, his lordship proceeded as follows:

CHAP.  
VI.

1768.  
Mr. Beck-  
ford's reply  
to his ma-  
jesty.

" Most gracious sovereign,

" Will your majesty be pleased so far to condescend, as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London, to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your majesty's displeasure would, at all times affect their minds; the declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and with the deepest affliction.

" Permit me, sire, to assure your majesty, that your majesty has not, in all your dominions, any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintainance of the true honour and dignity of your crown.

" We do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence, without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect, at least, of redress.

" Permit me, sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence to, and regard for your people, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution."

Though his majesty did not think proper to say any thing in answer to this speech, and the ministry affected to consider such liberties in a subject, as highly indecent, the conduct of Mr. Beckford was greatly applauded in the city, and the manner in which he expressed himself, met with the approbation of both parties. His death, which happened before the next session, was a severe loss to the popular party. However, it did not prevent the framing of a third petition and remonstrance, which was presented on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November, the same year; but this met with no better reception than the former; his majesty returning for answer, that he had seen no reason to alter his opinion, he could not comply with the prayer of their petition.

Such a continued course of disappointment, began, at last, to affect the resolution and perseverance of the patriotic party, and the business of petitioning began to slacken. The freeholders of York, instead of a petition to the throne, sent a letter of thanks to their representatives, in which

Nov. 21.

The patriots relax  
in their as-  
siduity.



they declared, that though they now despaired of success by application to the throne, as the same influence still prevailed, which had hitherto stood in the way of their representatives; they, however, recommended a perseverance in every parliamentary method that seemed likely to obtain redress; and, if they should find it practicable, to impeach those, who, by their evil council, had occasioned so much mischief.

CHAP.  
VI.

1770.  
Sept. 25.

Such was the end of all the commotions and immense clamours about liberty, with which the whole kingdom had been filled for so long a time. As for the patriot, Wilkes himself, he was obliged to remain in prison during the full time to which he had been sentenced; his popular friends paid the fines imposed upon him, and likewise compounded with his creditors for his private debts, which were very considerable. But, though he still continued the darling of the populace, their admiration was not attended with that violence and uproar which had formerly marked their proceedings: His importance diminished in proportion, as he was no longer persecuted by the ministry; and many of his friends, from various causes, deserted him. Still, however, his influence was very extensive; he was chosen one of the aldermen of London, then sheriff, afterwards lord-mayor, and, at last, fixed in the lucrative office of city-chamberlain; in all which departments he behaved so well, that his greatest enemies could never lay hold of any part of his public character that could be accounted a fault, or even represented in a disadvantageous light.

General account of  
Mr. Wilkes.

His preferment.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Continuance of the discontents—Contest of the House of Commons with Wheble and other printers—Lord-Mayor of London and Alderman Oliver sent to the Tower—Affairs of the East-India Company—Appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into them—Of the Committee of Secrecy—Debates on their affairs—Company's territorial right called in question, and finally taken away—Ineffectual petitions of the Company—Regulation bill passed—Trial of Lord Clive—Last petition of the Company rejected.*

**CHAP. VII.** **T**HOUGH tranquillity now gradually took place with regard to the affair of the Middlesex election, other causes contributed to keep the flame alive with no less violence than ever. A motion was annually made by Mr. Burke, one of the most celebrated members in opposition, to rescind the proceedings of the commons with regard to it; while lord Chatham exerted himself in the same manner in the house of lords. Had this been complied with, the matter could not have been established as a precedent, which the ministry, no doubt, had in view, and which might, on future occasions, be productive of very fatal consequences. So little regard, however, was paid to these motions, that even those who made them did not entertain any hopes of success, farther, than that they tended to shew the ministry, that it was totally impossible to subdue the popular spirit, which would serve also, as an encouragement to the nation at large to renew their attempts, whenever a favourable opportunity should offer. The last serious effort made in parliament relative to this subject, was a motion, February 7, 1771, for a bill to ascertain the

1770.  
Discontents  
still conti-  
nue.

Feb. 7,  
1771.

rights of electors, in respect to the eligibility of persons to CHAP. serve in parliament; which, however, was rejected by VII. one hundred and sixty-seven to one hundred and three.

The disturbances on account of the Middlesex election, were scarce quieted, before a new accident, apparently of a trivial nature, intervened, which contributed, at last, to humiliate the house of commons, in a degree altogether unheard of. This was the bringing of some printers before the house, by a warrant from the speaker, to answer for certain publications issued by them. All this time, indeed, a political paper-war had raged throughout the kingdom with the utmost violence. In this, no character, however unexceptionable, had been spared. The most shameful and scandalous abuse had been thrown out, and this, without even the slight precautions of printing only the initials of the name, and leaving it to the sagacity of the reader to fill up the blank. In the midst of this general licentiousness, the publishers of newspapers, had, without ceremony, printed what they called speeches of the members of parliament; but which had been so little consonant to truth, that many of the gentlemen, to whom they were attributed, had utterly denied them; others had complained of their being misrepresented, and mutilated in such a manner, that what was published in the newspaper, carried a quite different meaning from what they had delivered in the house; at the same time, that such publications, whether true or false, were utterly inconsistent with the privileges of the house. On these grounds, two printers, John Wheble and Robert Thomson, were ordered to attend. As the messenger who brought the order did not see them, he contented himself with leaving it at their houses, which, by a decision of the commons, was judged to be sufficient warning, though the printers did not attend in consequence of it. The serjeant-at-arms was ordered to take them into custody, but he was also disappointed in meeting with them, and laughed at by their servants, when he enquired for them at their houses; on which the last, and indeed the worst step that could have been taken, was put in execution; namely, to address for a royal proclamation against the printers, with a reward for apprehending them; which was accordingly issued in the gazette of the 9th of March, 1771, with an offer of 50*l*. for taking any of the delinquents.

The proceedings were not carried on without a very considerable opposition. The arguments used by the minority were indeed no other than such as common sense seemed to dictate. The privileges of the house of com-

1771.  
Contest of  
the house of  
commons  
with some  
printers.

**CHAP.** mons had never been determined, and to attempt any thing  
**VII.** which must necessarily bring on a minute investigation of  
 1771. them at such a time, and while the dispositions of the people were so much inflamed, was certainly in the highest degree improper. To prosecute the printers of such publications could only serve to promote the sale of them; and to push matters to the utmost was degrading the house, by involving it in a ridiculous contest with adversaries altogether below its notice, and who could easily have been punished, if they really merited any punishment, by prosecuting them at common law. The ministerial party, however, on this occasion, prevailed as usual. It seems, indeed, that at present the court party were very much inclined to search for powers in the crown and parliament superior and entirely distinct from those hitherto established as the general laws of the land, and which, if they could be but fairly established by a single precedent, might afterwards be made use of to repress the overgrown power of the people, whose unbounded licentiousness was found so difficult to be restrained. Instead of hearkening to the admonitions of the opposite party, therefore, they found out other six printers equally culpable with those against whom the proclamation had been issued, and whom they immediately ordered to attend the house.

In the mean time, John Wheble, one of the printers mentioned in the proclamation, was apprehended, and brought before alderman Wilkes, who not only discharged, but bound him over to prosecute the person by whom he was apprehended, for an assault and false imprisonment; obliging the latter, at the same time, to give bail for his appearance at the next session. The same evening, Robert Thomson, the other printer mentioned in the proclamation, was apprehended, and brought before alderman Oliver, by whom he was in like manner discharged, and the captor obliged to give bail for his appearance. Both the city magistrates, however, signed certificates, that the persons by whom the printers had been apprehended, were entitled to the rewards of 50*l.* offered in the gazette; but though they applied to the board of treasury, it was not thought proper to pay the money.

Of the other six, one was already in the custody of the lords for an offence of the same nature; four attended the house, and were reprimanded; and one, J. Miller, the printer of the London Evening Post, did not attend; on which the serjeant-at-arms was ordered to take him into custody. He was accordingly afterwards apprehended in his own house, by a messenger of the commons; and

by a constable, sent for by himself, was carried before the lord mayor, Brads Crosby, Esq; who at that time was attended by the aldermen Wilkes, and Oliver. The deputy serjeant-at-arms, who likewise attended on the occasion, demanded that both the messenger and printer should be delivered up to him; but this was refused by the mayor, because no crime would be specified as a proper foundation for his being taken into custody, and the warrant of the speaker had not been backed by a city magistrate. The warrant itself was then demanded, and, after much altercation, produced; the printer was discharged; and the deputy serjeant himself, on his refusal to give bail, committed; but immediately released on consenting to find it. Thus the cause of the printers produced a contest betwixt the city of London and the house of commons, in which it was not difficult to see that the former must ultimately prevail.

CHAP.

VII.

1778.

The ministerial party were filled with indignation at this contempt of their authority. The lord mayor, notwithstanding his being at that time ill of the gout, was ordered to attend in his place; but a motion for the attendance of Messrs. Wilkes and Oliver along with him, was rejected. As the lord mayor, however, pleaded in his own behalf, that he had acted only in consequence of the oath taken by him as a magistrate of the city, and in defence of its charter and privileges, it was contended, that he might be heard by council. But this was overruled by a great majority; he was compelled to attend; and it was also determined, that the lord mayor's clerk should attend with the book of minutes, in order to have the account of the whole proceeding erased from it. He attended accordingly, and the recognizance of Whittam, the messenger who had been taken into custody, was erased in the face of the house, and it was resolved that all proceedings at law, on that head, should cease.

The lord mayor, on his appearance in the house, was far from attempting to avert the storm by any submission. He boldly contended, that what he did had been in strict conformity to the laws, and professed himself indifferent as to the consequences. Alderman Oliver, who was also a member, behaved in the same manner; in consequence of which, both he and the lord mayor were committed to the tower, the vote for the commitment being carried by a majority of 170 to 38.

The lord mayor and alderman Oliver committed to the tower. March 27.

With regard to Mr. Wilkes, the ministry were greatly at a loss what course to take. Though he had been equally guilty with the mayor and Mr. Oliver, the ministerial

CHAP. party were repeatedly called upon to take notice of him  
 VII. before they thought proper to do so. At last he was or-  
 1771. dered to attend; upon which he instantly wrote a letter  
 to the speaker, acquainting him, that in the order for his  
 attendance no notice had been taken of his being a mem-  
 ber of parliament; that he was willing to attend in his  
 place, which was indispensibly requisite; and that he  
 now, in the name of his constituents, demanded his seat  
 in the house, where he was very willing to give ample  
 satisfaction with regard to every particular of his conduct.  
 This letter was presented to the speaker in the house by  
 one of the members; but as the delivering of it in that  
 manner was judged to be informal, it was rejected, after  
 a long debate, without being read. Other orders were  
 issued for his attendance; but, as it was well known that  
 he would not comply with them, the ministry could find  
 no better method of getting rid of this formidable adver-  
 sary, than by appointing the eighth day of April for his  
 attendance, at the same time that the house adjourned  
 to the ninth.

By this timidity, or embarrassment of the ministry, Mr.  
 Wilkes lost his share of the triumph; for such it certainly  
 was to the lord mayor and Mr. Ower. On the day the  
 former attended the house, an innumerable multitude  
 assembled, so that no business could be done till the even-  
 ing. Many persons of distinction were insulted, and even  
 their lives endangered. The authority of the sheriffs  
 availed nothing; nor did the multitude pay any regard  
 to the information, that a party of the guards had been  
 sent for, and were ready to act on the shortest notice. At  
 last they were persuaded, by the utmost intreaties of the  
 most distinguished members in opposition, to retire to  
 some distance from the house; upon which the resolu-  
 tion of committing the lord mayor to the tower was  
 taken. On his removing from the house, the populace  
 took the horses from his carriage, and drew it along Tem-  
 ple Bar; where, having conceived a suspicion of the ser-  
 jeant-at-arms, and the other who was in the coach along  
 with him, they shut the gates, and told them to get out;  
 but on the mayor's pledging his honour that the gentle-  
 men were his particular friends, and intended to accom-  
 pany him home, they proceeded to the mansion-house  
 with loud huzzas.

Thus, all the efforts of the ministry to extend the au-  
 thority of parliament, served only to shew that its power  
 was really not to be dreaded by any subject who had spi-  
 rit enough to contend with it. A very great coldness, if

Not an absolute enmity, now took place betwixt the House of Commons and the city of London, which was considerably increased by the decision for the embankment of Durham-yard. This, though properly an affair of a private nature, was brought into parliament as an improvement to the city, and the bill for it easily carried through both Houses, notwithstanding the continued opposition of the city. It was mentioned, however, among other grievances, in a remonstrance presented to the King on the 10th of July, 1771, wherein grievous complaints were made of the arbitrary proceedings of the Commons, and a dissolution of parliament earnestly requested, which was as peremptorily refused on the part of his Majesty.

CHAP. VII.

1771.

Another petition from the city of London rejected.

But though the ministry had been thus unsuccessful in their attempt to establish the authority of parliament, they had, without exception, carried every thing before them in parliament itself. In the month of February, 1769, the affairs of the East India Company again came under consideration. The agreement formerly made with them, was at that time near expiring. The Company, weary of paying such an enormous sum, and at the same time of being restrained in the dividend of their own profits, made application to ministry for a new agreement, founded upon more equitable propositions than the former. They even attempted to obtain some compensation for the sums they had already paid; but a renewal of their charter for five years, which they requested, was positively refused, and they now saw that, by allowing government to interfere with them at first, they had thrown their affairs into the hands of those whom they were by no means able to resist; and that the money of the East India Company was annually to be demanded as part of the current services of the year. In these circumstances, after much negotiation, an agreement was at last concluded, and quickly after passed into a law, by which the Company obliged themselves to pay to government the annual sum of 400,000 l. for five years to come. During this time, they were allowed to increase their dividend to twelve and a half per cent.; the increase not to exceed one per cent. annually. If, during the same period, they should find it necessary to diminish their dividend, an equal sum was to be deducted from that paid to government, and, if reduced to six per cent. the annual payment of 400,000 l. was totally to cease. During the term of agreement, the Company bound themselves to export British goods equal in value to those exported annually for five years past. If

Transactions of ministry with the East India company. Feb. 1769.

*Shewens*

**CHAP.** any surplus of cash should remain in England, it was to be lent to the public at the annual interest of two per cent.

**VII.**

1771.

The affairs of the company fall into disorder.

Thus, by the avidity of the Company on one hand, and the extortion of ministry on the other, the former were led into an agreement, which, in the event, it appeared they were not able to fulfil. For some time, however, matters went on without any thing disagreeable being mentioned in parliament relative to the affairs of the Company. Towards the end of the session of 1770, indeed, a bill was brought into parliament for the more effectually enabling the East India Company to raise and support a military force for the defence and protection of their settlements. This force was proposed to consist of 600 German Protestants, 700 Irish Catholics, and 700 English; that they should be subject to the military laws during the time they staid in England; that 1400 of them should be exported annually; and that the Company's officers should have liberty to beat-up for recruits in the same manner as regular forces. It does not appear, however, that ministry ever seriously intended to give any real assistance to this Company. The possession of their revenues, which both parties over-rated, seemed to be the only object. The bill was therefore rejected on the third reading, on pretence of the bad consequences which might attend the introduction of foreign mercenaries into the kingdom; that it would throw too great a power into the hands of the Crown, by the appointment of such a number of officers; and that it would be entirely destructive to the recruiting service of the army, as the encouragement given by the Company would be apparently much higher.—In the speech from the throne, January 21, 1772, India affairs were hinted at in the following words, viz. that “the concerns of this country are so various and extensive, as to require the most vigilant and active attention; and that some of them, from remoteness of place and other circumstances, are so liable to abuses, and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the legislature for their protection might be necessary: That if in any such instances, either for supplying defects or remedying abuses, they should find it necessary to form new laws, they might depend upon his Majesty's readiest concurrence in whatever might best contribute to the attainment of those salutary ends.” This hint was immediately taken, and a speech was made by one of the majority, in which he expatiated largely on the distressed state of the Company; that they had not power sufficient to controul their servants, who made enormous fortunes at the expence of

April 21,  
1771.

Jan. 21.  
1772.



their masters, and were guilty of such horrible oppression, CHAP. VII.  
in every respect, as would certainly endanger the loss of all the British possessions in that part of the world. It was not, however, till the month of April, that the matter was taken into the serious consideration of the House, when a select committee, consisting of thirty-one members, was chosen by ballot, to inquire into East India affairs, which were found to be so exceedingly complicated and embarrassed, that they requested leave to sit during the ensuing summer, which was accordingly granted.

The result of this inquiry was by no means favourable. It appeared that the Company, far from being able to pay such an enormous sum to government, were themselves on the verge of bankruptcy. At the time of their making this agreement, indeed, they had been encumbered with very large debts, both in Europe and Asia. The revenues of the newly-acquired territories were undoubtedly very great; but they had been over-valued, and demands made upon them beyond what they could bear. Besides the sum paid to government, a tribute of almost an equal value was paid to the Mogul; the Company's investments in China were paid for in silver from Bengal; a military force of thirty thousand men was also constantly required; and the expences of civil establishments were also very great. Besides these expences, which could not be avoided, it also appeared, that great abuses had been committed by the Company's servants. Expensive wars had been entered into, vast sums thrown away upon fortifications, either altogether unnecessary, or so extensive, that a sufficient number of troops could not be afforded to protect them; pernicious and oppressive monopolies had been introduced, and such monstrous oppressions practised by individuals, that many were of opinion, their vast wealth ought to be confiscated, or at least some public mark of censure put upon them, to deter others from the like conduct in time to come. Among these, the dreadful famine which happened in Bengal in the year 1770, and, according to some accounts, destroyed four millions of people, was attributed to the avarice of the Company's servants, in buying up all the rice to be met with in the country, in order to make their own fortunes. The accounts of this famine, which appeared in the publications of that time, were shocking to humanity; and, though never contradicted, can scarce be deemed credible; though, indeed, the making immense fortunes in a very short time, must give some suspicion of indirect means made use of in the procuring of them.

A committee appointed to inquire into India affairs, April 13.

CHAP.  
VII.

1772.

Loss of the  
Aurora  
frigate with  
the Indian  
super-  
visors.

But, whatever might be the truth with regard to this particular affair, it is certain, that all parties had long ago been convinced of very great misconduct in the servants of the Company, on which account the supervisors, formerly mentioned, had been sent out to India. These gentlemen, however, had not the good fortune to arrive at the place of their destination. The Aurora frigate, which carried them, never arrived at any port, and was supposed to have perished at sea. Thus the Company were left to seek some new expedient for the regulation of their affairs; at the same time that they had unluckily thrown themselves into the hands of a power from which they could not be extricated. Being greatly alarmed at the powers granted by parliament to the select committee, of making a full inquiry into their affairs, they began seriously to consider of some means to prevent the farther extension of ministerial oppression. They had already experienced how ineffectual charters were, when put in competition with the voice of the majority in parliament; for which reason, to prevent, if possible, any further interference, it was proposed to send out other supervisors, with the same powers which had been conferred on the former gentlemen. This measure, however, could not be carried into execution so expeditiously, as to send off the new supervisors before the next meeting of parliament, when all the errors, both of the Company's servants, and of the Company themselves, having been fully ripped up by the select committee, were laid before the House, and published to the world.

State of the  
company's  
affairs.

It now appeared, that though the treasury of the Company at home was empty, they had accepted bills to the amount of 1,200,000*l.* from Bengal; that they were very considerably indebted to the bank for cash borrowed to the revenue for custom house duties, and the annual subsidy of 400,000*l.* &c. Thus they were obliged to throw themselves entirely on the mercy of administration, and to enter into a negotiation for a loan, at the very time when, in all probability, measures were contriving for their annihilation. The applications to the first lord of the treasury were received with great coldness. He referred them to parliament for satisfaction, where it was extremely probable that the misconduct of their servants, the embarrassed state of the affairs of the company itself, and the present application for money, would be blended into one common mass; and the envy attending the large fortune made by particular persons would throw a general obloquy on the whole proprietors. At the same time, a ge-

acral indignation was excited by the publication of the reports given into parliament by the committee.

CHAP.  
VII.

On the meeting of parliament, November 26th, 1772, the East-India affairs were particularly mentioned in the speech from the throne. It was observed "That the private convenience of a great number of people, as well as the commerce and revenues of the nation, were very much concerned in the welfare of the East-India company: That upon information of the difficulties in which the company were involved, it was determined to give them an early opportunity of informing themselves fully of the true state of their affairs, and of making such provisions for the common benefit and security of the various interests concerned, as should be found best adapted to the present exigencies of the case."

1772.  
They are mentioned in the king's speech, Nov. 26.

In consequence of this speech, a violent declamation was made, by the member who moved for the address, against the behaviour of the East-India company with regard to their affairs, which, he said, were in the most ruinous and deplorable situation. The minister, however, lord North, who had been appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury in 1770, was more favourable in his opinion, and declared, that however much they might be embarrassed with regard to money-matters at present, they were, nevertheless, far from being in a desperate situation with regard to the internal state of their affairs. The best and speediest method of giving them relief, appeared to him to be the appointment of a committee of secrecy, consisting of thirteen persons, to be chosen by ballot. This would prevent the unnecessary exposure of the company's affairs; and it would be highly improper, as well as unfair and ungenerous, that they should suffer any injury in consequence of a simple money transaction with the public; but, that their affairs being thus laid open only to a few, it would necessarily follow, that no undue advantage could be taken of such knowledge. This measure was objected to, principally on the supposition, that the secret committee would be composed of persons entirely devoted to the minister; however, it passed without a division, and was found, according to expectation, to consist either of such as were connected with persons in office, or who were known to be entirely at their devotion. This committee, besides being armed with full powers to take any proper measures for the relief of the company, was particularly ordered to consider the intended plan for sending out supervisors to India. The select committee was also revived next day; by which manœuvre it evidently appear-

Committee of secrecy appointed.

CHAP. ed, that the secrecy of the other was a mere pretence to  
 VII. get the management of affairs totally into the hands of ad-  
 ~~~~~ ministration. However, the minister gave as a reason for  
 1772. this contradictory conduct, that he had previously prom-
 ised not to oppose the revival of the select committee.

The send-
 ing of new
 supervisors
 to India
 prevented.

The decisions of the committee of secrecy were so very quick, that they seemed to have been the result of a pre-meditated scheme. In a week after their institution, a report was brought in, that though the company were much distressed in money-matters, they were, nevertheless, making preparations for sending out an expensive commission of supervisors to India, which would still add to that distress; and that it was the opinion of the committee, that a bill should be brought in to restrain them, for a limited time, from sending out any such commission of supervisors. Such a proposition alarmed not only those who were more immediately concerned in the affairs of the company, but those who considered it merely as an invasion of the legal rights of the company, and an infraction of the principles of the constitution. It must, indeed, be evident to every person who considers the conduct of the ministry, as already related, for a number of years past, that it seemed to be their wish to establish powers somewhere, which should be totally independent of the law of the land, and could, at the pleasure of the minister, supercede it. This had eagerly been sought for, first, in authority of secretaries of state; then in the house of commons; and now it was attempted to vest in a committee, evidently under the influence of administration, a power to counteract the privileges of a trading company, to take what measures seemed to them most proper for the settlement of their affairs. In this light, their conduct had been viewed all along by the members in opposition, who, it must be owned, whatever faults might be found in their private characters, have struggled only for the liberty of the subject, and the authority of the laws. In the present case, the interference of ministry, in the affair of the supervisors, was looked upon as an attempt to overthrow the undoubted privileges of the subject, and, under pretence of assisting the company, to take the management of their own affairs entirely out of their hands. The whole force of opposition was therefore collected on this important occasion. It was alleged, that the distress of the company was only temporary, and that they were otherwise abundantly capable of paying every debt, as the minister himself had owned. The abuses committed in the East by the company's servants, had rendered it necessary to appoint a set of gentle-

Argument
 for and
 against the
 company.

men to inspect their conduct, by which vast sums would annually be saved to the company; out of which savings, the supervisors themselves were to be paid. The pretence of their being so very expensive, was therefore totally invalidated. The ministry, however, in the present case, had adopted a new method of arguing, viz. that, when people were distressed, they should not be allowed to take proper measures for retrieving their affairs. Besides, the present bill was undoubtedly an *ex post facto* affair, to restrain the company from doing what had been already done. The sending out of supervisors could not possibly affect the affairs of the company at home. Their charter and constitution were manifestly affected by the report, notwithstanding the deference which had been paid to parliament, by suspending the commission of the supervisors until the affair should receive the sanction of the house.

CHAP.
VII.

1772

To this it was replied, on the part of the ministry, That no hostile measures were in contemplation against the company; that the wish of parliament was for their prosperity; but they were evidently entering into a very expensive commission at an improper time, when necessitated by their former misconduct, to apply to the public for a loan of money, at the same time that they owed considerable sums to government; and, as it was undoubtedly the duty of parliament to prevent them from ruin, the committee appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the methods proper for their relief, had been of opinion, that they ought to be restrained from their intended measure of sending out supervisors, and no restriction could be laid upon them, unless a bill for this purpose were passed into a law. Besides, it was impossible that the company could, without the assistance of the legislature, give their commissioners such authority as would be proper for the redress of such monstrous abuses as had taken place.

On this, two gentlemen, directors to the India Company, and then in their places as members, offered to pledge themselves to the house, that the supervisors should not be suffered to depart before the legality and propriety of their commission was fully discussed in parliament. The proposal, however, was utterly rejected by the ministry. It was said, that though the company might for the present, have resolved to suspend the departure of the supervisors, nothing but an act of parliament could make that resolution effectual; that they might rescind in one day, their resolutions or measures for the preceding; that the opinion or promises of the whole court of directors could afford no security in this respect, as the direction was in-

CHAP. VII. *senior to the general courts, where their acts were liable to be over-ruled by their proprietors; and that an advantage might be taken, during the Christmas recess, of sending the supervisors to India? That the bill in question was so far from being an invasion of any charter, that it was directed against an evil, not only possible, but very likely to happen, namely, to prevent the company from crowning all their former extravagance, by entering upon an unnecessary and ruinous expence, when on the point of bankruptcy.*

1772.

On the part of the East-India company, it was replied, That the bill was, in every respect, unconstitutional, being no less than a bill to suspend the laws of the land; as well as subversive of the company's charter, which had been so dearly purchased: That instead of taking any steps to render the company great and glorious, as had been boasted in the minister's speech, administration had begun by plundering them of no less a sum than two millions, and now put the finishing hand to their work, by taking advantage of the distress, occasioned chiefly by that very extortion, to deprive them of their charter, and overthrow their constitution. The bill must also be productive of the most fatal consequences to the other funds, and put an end to all confidence in the public faith. It was asked, what security could there be in a country, where the royal charters, repeatedly ratified and confirmed by acts of parliament, could give no permanent establishment to property? The argument of expence was evidently a mere pretext; for it was allowed by ministry, that some sort of supervision was necessary, and the objection of expence was equally applicable to every one. There was, besides, no defect of powers in the charter of the company; they might be given, with equal efficacy, to the commissioners legally appointed, and without any violation of the company's rights.

Ineffectual
petition of
the com-
pany.

All this, however, was productive of no good consequence; the bill was carried by a majority of 114 against 43, and the company reduced to the ineffectual remedy of petitioning and remonstrating. That there might be no misrepresentation of the state of the company's affairs either at home or abroad, several of their servants were examined at the bar of the house of commons; by which it appeared, that the misconduct of those in the East still continued; and several of the members, then sitting in the house, by their indiscretion in asking needless questions, brought a share of these charges upon themselves.—From this inquiry into the affairs of the company, it appeared that, since the year 1765, the company's expences had increased from

400,000 to 1,700,000l. annually. Government had received, by the produce of the duties, the indemnity for tea, and the stipulated 400,000l. little less than two millions annually. By the indemnity agreement alone, the company had lost, from its commencement, not less than one million sterling, of which government had received 700,000l. and the remainder went to the purchasers. During the last five years, the profits of government, by means of the company, had been no less than 3,395,000l. during which time, those of the company had amounted only to 464,000l. annually, which, however, would have afforded a dividend of twelve and a half per cent.; and from receiving even this they had been restricted. Instead of being in any respect culpable with regard to government; therefore, they insisted that they had been serviceable in a most extraordinary manner.

CHAR VII.

1774.

While these transactions were carried on, the secret committee had given in another report, intended to contain a state of the company's affairs at that time; but this was so much involved in figures and accounts, that very little could be gathered from it. The friends of the company complained of it as unfavourable, if not unfair; while the opposite party cried it up as a master-piece, and far beyond what could be expected of the committee in such a short time. At the same time, the company were acquainted, that they must either abide by this statement of their affairs, or directly prove it to be false.


The bill had already undergone two readings; but, on the third, council were heard for the company, which again produced violent debates. By the opponents of the bill, it was urged, that as nobody pretended to deny the company's legal right to the appointment of its own servants, and the entire management of them, no reasonable objection could now be brought against the exercise of that right, when, from the rapacity and oppressive behaviour of these servants, it became evidently not only expedient, but absolutely necessary to do so; and, as every delay in the present critical situation of affairs must be injurious, the supervisors, instead of being longer detained, ought to be sent off immediately.

Council heard in their behalf.

This mode of reasoning was so far from convincing the ministerial party, that they adopted the very arguments made use of to prove the necessity of superseding the supervision altogether. They insisted, that the evils in the affairs of India were grown to such an enormous magnitude, that nothing less than the interference of the legislature could put a stop to them; that the commission was

CHAP. wrong in its principles, because the governors and councils in the respective presidencies in India were joined with those sent over in quality of supervisors. Thus, as the number of the former were permanent, they must soon become a majority by the death or sickness of the supervisors; by which the capital offenders would be effectually secured from punishment, as becoming judges in their own cause. The legislature had undoubtedly a supreme and controuling power, to which every thing must submit; and this power could never be applied with greater propriety and benefit than in the present case, where the welfare of so many millions were concerned. Laws, as well as charters, must submit to the alterations consequent on the changes of times and seasons; and, at the commencement of the company's charter, it is impossible to suppose, that it could be intended to grant them a right of legislation over vast countries, in which it was scarce probable that they could ever have any footing, excepting a permission to trade as strangers. The affairs of the company, besides, were in the hands of parliament; and it was absurd, in such a case, to suffer them to go on with any plan of their own.

By the friends of the company it was replied, That the interposition of parliament had hitherto been made use of only to extort money. In 1767, they had undertaken to regulate their affairs; but, instead of this, after the extortion of an immense sum, the affairs of the company had been left in their former state; and though they had since that time remained open to parliament, nothing had been done on the part of administration, except the making or renewing its extortions under the name of *bargains*, which had, in truth, contributed more than any thing to bring them into their present embarrassed situation. A select committee had considered their affairs for a whole summer without any benefit to the company, and a secret committee had brought forth nothing but complaints. It was the fault of administration, therefore, if the company was not invested with powers sufficient to punish their servants, and regulate their internal governments; for a bill with that title had been actually brought into the house, and rejected by the ministerial party, under pretence of waiting for the discoveries to be made by the select committee. The supposition of the powers of supervision devolving upon the governors, was merely imaginary, as the company had taken effectual measures to prevent it. The delay of sending out supervisors was likewise of material consequence. The bill proposed a

restraint of six months, and the season of the year would CHAP. VII.
 restrain it for other six months; so that thus a whole year
 would be lost before any regulation could be made either
 by parliament or otherwise, which must prove detrimental
 in the highest degree to the affairs of the company; 
 besides, that it would give so much time to the offenders
 to prepare every art of chicanery to elude the course of
 justice, that, in all probability, not one of them would
 ever be brought to punishment.

The most forcible part of the arguments used by the
 minority on this occasion was, that the bill in question
 undoubtedly stretched the prerogative of parliament be-
 yond its due bounds. A supreme incontrollable power,
 indeed, must be lodged in the legislature; but that was
 not to be exercised, except in cases of the most urgent
 necessity. The present bill was an invasion of a right
 which parliament had sold, and which could not be taken
 away without forfeiting the faith of the nation. Such a
 dangerous exertion of despotic power, must not only prove
 destructive to the credit of the East India company, but
 likewise to the Bank, South Sea, and all other companies.
 It was insisted also, that administration, in reality, ap-
 proved of the measure of sending out supervisors; but
 that as soon as the company refused to nominate the per-
 sons whom they thought proper to chuse, they had set
 themselves entirely against the whole scheme, and found
 the house, as usual, compliant to their measures.

These arguments, however, as well as the former, were
 urged in vain. Such was the general detestation in which
 the company were held on account of the behaviour of
 their servants, that the bill was at last carried by one hun-
 dred and fifty-three to twenty-eight. In the house of
 peers it met with a very spirited opposition, and occasi-
 oned a protest. In this house, the countenance at first
 shewn to the scheme of supervision was totally denied. It
 was even said, that they had no evidence that the bill was
 contrary to the inclination of the company any more than
 their interests. A petition, indeed, had been presented,
 but it was only signed by fourteen of the proprietors, out
 of about one thousand seven hundred, of which the com-
 pany consisted. The truth, however, was, that the bill
 had been hurried thro' the house in such a manner, that
 it would have been passed without any petition, before the
 company had time to go through the forms necessary for
 calling a full assembly; for which reason, the above-men-
 tioned fourteen of the principal proprietors signed this
 ineffectual petition.

Dec. 18.

CHAPTER VII. The affair of the supervisors being thus discussed, the requisitions of the company were next taken into consideration. The principal of these were, a loan of a million and a half for four years, at the interest of four per cent. with liberty to repay the same in sums not less than 300,000 l. at once, during which time the company should not make a dividend of more than six per cent. to be increased to eight, as soon as the debt was reduced to 750,000 l.; and, after the discharge of the whole, the surplus of net profits arising in England above the dividend just mentioned, should be appropriated to the payment of the company's bond-debt, until it were reduced to 1,500,000 l. and that the surplus profits arising from thence should be equally divided between the company and government. The company also requested to be freed from the penal interest incurred by non-payment of money, as well as the annual payment of the 400,000 l. for the remainder of the five years mentioned. A full account of the company's revenues and mercantile profits were to be annually laid before parliament; and, at the same time, leave was requested to export tea, duty free, to America and other foreign countries.

Their territorial rights called in question.

These proposals met with a very indifferent reception from administration, who now began to let fall some hints that the company had no right to their territories in the East. The first lord of the treasury moved, that a supply of 1,400,000 l. be granted to the company, provided sufficient care be taken to prevent such exigencies for the future. The minister proposed, that, "supposing the public should advance a sum of money to the company, the dividend should be restricted to six per cent. until the whole debt be discharged, and that the company be allowed to divide no more than seven per cent. until their bond-debt be reduced to 1,500,000 l." These resolutions being passed without a division, it was soon after moved and carried by a majority, That it is the opinion of this house, it will be more beneficial to the public and the company, to let the territorial acquisitions remain in the hands of the company for a limited time, not exceeding six years, to commence from the agreement between the public and the company. That no participation of profits shall take place between the public and the company until after the re-payment of the 1,400,000 l. advanced to the company, and the reduction of the company's bond-debt to 1,500,000 l. That after the payment of the loan advanced to the company, and the reduction of their bond-debt to the sum just mentioned, three fourths of the net surplus profits of

the company at home, above the sum of eight per cent. upon their capital stock, shall be paid into the exchequer, for the use of the public, and the remaining fourth shall be set apart either for further reducing the company's bonds, or for composing a fund for the discharge of any contingent exigencies under which the company may labour.

CHAP. VII.

1773.

Thus did administration silently bring matters to the issue they had so long wished for, viz. the depriving the Company of their territories in the East. A right was now supposed to be vested in the crown to the possession of these territories, though, at the negotiations for the peace of 1763, it had been stipulated by the English minister, that "respecting those territorial acquisitions, the English East-India Company have made in Asia, every dispute relative thereto, must be settled by the Company itself, the crown of England having no right to interfere in what is allowed to be the legal and exclusive property of a body corporate belonging to the English nation." The present ministry, however, did not think proper to pay regard to this or any other securities, the Company might have of a right to these possessions. Lord North declared, 9th March, 1773, that though he waived the discussion of the subject for the present, he had no doubt but that the crown had a preferable title to the possessions in the East. This doctrine, he said, was not peculiar to himself, as several persons, well-skilled in the law, had declared, that "such territorial possessions as the subjects of any state shall acquire by conquest, are virtually the property of the state, and not of those individuals who acquire them." On the 5th of April, he made the above-mentioned proposal of letting the possessions remain in the hands of the Company for six years longer, by which the right of the crown was established without any discussion at all; and, indeed, the existence of that right was now positively insisted upon as a matter settled beyond doubt; the limitation to six years being occasioned by the expiration of the Company's charter in the year 1780.

And finally taken away.

March 9.

Such an extraordinary transaction could not fail to excite the greatest clamours; but every kind of opposition was in vain; a kind of infatuation and the most servile inclination seemed universally to prevail, of running headlong into every measure proposed by government, whether right or wrong. Nay, though it was evident that the scheme relative to the East-India Company had been carried on with such rapacity and dissimulation as must have forfeited the character of any individual, ministry were

CHAP. now at great pains to display their kindness to the Company; they set forth, that notwithstanding the great losses the Company had, by their own misconduct, sustained, so as to render them unable to pay the sum annually stipulated to the public, they had generously supplied them with four times the sum, and, out of their tender regard to the Company, would still undergo farther disadvantages. As it was known that the Company had on hand an immense stock of tea, amounting to no less than seventeen millions of pounds, it was allowed them to export any quantity they pleased to foreign parts, without being liable to duty.

1773.

Another
petition
from the
Company,
April 30.

Regulation
bill brought
in and
passed,
May 3.

To all this kindness the Company replied by a petition; in which they complained, in the strongest terms, of the injurious conduct of administration; of the gross misrepresentation that had been given of their affairs; and, at the same time, set forth the great advantages the public had reaped from them, the expence they had been at in acquiring those territories, to which it was now declared that they had no right; but this met with no better reception than the former. The plan for depriving the Company of the management of their affairs was already laid, and the most convenient method of subjecting them entirely to the power of the crown only remained to be considered. At last, after long and fruitless debates, the minister brought in a bill, for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East-India company, as well in India as in Europe. The principal articles of this bill were the following: 1st, That the court of directors should, in future, be elected for four years; six members to be chosen annually. 2d and 3d, The stock of qualification should now be 1000l. instead of 500l. as formerly; and no person should be intitled to vote for the election of the directors who had not possessed their stock for twelve months. 4th, The mayor's court of Calcutta should, for the future, be confined in its jurisdiction to small mercantile causes. 5th, Instead of this court, a new one should be appointed, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges. 6th, That all these judges be appointed by the crown; and lastly, That the presidency of Bengal should have a superiority over all others in India.

This bill proved no less disagreeable to the company than the former transactions had been. Every part of it was disputed with great violence; but still the Company appeared to have very few friends in the house, so that every question was carried by a prodigious majority. They petitioned against it, sent a message concerning it to the lord mayor and livery of London, requesting that they would

oppose it to the utmost of their power. But though they also petitioned, as well as those who were possessed of property in the East-Indies, who claimed the privilege of other British subjects, the bill at last was passed into a law by a majority of one hundred and thirty-one to twenty-one. In the house of lords it was also strongly opposed by a few members, but at last was carried by thirty-nine to twelve. On this occasion, a conference was proposed between the two houses, but rejected, on pretence that it would occasion a loss of time. It was then moved, that the reports of the several committees, as well as the other evidences relative to the state of India affairs, should be laid before the house; but this also was rejected on the same pretence.

The Company, now left hopeless of redress, continued to send unavailing petitions on the second reading of the bill, and their few friends in parliament continued an ineffectual opposition. The bill was finally passed, and the Company thus entirely thrown into the hands of ministry. The continued series of inquiries, however, into the transactions of the Company for many years past, had produced very unfavourable reports of the conduct of many of their servants in the East, which at last brought on a formal charge of rapacity, treachery, and cruelty against lord Clive, and others concerned in the deposition and death of Surajah Dowlah, with the other means which had been taken to accomplish the revolution of 1756. This soon produced the following resolutions, by which the ascendancy of the ministry was fully completed: "That all acquisitions made under a military force, or by virtue of treaties with foreign princes, do, of right, belong to the state: That to appropriate acquisitions so made to the private emolument of persons entrusted with any civil or military power of the state, is illegal; That very great sums of money, and other valuable property, have been acquired in Bengal from princes, and others in that country, by persons intrusted with the civil and military powers of the state, by means of such powers; which sums of money and property have been appropriated to the private use of such persons."

Lord Clive
arraigned.

The general indignation against the servants of the company on account of the crimes imputed to them, and probably also the envy occasioned by the large fortunes they had made, hurried these resolutions through the house, though, upon more cool reflection, they occasioned considerable debates. The whole affair terminated in a direct accusation of lord Clive. That nobleman vindicated his conduct, in general, with great ability, and set forth, in a striking point of view, the very eminent services he had

CHAP. rendered the Company. However, this did not prevent
VII. another attack, which would probably have been attended

1771

with very disagreeable consequences, had it not been that the reports of the select committee were deemed not to be sufficient evidence whereon to found a parliamentary judgment of the matter. The affair at last ended in a motion, "That lord Clive, at the time of his receiving sums to the amount of 234,000*l*. on the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, did render great and meritorious service to this country ;" which being carried, a stop was put to the inquiry.

The last
petition of
the Com-
pany re-
jected.

The Company, at last, finding themselves now deprived of every hope of relief, and that they had been egregiously duped and ensnared by administration, at last presented a petition to the commons, refusing to accept the loan on the terms that had been proposed, and requesting to withdraw their former petition ; but this was treated as an act of insanity rather than deserving serious consideration. It was determined to save the Company from ruin in spite of themselves, and to force the benevolence of the public upon them.

CHAPTER VIII.

Parliamentary proceedings—Civil-list debt—Disqualification of revenue officers—Westminster judges—Attorney-General—Nullum Tempus bill—Royal Marriage act—Dissenters bill—Affair of Falkland Islands—Tumult in the Houses of Parliament—Expedition against St. Vincents.

THE same motives by which the ministry hitherto seemed to be actuated, had uniformly continued to mark their conduct in every thing with which they had any concern. In the end of February, 1769, a message from his majesty was laid before the house of commons, acquainting them, that the expences of his government had exceeded the civil-list revenue so much, that he had been obliged to incur a debt of more than 500,000*l.* for the discharge of which he relied on their well-known zeal and affection. This application, though by no means unusual in former times, now produced a violent debate, owing not only to the temper of the people in general, but, also, to another circumstance, viz. that his majesty, soon after his accession to the throne, had agreed to accept of the annual sum of 800,000*l.* to be certainly paid him, instead of the product of various funds, formerly appropriated to the civil-list; the uncertainty of which was thought to have afforded the ministry too frequent occasions for making demands on the people. As the revenue of his majesty, however, was now certainly known, administration found themselves chargeable with mismanagement of the royal revenue upon every deficiency, and the popular party thought they had a right to call them to an account for

CHAP.
VIII.

1769.
Transactions with
regard to
the civil-
list revenue

CH AP. the manner in which it was expended. This was done
 VIII. with great rigour in the present case. A review was made
 of the civil-list and private revenues of the crown. Those
 1769. from Wales, and the duchy of Cornwall, were taken in-
 to consideration, as well as certain duties lately laid on,
 by virtue of the royal prerogative in some of the West-
 India Islands; from all which it was inferred, that the
 civil-list revenue was now in a better state than it had ever
 been before; and that it was absolutely necessary to pro-
 duce the reasons of the deficiency. It was but reasonable,
 they said, that the public should have the satisfaction of
 knowing how their money had been expended before they
 submitted to the imposition of new burdens: That if debts
 were contracted without any consideration, and these
 debts discharged by the people without enquiry, the re-
 venue of the prince might become entirely unlimited, and
 evil ministers would be enabled to carry every measure
 they proposed to themselves, however, unjustifiable, or
 prejudicial to the interest of the community.

To all this it was replied on the part of the ministry,
 That though it was generally right to watch the conduct
 of ministers, it was not so in the present instance. It would
 be ungenerous to shew any suspicion of a prince, who had
 taken such care, on his first accession, to consult the free-
 dom of the subject, by establishing the independency of
 the judges. He had also renounced his share of the cap-
 tures taken during the war, and which amounted to no
 less a sum than 700,000*l.* so that it would be very strange
 to refuse what was necessary for his immediate exigencies.
 At the same time, the greatest readiness was professed to lay
 an accompt of the expenditure before the house; but the
 length of time requisite for preparing them, and the late-
 ness of the session, made it necessary to delay it till the next
 meeting of parliament.

Feb 28. These arguments were sufficient to stop the mouths of
 opposition for the present, and the sum of 513,511*l.* was
 granted to pay the arrears; but when the accompts were
 required next year, all inspection into them was positively
 refused. It was now said, that as no application had been
 made for any additional sum of money, there was no right
 to enquire into the manner in which it was expended;
 but at present it was untimely, improper, and disrespect-
 ful to the crown, as well as unjust, to enter into an exa-
 mination of the royal expences. It was not pretended that
 there was the smallest reason for an enquiry, as long as the
 expences were confined within the stipulated sum; but how
 was it known that the expences of last year had exceeded

that sum by a single shilling? Or how was it known but there had been a considerable saving? The argument for an enquiry, because there had been a large sum required last year, was to no purpose; for as it had been then granted without any hesitation or enquiry, it appeared that the house was convinced of its being reasonable to grant it, as well as that it would be properly applied. Finally, as the revenue of the civil-list was designed solely for the use of the crown, it was proper that it should be entirely at the crown's disposal. The accounts of former years were produced, but even though it were proper to lay the accounts of last year before the house, it would be impossible to make them ready for this season. It was therefore hoped, that the motion would be rejected, and no more accounts called for until further assistance should be required.

CHAP.
VIII.

1770.

By this dexterous management, the minister avoided for the present, any enquiry either at the time when money was demanded, or at any other. He was then called upon by opposition to pledge himself, that in his time, the expenditure of the crown should not exceed its income; but this was declined; though he promised, on all occasions, to advise the strictest regard to oeconomy, and that the expenses should not exceed the ordinary revenue, except in cases where the necessity was so apparent, that no objection could possibly be made to a supply.

Thus was opposition defeated in its endeavours to procure a regular and clear account of the royal expences. Another attempt to diminish the influence of the crown, by disqualifying certain revenue-officers from voting for members of parliament, met with the same fate. The debates upon this occasion, were carried on with great warmth; but, upon the question being put, the motion was rejected by a very great majority.

Motion for disqualifying revenue officers from voting at elections, rejected, Feb. 11, 1770.

On the 28th of November, 1770, a motion made by lord Chatham on the subject of the Middlesex election, gave birth to a proposal for an inquiry into the conduct of certain courts of justice. In the introduction to his speech, this nobleman made a digression to the modern method of directing juries from the bench, and judging in cases of prosecution for libels. On this occasion, he threw out some severe censures on a great law lord then present, (lord Mansfield), who naturally entering on a defence of his conduct, attributed the accusation to ignorance; supposing lord Chatham had taken his information from spurious printed accounts of trials. He insisted, that in all cases he had given directions to the jury, which he was

Nov. 28, 1770.

Inquiry into the conduct of the courts of justice proposed and dropped.

CHAP. VIII. not ashamed to own, viz. that they were to judge from what appeared in the court, both with respect to the publication, and likewise of the justification of any libel; but, where no justification of the matter was entered into they were to find, according to their judgment, whether the criminal inference in the information was really merited by what was contained in the paper. This method of charging, however, was the very thing complained of, and it was insisted, that juries could only determine the fact; it was the province of the bench alone to determine the intention by which the person was either to be declared innocent or guilty. To do otherwise was said to be repugnant to all law, and contrary to the constitution; and it was urged in the strongest manner, that a day should be appointed for an inquiry into the conduct of the judges in this respect. The matter was taken up by the late lord-chancellor, who declared himself strongly interested, and even tied down by duty to urge the making of such an inquiry; and if he could be sensible of any errors in the conduct of judges, with respect to the inculcating of doctrines contrary to law, he would not fail to point them out to their faces. He was sensible of the present disreputable state of the law-courts, and wish to see them restored to their former dignity, for which no method he knew of would be so effectual as the inquiry proposed. Notwithstanding this bravado, however, no inquiry did at that time take place, a motion for adjournment being immediately after made and carried.

Motion for reducing the powers of the attorney-general, rejected.

A motion made in the house of commons for amending an act of 4th and 5th William and Mary, to prevent malicious informations in the court of king's bench, and for the more easy reversal of outlawries there, was the subject of another debate. The intention was to restrain the powers lodged in the hands of the attorney-general, which enabled him to file informations and carry on prosecutions for libels, without the interference of a grand jury, or going through the forms established in all other cases. This power, it was contended, could not be compatible with the laws of a free state, and was of too dangerous and extensive a nature to be lodged in the hands of one man; as thus, by his own mere mandate, or in obedience to the will of a minister, he might give any name he pleased to a publication, and then commence a prosecution, without calling any evidence, or making the least inquiry; by which means the most innocent person might be ruined, supposing him to be only unfortunate enough to fall under the displeasure of the attorney-general or the

minister. This method of procedure was therefore generally reprobated; and, besides its manifest unpopularity and injustice, it was evidently defective, as it would be much safer, as well as more expeditious, to go through the ordinary forms of law, than to follow this method of prosecution by the attorney-general. Instances were brought of this power being abused; particularly of one attorney-general, whose conduct was so notorious, that he had no other method of defending himself, than by producing written instructions from the secretary of state, for acting in the manner he did. On the other hand, it was replied, that the office was of high antiquity, and a part of the common law of the land; that innovations in matters of this kind were always dangerous, and that the abuse of any power was no argument why it should not exist, as there was no power whatever but what was liable to abuse. The very instance brought to show the abuse of this power, tended also to shew, that there was a remedy, namely, by applying to the house of commons; and that every attorney-general, like other crown-officers, is responsible for the use he makes of the power with which he is intrusted. On a division, the motion was rejected by a great majority.

CHAP. VIII.

1770.

During the course of the debates on this subject, the dispute concerning juries happened to be mentioned, which, immediately after the rejection of the motion concerning the attorney-general, produced another for a formal inquiry into the conduct of the judges which had already been proposed and dropped, but which now after much fruitless altercation, was rejected by 184 to 76. As in the course of these debates, however, the conduct of lord Mansfield had been particularly arraigned, his lordship thought proper to declare, that he would vindicate his own conduct, and accordingly gave notice for a call of the house of lords on a matter of importance, he said he had to communicate to them. Every one now expected great things; but when the appointed day came, all ended in his lordship's declaring, that he had left a paper with the clerk, containing the unanimous judgment of the king's bench on the cause of the printer Woodfall, and that the lords might read it if they pleased. On a question being proposed, whether this paper should be entered on the journals of the house, an answer was given in the negative, which, though it precluded any notice being taken of it by the house, seemed fully to answer every purpose now intended by his lordship; in consequence of which,

Inquiry into the conduct of the Westminster judges revived and dropped a second time. Dec. 6. 1770.

CHAP. the inquiry was finally dropped, to the great discontent
VIII. and disappointment of the public.

1771.

Amend-
ment of the
nullum
tempus bill
rejected.

Thus the ministry, either by downright weight of numbers, or by artful evasions, eluded every thing that tended either to relieve the people from what looked like arbitrary power, or to elucidate and bring to public view, such mysterious transactions as they themselves happened to be concerned in. The event of the nullum tempus bill, finally decided in the month of February, 1771, did not tend to give a more favourable view of their conduct. It has already been mentioned, how this act was revived in 1768, in order to deprive the duke of Portland of a considerable estate of which the family had been in possession for seventy years. A clause had been inserted in the act, by which the grantees or lessees of the crown were allowed a year to prove their claims; and though this clause evidently affected the duke very much, no opposition had been made by him or his friends on the occasion. It was indeed imagined at that time, that the whole affair had been only calculated to answer certain purposes at the general election of members, consequent on the dissolution of parliament. The event, however, shewed, that this was far from being the case. A very expensive law-suit had been commenced against the duke of Portland, and by reason of the great extent of the royalties in question, no fewer than four hundred ejectments had been served in one day, two hundred and twenty-five suits at common law were entered into, and fifteen bills in dependence a short time before the matter came to be debated a second time in the house of commons. By this dreadful inundation of law-suits, the whole county of Cumberland, and indeed almost the whole kingdom, was thrown into consternation; but though there could hardly be a more glaring instance of the bad tendency of any clause or act whatever, the amendment, by leaving out this clause, was strongly opposed by ministry, on pretence that the clause in question had been left with a view to preserve Sir James Lowther's right to a legal determination of his claim, and it would be a breach of faith in parliament to draw him into a law-suit, and then annihilate the authority on which he had proceeded. The distresses in the county of Cumberland, it was also said, were now entirely at an end, as Sir James Lowther had, from motives of humanity, stopped all proceedings, except those against the duke of Portland. All the influence of administration, however, was requisite on this occasion, to carry the favourite point into execution. On the first and

second readings the amendment was carried, but lost on the third by a majority of nine. On this occasion it was complained, that the minister wrote several letters to influence particular persons, and used other means not less exceptionable to gain his point. In the following session, a bill for quieting the possession of the subject against dormant claims of the church met with the same fate, being thrown out by a majority of one hundred and forty-one to one hundred and seventeen.

Two other remarkable bills were discussed this session, viz. The royal marriage bill, and that for the relief of the dissenters in England. The former was occasioned by the marriage of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland with a lady of the first quality in England. On the 20th of February, a message from his majesty was read in both houses, the purport of which was, that his majesty, from paternal affection to his own family, and anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, recommended it to both houses, to take it into their serious consideration, whether it might not be wise and expedient to supply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by some new provision, to guard more effectually the descendants of his late majesty, (other than the issue of princesses who have married, or may hereafter marry into foreign families) from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs or successors, first had and obtained. In consequence of this message a bill was brought into the house of lords, to render all the descendants of the late king (those mentioned in the message only excepted) incapable of contracting marriage without the previous consent of the king, or his successors on the throne, signified under the great seal, and declared in council; every such marriage and matrimonial contract, without such consent, being declared null and void. It was, however, granted, that such descendants, being above the age of twenty-five years, upon their giving the privy council twelve months previous notice of their design, may, after the expiration of that time, enter into marriage without the royal consent, unless both houses of parliament should within that time expressly declare their disapprobation of it. All persons, at the same time, who shall knowingly presume to solemnize, or assist at the celebration of such illegal marriages, or at any such matrimonial contract, were declared to incur the penalties of the statute. This bill met with the most vigorous opposition in both houses; but though its legality was called in question, and amendments to every clause were proposed and strongly insisted upon, it passed both houses

CHAP. VIII.

1771.
Feb. 27.

Feb. 17.

Royal marriage act passed.

Feb. 20,
1772.

CHAP. VIII. with uncommon rapidity, and before the end of March was established as a law.

1772.
Dissenters
bill origi-
nates from
a petition
of an asso-
ciation at
the Feather
tavern.

The dissenters bill originated from an association formed at the Feather tavern at London, where many persons, whose consciences did not allow them to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England in their full extent, met to consider of proper means for their relief; and at last presented a petition to the house of commons. This petition was signed by two hundred and fifty clergymen of the church of England, and by several professors of law and physic. In this petition they represented the certainty, infallibility, and sufficiency of the holy scriptures to instruct in all points necessary to eternal salvation. In consequence of this, they challenged an inherent right, derived from God alone, of interpreting the scripture for themselves, without the influence of human authority to bias or command their opinions in any manner of way. This, they said, had been the sentiments of the church of England formerly, and those upon which the reformation from Popery was founded. The subscription-laws, however, had produced a deviation from those sentiments, in consequence of which, they were now obliged to declare certain doctrines and opinions drawn up by fallible men to be in all respects agreeable and consonant to scripture. These subscriptions, they said, were a great hindrance to the progress of true religion, and tended to produce divisions and animosities among those who went under the general name of protestants; that even the clergy themselves, who did subscribe these articles, were far from being agreed in their opinions, which gave an handle to infidels and Papists to charge them, with being actuated by the most unworthy motives of policy and interest.

It was complained by the professors of law and physic, that at an age when they were totally unfit for such disquisitions, they were obliged, at one of the universities particularly, to subscribe their assent to a number of theological tenets, in order to attain to the necessary academical degrees; while, at the same time, their attention to their own particular branches, must render their private opinions on these subjects of no consequence to the public, as not affording them leisure to inquire into the truth or falsehood of these propositions they had subscribed in their early years.

When the petition was presented to the house, the supporters of it made use of arguments similar to those just mentioned, urging also, that to press subscription in matters of faith, was establishing habits of prevarication un-

The petition rejected.

for a mask of religion; that a happy opportunity was now offered for dissenters to be taken into the bosom of the church, which most probably would be accepted, and which would give it such a stability and firmness as nothing could shake. It was, however, rejected by a great majority. The high-church party considered an attack on the thirty-nine articles as little less than blasphemy. The church and state, they said, were so intimately united, that one could not subsist without the other. The petition struck directly against christianity *; and the annulling of the liturgy would be next called for. They said, that parliament could not grant any relief in the present case, as they had no power to dissolve the oaths of such as had already taken them; and those whom avarice prompted to seize on the revenues of the church, without believing in her tenets, instead of having their request granted, ought to be excluded from her entirely. Neither was it in the power of the king to comply with the prayer of the petition, as he was bound by oath to preserve the church in its established form. It would also be a breach of the articles of union, by which it was engaged, that the church governments both of England and Scotland should continue the same as before.

CHAP.
VIII.

1772.

There were many, however, who, though entirely averse to the petition, thought that it ought to lie upon the table till the end of the session, or that the king might appoint a committee of the clergy to enquire into its merits. They insisted, that the petitioners were men of irreproachable characters; they also contended, that the legislature had an authority over the articles of union; and two instances were brought to shew that they had actually been altered†, viz. in the act against occasional conformity, and in that which destroyed elective patronages.—They admitted, however, that though government had power to alter the constitution as it thought proper, it was necessary that the religious part of it should be bound by some

* The part of the thirty-nine articles which the petitioners chiefly objected to, was that in which the Divinity of our Saviour is strongly asserted. This doctrine, though evidently the very foundation of the Christian religion, has of late been denied by vast numbers of those who call themselves Christians, and even by not a few who subscribed the articles.

† This doctrine is undoubtedly the most pernicious that can be imagined; as it puts an end at once to all public faith. The union was a treaty betwixt two independent states, and could not be altered without bringing back matters to the state in which they were at that time. Otherwise, the British parliament had no more right to alter the articles of the union than of the treaties of Utrecht or Paris.

CHAP. certain principles from which they could not deviate ; **for**
VIII. which purpose, it was also necessary that some public
 symbol should be established to which they should all con-
 1772. sent. A mere subscription to the Bible would signify no-
 thing, as it was manifest from every day's experience, that
 no two would agree in their constructions of it.—The
 clergy could not complain of any injustice in the matter
 of subscription, as they were under no necessity of accept-
 ing benefices contrary to their conscience. As matters now
 stood, every person had a right to interpret the scriptures
 for his private use ; but it was by no means reasonable,
 that he should be allowed to do so for others, contrary to
 their inclination. Others in general were against the peti-
 tion, merely because they would not give any opportunity
 of encreasing the civil dissensions ; though great part of
 the house seemed to be of opinion, that relief ought to be
 granted to the professors of law and physic, as well as to
 the students at the time of matriculation.

Dissenters
 bill
 brought in.

In the course of these debates, frequent mention was
 made of the dissenters, and several gentlemen declared,
 that they would readily support a bill for their relief from
 the heavy penalties to which they were liable on account
 of non-conformity. This favourable disposition induced
 the dissenting ministers to appoint a committee of their
 body to conduct the business, and prepare such a bill as
 they thought proper for their purpose. It is, however, ne-
 cessary to take notice, that the articles of the church of
 England, to which subscription was required from the
 dissenters, were no other in substance than what their
 brethren in Scotland subscribed every day without hesita-
 tion. But the same disposition to Arianism, which had ta-
 ken place among the English clergy, also prevailed in a
 great measure among the dissenters ; and there is very lit-
 tle reason to doubt, that if they had been allowed the lati-
 tude they wished for in the doctrinal parts of religion, the
 articles of discipline and church-order, to which no sub-
 scription was required from them, would have been very
 little obstacle. The bill was, therefore, vigorously opposed
 by the English clergy ; as well those who insisted on a
 rigid adherence to the forms of their church, as those who
 did not. Most of the house of commons, however, decla-
 red in favour of the bill, and it was carried through that
 house by a great majority ; but, at the second reading, it
 was thrown out in the house of lords, there being one
 hundred and two against, and only twenty-nine who sup-
 ported the bill. Another bill to the same purpose was
 brought in next session, but met with a similar fate.

The bill
 passed in
 the House
 of com-
 mons, but
 rejected in
 the House
 of Lords

May 19,
 1772.

The only other bill of any consequence relative to the internal government of the kingdom, passed this session or the next, was one relating to an augmentation of the half-pay of navy captains. It was opposed by the minister upon æconomical principles, but nevertheless passed into a law; and, in consequence of it, the half-pay captains of the navy received two shillings per day in addition to what they had formerly.

CHAP.
VIII.

1773.
Feb. 9.

The continued ferment which had so long taken place throughout every part of the British empire, had in a great measure suppressed all concern with regard to the transactions of foreign courts, though it soon appeared that the natural enemies of Britain, however they might have received a temporary humiliation by the event of the war of 1755, were now very much inclined to abide the issue of another contest. The attention of the public was first called by the seizure of Falkland's Islands by the Spaniards. These were first discovered by Captain Davies in 1592, but he was too much distressed to make any observations, nor did he even give them a name.—They were again discovered two years after by Sir Richard Hawkins, who called them, from his own name, and in honour of Queen Elizabeth, *Hawkins's Maiden Land*; but as no settlement was made on them at that time, and even their existence not generally known, a Dutch navigator, Sebald de Wert, who fell in with them in 1598, gave them the name of the *Sebaldine Islands*, by which they were from that time known in the maps, until the time of king William, when they were again discovered by one Strong, who is supposed to have given them the name of *Falkland's Islands*, which has since been generally retained, though the French and Spaniards call them *Malouines*, from some ships belonging to St. Maloes who had touched at them, and to whom they wished to attribute the discovery.

Account of
Falkland's
Islands.
1769.

But though these islands continued for so long a time to be accidentally visited by ships from different nations, it does not appear that the Spaniards had ever set up any claim to them, or even visited them at all, or given them a name. Lord Anson's voyage first shewed the great importance of which they might be to Britain in time of war, as being a proper place of refreshment, much nearer Cape-Horn than the Brazils; and this was particularly taken notice of by the author of Anson's voyage, which being drawn up under his lordship's inspection, may be considered as containing his own sentiments. It does not, however, appear that the establishment of an English set-

CHAP. tlement in these southern regions was at this time a new
 VIII. scheme. As early as the reign of Charles II. it had been
 ~~~~~ eagerly entered into; and that monarch, notwithstanding  
 #769. his usual distresses from profusion, sent out Sir John Nar-  
 borough, at a considerable expense, with directions to sur-  
 vey the Straits of Magellan, and neighbouring coasts of  
 Patagonia; commanding him at the same time, if possible,  
 to establish a correspondence with the brave natives of  
 Chili; as it was then, and still is a general opinion, that  
 their country contains many very rich gold mines, which,  
 on account of the rapacity of the Spaniards, they kept  
 carefully concealed. Even before this time, the Dutch  
 had made an attempt to form a settlement on the coast of  
 Chili, and for that purpose sent out a considerable fleet  
 and body of land forces; and though they failed in their  
 purpose at the time it was attempted, from want of pro-  
 per information, they had fully determined to renew and  
 prosecute the scheme as soon as a proper opportunity  
 should offer. The loss of the Brazils occasioned a second  
 disappointment; but from this project of the Dutch, it is  
 most probable that Charles II. borrowed his scheme, of  
 which he was so fond, that when he heard of Sir John  
 Narborough's return, it is said, that he had not patience  
 to wait for his coming to court, but went in his barge to  
 meet him at Gravesend.

Lord Anson had no sooner begun to preside at the  
 board of admiralty, than preparations were made for the  
 execution of the scheme he had laid; but these were so  
 disagreeable to the court of Madrid, and such representa-  
 tions were made against it, that it was thought proper at  
 that time to drop it, though it was revived, soon after the  
 conclusion of the treaty in 1763, by lord Egmont, who at  
 that time presided in the admiralty. In the year 1764,  
 therefore, commodore Byron was sent out in order to  
 make the necessary discoveries; which having accomplish-  
 ed, he took possession of Falkland's Islands in the name of  
 his Britannic majesty. About the same time, a settle-  
 ment was formed, and a small fort built on one of those  
 islands by the French, under M. Bougainville. The ad-  
 vantages proposed both by the French and English from  
 the possession of these islands were, that it would be the  
 means of opening a trade with the Portuguese, Spaniards,  
 and Patagonians. It was thought that it might be an  
 useful station, and not very much out of the way for the  
 French East India ships. Hopes of the gold mines of  
 Chili also were not entirely lost; but it was insisted, that,  
 independent of these, the most advantageous fishery in

the world might be established in that quarter, as the whales in the high southern latitudes are said by navigators to be more numerous than those in the Greenland coasts, in the proportion of one hundred to one.

CHAP.  
VIII.

1769.

For some time the French were very fond of their new settlement. The colony were furnished in abundance with many of the essential necessaries of life, by the great quantities of fish, fowl, and amphibious animals, met with on the coasts; but as the scheme had been undertaken at the expense of private adventurers, something else was necessary besides the mere welfare of the colonists. Great expectations had been formed of discoveries to be made in the Pacific Ocean; but these did not turn out according to expectation. The Spaniards also manifested an extreme jealousy of any settlements being made in that part of the world by other nations than themselves; from which last motive M. Bougainville, having probably received a compensation for the expenses he had been at, resigned the settlement into the hands of a Spanish governor from Buenos Ayres; by whom the name of the Port was changed from Port Louis to that of Port Solidad.

With respect to the climate and soil of these Islands, there have been a variety of accounts. They abound in a kind of long reeds, which, being mistaken for trees at a distance, have given occasion to some navigators to represent them as overgrown with woods; while others, with much more probability, have asserted, that no wood was to be met with upon them. They are situated in the latitude of 51. 30. S. about 100-leagues on this side of the Straits of Magellan, and consist of two large islands, and a number of small ones; the former being divided by a sound of considerable length, and the land intersected with numerous bays, some of which run very deep into the country, and which, as well as the sound, contain many small islands. According to commodore Byron's account, the large islands are 600 or 700 miles in circumference; their soil good, with plenty of iron ore, and signs of other minerals; wild fowl in the greatest abundance, and such numbers of geese, that about 100 a-day were killed for the use of the ships, merely by throwing stones at them. The French likewise represented the numbers of penguins and wild-fowl as altogether incredible, and that they found the sea-lions and sea-wolves very numerous, which were valuable, as well on account of their skins, as the great quantity of oil to be procured from them, being not less than four hundred heads from each sea-lion. There was said also to be plenty of turf for firing; an article of great consequence in

CHAP. these high latitudes, and in a place where no wood had  
 VIII. been discovered. These islands bore no marks of having  
 ever been inhabited, nor was any quadruped to be found  
 upon them, excepting an animal seemingly between the  
 wolf and fox kind.

1769.

The Eng-  
 lish settlers  
 dispossessed  
 by the Spa-  
 niards.

We are not certainly informed, whether the court of England was ever made acquainted with the cession of the French settlement to the Spaniards; or, indeed, that the one settlement knew of the other. The British settlement called *Port Egmont* was situated on a small island on the western side of one of the principal islands; and *Port Solidad*, the Spanish one, at the eastern side of the other. In the year 1769, however, an English frigate, happening to fall in with a Spanish schooner taking a survey of the islands, warned the captain to depart from that coast, as belonging to his Britannic majesty. The schooner departed for that time, but returned two days after, with letters from the Spanish governor, in which he affected not to believe the account given him by the captain of the schooner, acquainting captain Hunt, the commander of the frigate, that if he had been forced into those seas by chance or distress of weather, he was ready to give him all the assistance he could; but, if otherwise, advised him instantly to depart, as his presence would be accounted a violation of the treaty, and an insult to the Spanish flag. Captain Hunt replied in a similar strain, and some altercation took place; about two months after which, two Spanish frigates, of considerable force, with troops on board, came to *Port Egmont*, under pretence of wanting water. Their commanders affected great surprise on perceiving the English flag flying, and a settlement formed on the island; but informed captain Hunt, that they would proceed no further in the affair than protesting against the proceedings of the English, until they had made his Catholic majesty acquainted with the whole transactions. The frigates continued eight days at *Port Egmont*, during which time they were supplied with water, and then set sail without committing any acts of hostility. Captain Hunt, however, justly supposing that something hostile was intended, made what haste he could to England, where having arrived, June 3, 1770, he sent an express to the admiralty with information of what had happened. The whole force left to defend the settlement on *Falkland's Islands*, consisted of the *Favourite* and *Swift* sloops of war, carrying sixteen guns each; but the latter was unfortunately lost in the straits of *Magellan*. The crew got safe to land, excepting three, who perished in the ocean; but as those

who were saved from the sea could have had no prospect of preserving their lives on that inhospitable coast, some of the boldest undertook a voyage to Port Egmont in their cutter, in order to give notice of the misfortune that had happened. This they happily accomplished in three weeks, through the most boisterous and stormy sea in the world; after which, they brought the Favourite sloop to the assistance of their companions.

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1769.

The very day after captain Hunt arrived in England, a Spanish frigate arrived at Port Egmont, forced in, as her people gave out, by want of water; having been out fifty-three days on her voyage from Buenos Ayres. Four others quickly followed, carrying 134 pieces of cannon, with between 1600 and 1700 men on board, together with all the necessaries for investing a strong fortification, had it existed in that part of the world. At Port Egmont, however, there was nothing to resist them except a wooden block-house, without a single port-hole; only four pieces of cannon to defend it, and these sunk in the mud in such a manner as to be totally useless. Though there was no hope of resisting such a force as now appeared, the British officers resolved not to yield up the place without the actual commencement of hostilities on the part of the Spaniards, which would of necessity produce an explanation of the affair betwixt the two courts, and could neither be denied, nor have any evasive construction put upon it by the Spaniards. They refused, therefore, to surrender to a pompous and threatening summons sent them by the Spanish commander in chief, in which only fifteen minutes were allowed for consideration. However, as there was an evident impossibility of making any effectual defence against the force brought against them by the Spaniards, they thought proper to capitulate after a few shot had been fired on both sides, by which the commencement of hostilities on the part of Spain was fully ascertained. The English troops were permitted to carry away as many of the stores as they could in the Favourite sloop; the remainder were left in the hands of the governor of Solidad, who was to be responsible for them. During the remaining time of their stay on the island, the English flag was to fly on shore and on the sloop; but they were to exercise no jurisdiction, except with respect to their own people; and the Spanish commander was to have notice of the time they intended to depart, when they might march out under arms. The time of their stay was limited to the arrival of the governor of Solidad, to take an inventory of their stores; and until he should arrive

CHAP. for this purpose, the rudder of the sloop was taken away.  
 VIII. After being detained in this manner for thirty-four days,  
 she was at last permitted to set sail, with all the people on  
 board, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 22d of September,  
 1770.

Parliamentary debates on the seizure of Falkland's Islands.  
 Nov. 22,  
 1770.

The account of these transactions added fuel to the flame which already raged in England. The ministry were now reprobated on account of their remissness in making preparations, when the French and Spaniards had been so active as already to be in a capacity of declaring war against Britain; for the affair of Falkland's Islands was considered as nothing less than a declaration of war by both nations. Motions were made in both houses to address for all the papers received by ministry or the admiralty, relative to hostilities intended or actually committed by Spain, from the 12th of September, 1769, to the same time of 1770. This, however, was avoided by the ministry with all the art they were capable of. The debates on this subject were long and violent; but the irresistible power of administration rendered all opposition fruitless. The motion was rejected in the house of lords by a majority of three to one; but in the house of commons it was supported by 101 members, which was looked upon as a considerable accession of strength to the minority.

Violent uproar in the house of lords,  
 Dec. 10,  
 1770.

Another motion was quickly after made in the house of lords, for an address to quicken the preparations for war, or at least for putting Gibraltar and our West-India possessions in a proper state of defence; but before the duke, who moved it, had got through his introductory speech, he was interrupted by a call to clear the house. This produced a debate, whether it was proper that the house should be cleared at this time or not. By administration it was said, that when motions were brought in by surprise, so that there was no previous notice of what they might contain, many things might come out which ought not to be divulged; the weakness of the nation might be exposed, and the enemy might have emissaries in the house to take notes of what passed. On the other side it was argued, that though any lord had a right to clear the house when he pleased, the exertion of that right on this particular occasion would alarm the people; and it was insidious, as well as irregular, to interrupt the lord who had been speaking on a subject of the greatest importance, under pretence of clearing the house.

To these arguments no other reply was made but a most violent clamour of "clear the house?" To the disgrace of the British senate, the house of lords became a

scene of uproar and confusion, so that no person whatever could be heard. A patriotic earl, after several unsuccessful attempts to be heard, declared, that if he was to be denied the privilege of a lord of parliament, it was needless to attend there. Accordingly he instantly departed, with about eighteen others: They were no sooner gone; than a great number of members from the house of commons were ordered to withdraw. Several lords personally interfered; and communicated these orders to them; which was afterwards highly resented by the lower house. Some of the commons remonstrated, that they were attending with a bill, and in an act of duty; but all was to no purpose; they were obliged to withdraw, and wait till their message was delivered. Nay, as soon as they had gone through the necessary forms on this occasion, the outcry began again, and they were, in fact, turned out without waiting to know whether they would have gone away of their own accord or not.

CHAP.

VIII.

1779.

The commons returned to their own house, highly incensed at the indignity which had been offered them, and quickly communicated their ill-humour to all the rest.— Their first vengeance fell upon those unfortunate peers who had opposed the tumult in their own house, and were now listening to a debate of the commons. These were turned out indiscriminately with the rest; after which it was moved, that a committee should be appointed to examine into the lords journals, and to make a full inquiry into the matter. This, however, was rejected; as it did not appear that the commons had any right to resent the injury otherwise than by retaliation, which they had already put in execution; and several motions, afterwards made, which would have tended to widen the breach between the two houses, were also rejected. A protest, however, was entered into by sixteen of the lords, who had left the upper house the day before, in which they represented the tumult and uproar as manifestly premeditated, and part of a plan to prevent any inquiry into the neglects of the ministry. No other consequence afterwards ensued than an order to keep the doors of the house of lords close shut, and that no persons should, for the future, be admitted, excepting such members of the commons as attended with bills, and they also to depart as soon as their business was done. The misunderstanding continued during the whole of the session, and both houses took opportunities of manifesting their contempt of each other.

Another  
in the  
house of  
commons.

This scene of uproar did not produce any favourable change in the popular opinion, with regard to the minist-

CHAP. try; on the contrary, it was looked upon, by the generality, to have been a ministerial scheme to frustrate any inquiries into their own transactions. They retrieved their

VIII. character, however, in some measure, by their activity, in making preparations for war, and their silence with regard to the pacific intentions of Spain. Indeed, the conduct of that court had been such, as left very little room for any declaration of its friendly disposition. Twelve days before the arrival of the Favourite sloop, a letter had been received from Mr. Harris, the British minister at Madrid, with information, that a ship had arrived from Buenos Ayres, giving a particular account of the intended expedition against Port Egmont; and about the same time Prince Maserano, the Spanish ambassador at London, acquainted lord Weymouth, that he had reason to believe the Spanish governor had made use of force in dispossessing the British settlers at Port Egmont; but whatever might have been the case in that quarter, he wished that no interruption might be thereby occasioned in the friendship subsisting between the courts of London and Madrid. In answer to this, a disavowal of the proceedings of M. Buccarelli, governor of Buenos Ayres, was required, and notice sent to Mr. Harris to confer with M. de Grimaldi, the Spanish minister of state, on the subject. These negotiations produced at last a favourable answer from the court of Spain, which was announced to the public, and was the last transaction with regard to Falkland's Islands, which administration thought proper to publish. All that we are further acquainted with, is, that the negotiation was at first broken off, and afterwards secretly renewed. Falkland's Islands were apparently given up by the court of Spain, repossessed, and afterwards evacuated by the British; the advantages supposed to be derivable from a settlement there, vanished in a moment; the climate was represented as altogether intolerable; the whole country as a confused mass of islands and broken rocks; the soil barren and boggy, with horrid craggy mountains, beat with perpetual storms; the seeds which had been brought from Europe sprung up, indeed, but never arrived at any perfection, not even the fir tree being capable of bearing the rigour of this inhospitable climate. On the other hand, the accounts of the French were much more favourable, exceeding even those given by commodore Byron. They owned, indeed, that the corn they sowed had never come to maturity, but this they attributed to want of proper culture. From the accounts of later navigators, particularly of the ingenious Mr. Foster, who sailed with captain

1770.

Negociation with the court of Spain.



Cook, it appears, that in high southern latitudes, there is no proper distinction of seasons; winter prevails even in the middle of summer; and though, at some seasons of the year, the weather may prove moderate, or even agreeable, so that to such as visited the Islands at that time there might be a flattering appearance of spring, there is very little probability of the heat encreasing to such a degree, as to bring any European fruits or grains to perfection.

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It is unnecessary to take up the attention of the reader with an account of the debates consequent on the acceptance of the Spanish convention with regard to Falkland's Islands. It is certain, that the pusillanimous behaviour of the ministry was by no means agreeable to the public: they were considered as betrayers of the national honour and interest, regardless of every thing but the oppression of the people, and depriving them of their just and lawful privileges. The kingdom was imagined to swarm with spies; and a fire which happened in the dock-yard at Portsmouth confirmed the suspicion. This fire was supposed to have destroyed naval stores to the value of 500,000*l.* though more moderate accounts reduced it to 150,000*l.*

July 27.

The only other affair of a public nature which merited the attention of parliament, was the settlement of the island of St. Vincent's, in the West-Indies. This island had been ceded to Britain by the treaty of 1763. Its original inhabitants were called Caribs, and were of two different colours, black and yellow. The latter were the original possessors; the blacks were originally a crew of slaves brought from Guinea by an English ship, bound to Barbadoes, which happened to be wrecked on this coast. The blacks having escaped, and having among them women of their own country, formed a colony by themselves, with little intermixture of the yellow Caribs, whom they, by degrees, had almost worn out; while they themselves, by continual accession of their runaway countrymen from the neighbouring islands, were become very numerous and strong. Both these colonies lived in the manner usual with savage nations, viz. by hunting and fishing, without agriculture or any of the arts of civilization. The French, though they made a settlement on St. Vincent's, always acknowledged the independency of these people, who, upon the establishment of the former, had removed to another part of the island; and when the country was at last ceded to Britain, they still continued to assert their liberty, and that they were independent both of the king

Expedition  
against St.  
Vincent's.

CHAP. of France and Britain. The fertility of that part of the  
VIII. island, to which they had removed, having tempted the

1774.

April 18.

the avarice of the British planters, schemes were formed for the total extermination of these innocent people, or their removal to Africa, or some desert island on the African coast. Every method, therefore, was taken to provoke them to hostilities, and the most violent complaints were sent home, though it appeared that there was not the least foundation for them. They prevailed so far, however, that a considerable force was sent thither on purpose to reduce them, and the scheme of transplantation seemed to be seriously adopted, though the place of destination was never determined. The Caribs defended themselves vigorously, and with so much effect, that in two months time the British troops had been able to penetrate no farther into their country than four miles. The expedition also appeared exceedingly unjust, as well as cruel to the officers employed in carrying it on. The cause of the Caribs was taken up by opposition; but while both parties were preparing for the usual fury of debate, intelligence arrived of the submission of the Caribs, they having owned the sovereignty of the king of Britain, and ceded a large tract of country, which promised to be of the utmost importance to the interests of this island.

## C H A P. IX.

*Discontents of the Americans—Acts of Parliament respecting them—All duties, except that on tea, taken off—Tumult at Boston—A schooner burnt at Rhode-Island—Governor Hutchinson's letters—Tea destroyed at Boston—Boston Port-bill—Massachusetts Bay bill—Bill for the administration of justice—Quebec Bill—Duel—Chief Justice Oliver.*

WE have thus seen the issue of the contest betwixt the British ministry and the people, in every article of which the former had proved victorious, while the latter had only rendered themselves contemptible by their unavailing clamours. The East-India company had tamely resigned their title to their possessions in the east; but with the American colonists it was far otherwise: Whatever they looked upon to be their right, they contended for with the utmost violence; and from the very beginning seemed determined to come to the last extremities, rather than yield up the least article to which they imagined themselves intitled. We have already related the disorders and tumults consequent upon the passing of the stamp-act, which were renewed, after its repeal, by the laying on of duties upon glass, tea, painters'-colours, &c. To their non-importation agreements with respect to tea, the distress of the India company had been, in a great measure, attributed, and indeed, apparently with justice, if the representation made at that time was founded in truth, viz. that the colonies had usually taken that commodity from the company to the amount of no less than 600,000*l.* annually; and this consideration, in all probability, along with the apparent resolution of the colonists

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1769.  
Affairs in  
the colonies.

CHAP. to come to the worst extremities rather than submit, probably at last produced the repeal of some of these obnoxious acts. This repeal, however, was not obtained until

1769.

IX. Jan. 25.  
Petition  
against the  
revenue  
laws.

every method consistent with peace had been first tried. In the month of January, 1769, a petition against the revenue-acts was presented to parliament by the majority of the council of Massachusetts Bay, and signed by Mr. Danforth as president; but, as it appeared that this was not done in a legal assembly of the council, the petition was refused under that title, and accepted only in behalf of Mr. Danforth, and the individuals who had signed along with him. The petition insisted upon the violation of the charter immunities and privileges of the colonies, and the general rights of the colonists as English subjects, for which a security in time to come was requested: It was regretted, that the dissolution of the general assembly had rendered it impossible for the whole colony to petition: The difficulties and hardships of the first settlers in America, were painted in the most lively colours; and it was inferred, that they not only had dearly purchased their settlements, but had acquired an additional title to the charter-privileges they enjoyed. The great services of the colonists, on many occasions, were also set forth; the old ones had been established without any expense to the mother-country; they bore a great share of the taxes of the country *virtually*, though they were altogether unable to pay heavy duties, the imposition of which was not only extremely prejudicial to them, but also to the mother-country; for which reason a repeal of them was solicited.

Resolutions  
of parliament  
against the  
Americans.

This petition, though delivered in very respectful terms, and without expressly denying the right of taxation, met with no favourable reception. Resolutions on the American affairs originating in the house of lords, were transmitted to the commons, by which the late transactions in Massachusetts Bay, calling in question the power of the British legislature to bind the colonies in all cases, were declared to be illegal, unconstitutional, derogatory to the rights of the crown and parliament of Great-Britain; the circular letters wrote by that colony to the rest, were declared to be proceedings of the most unwarrantable and flagitious nature, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, and create illegal combinations to the prejudice of Great-Britain. The town of Boston was declared to have been for some time in a state of disorder, riot and confusion; the officers of revenue prevented by violence from the discharge of their duty; the riots had not been restrained either by the council of the province

or the magistrates of the town, so that it was now become impossible to preserve the public peace, or enforce the execution of the laws without the aid of a military-power; the town-meetings of Boston, and particularly the convention, were determined to be in the highest degree illegal; and the election of deputies for the convention by the several towns of Massachusetts Bay, was said to be a most daring insult on his majesty's authority, and an audacious usurpation of the powers of government. The address, in answer to his majesty's speech, was to the same purpose. A most determined resolution was therein announced, to concur in proper measures for suppressing the disorders; and it was particularly requested, that governor Barnard might be directed to send information of such as had committed treason or misprision of treason since the year 1767, in order that the most active offenders might be tried in England on a statute for that purpose of 30 Henry VIII.

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These measures were not adopted without a most violent opposition. The right of taxation had been debated in the affair of the stamp-act; but the opposition now assumed a new ground. They argued against the utility of the late revenue-laws. The ministry, they said, did not even pretend that they were of any use; the only occasion for them was said to be the establishment of the right of taxation; but this was already sufficiently done by the declaratory bill, as well as a multitude of revenue-laws enacted in this and the former reigns. The absurdity of repealing the stamp-act, and then laying on other duties more vexatious in their nature than the stamp-act had been, in order to disturb the tranquillity yet scarcely established, was reprobated in the strongest manner; that the imposition of taxes upon British goods imported into America, was in fact to offer premiums in order to excite the industry of the colonists. The endeavour of the ministry had constantly been to represent the colonists as in a state of actual rebellion, or very little less; but this was far from being the case. The people were indeed exasperated, by a continued series of ministerial blunders, to discover their impatience by several rash and very irregular acts; but they had no intention of throwing off the authority of the mother-country. It was at all times dangerous to meddle with popular prejudices; but, instead of yielding any thing to those of the colonists, every method had been taken to inflame them to the utmost. Custom-house officers, from their novelty, were disagreeable to the Americans; yet so many of them had been sent over to the colonies,

Parliamentary debates.

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that it had created an opinion of the taxes being laid on merely for their sake. The very framers of the new taxes were charged with being those who absolutely denied any right of taxation in the British legislature; their names and opinions on this head had been published with the greatest applause in the colonies; and it was no wonder that the Americans, now finding themselves deceived and disappointed in their expectations, should run into some extravagancies. But whatever might be their crimes, nothing could be more unjust than the method now in agitation for punishing them. It was, said opposition, a very strange conduct now to revive an obsolete law, enacted by an arbitrary tyrant, at a time when the constitution was far from being perfect, and even such as it was, continually underwent the most outrageous violation that whim or caprice could devise. It would be much for the honour of the nation, if the greatest part of the acts of that reign, instead of being imitated, could be buried in oblivion. It was impossible that the law in question could have been designed as any pattern for our treatment of the colonists, because Great-Britain had not at that time a colony in any part of the world. The project was, in fact, impracticable in itself; and, though it could be put in execution, was not only unconstitutional, but involved such monstrous injustice and cruelty, as could not bear a moment's reflection. By the law of England, a man was usually tried in the very county where he was said to have committed any offence, as every circumstance relating to the fact must be supposed to be better known there than any where else. This method had been long adopted, and every one was convinced of its utility, inasmuch that it was esteemed one of the privileges of Englishmen; and if they were entitled to this in their own country, what should prevent them from enjoying the same when they went to America? If an American has committed any offence in his own country, let him be tried for it there; but let him not be dragged to such a distance from his family, friends and connexions, and every kind of comfort and countenance necessary for a person in such circumstances, to be tried by a jury who might not perhaps be at all times entirely void of prejudice against him. In such a case, it would also be in a manner impossible for the accused party, though ever so innocent, to bring over with him the evidence necessary for his vindication. A very opulent fortune must indeed be required to bring witnesses from Boston to London, besides the danger of forgetting many who might afterwards be found essentially necessary, or of bringing such as might be of no

use; while, on the other hand, the evidences against him, being sure of a compensation for their trouble from government, would be easily collected, and, it was to be feared, might sometimes be too fond of the employment. Nothing can be supposed more distressing than the situation of such a person, torn from his own country, and every connexion dear to him, to be tried for a capital crime by judges, who are the very people against whom he is said to have transgressed. Even if he should have the good fortune to be acquitted, it is most probable that he must be ruined by reason of the great loss of time, as well as expenses, not to mention the loss of health, and the vexation which must necessarily attend a long confinement. Such, in consequence of the newly-proposed law, was likely to be the case with every one who should happen to become obnoxious to the governor of a province, as charges would never be wanting, nor evidence, however slight, to give a colour to the prosecution.

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To most of those arguments the ministry did not think proper to make any reply, but considered only the outrages and disobedience of the Americans. The repeal of the stamp-act, they said, so far from having reclaimed the colonists in any degree, had increased their licentiousness beyond all measure, so that it was now become absolutely necessary to establish some mark of their dependence on Great-Britain. The late duties were the smallest and least oppressive that could be chosen; they were not internal taxes, and the whole produce of them was to be applied to the support of their own civil establishments; but the republican spirit which had existed from the foundation of the colony in Massachusetts Bay, had operated in such a manner, through the influence of factious and designing men, as to cause the people there to break out into the most daring and insolent acts, to throw off their allegiance entirely, and behave as if they were members of an independent state, rather than a colony or province belonging to this country. This was indeed an effect of the ill-contrived system of which their government had been originally established; for, as the council was chosen by the assembly of the province, it was in the power of the factious men, of whom that assembly was now principally composed, to manage matters as they pleased; and who had accordingly proceeded to the commission of such flagitious acts as would have been at any other time accounted rebellion, and punished as such. It was high time, therefore, for government to interfere, and by a vigorous exertion of power, to shew that it was still possible for the parent state

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to subdue her refractory subjects. There was a necessity for bringing the most notorious offenders to trial and punishment. But how was this to be done? Not by the legislative power of the colonies themselves; for experience had already shown that they neither could, nor would put any mark of their displeasure upon them. It must therefore be by bringing them to England, and this could only be done by the statute of 30 Hen. VIII. so much complained of. It was ungenerous to suppose, that government would make use of this statute to distress innocent individuals. Those who were pointed at, and on whose account it was proposed to revive the statute, were neither objects of compassion on account of the expense in which it would involve them, nor on account of the loss of time it would occasion. However, it was hoped by administration, that there would be no occasion for putting in execution the act at all, as there seemed to be but little doubt, that when the colonists had leisure to reflect on the vigour as well as lenity of government, they would in a short time return to their duty.

All the duties except that on tea taken off.

January 5, 1770.

It does not appear, however, that these arguments were violently, or indeed even seriously urged by the ministry. When called upon to avow their patronage of the statute 30 Henry VIII. each of them denied his having been the author of the scheme; and on the presenting of a petition by the American merchants, January 5, 1770, it was thought proper to bring in a bill for the repeal of the late revenue-act relating to glass, painters' colours, and paper; the tax of 3d. per pound on tea being now the only grievance of which the Americans had to complain. On this occasion, lord North violently declaimed against the taxes he had formerly supported, as so absurd and preposterous, that they might afford matter of astonishment to every reasonable man. Opposition did not fail to remind him of this inconsistency, as well as of the absurdity of repealing only part of the laws he had just now declared to be preposterous. The tea-tax, however, he said, was left to shew the Americans, that the British legislature had a right to tax them; and they had no right to complain of this trifling tax, when another, of no less than a shilling on the pound, had been repealed at the time of laying it on.

American disturbances continue and increase.

The determination of the ministry prevailed at this time as usual; but the partial repeal of this obnoxious act, so far from restoring tranquillity to America, seemed to make matters much worse than before. The colonists had now lost all confidence in the good intentions of government. A continued course of encroachment on what they believed to be their rights, the perpetual inclination



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which had been shewn to set up some authority or other, as independent of the established laws and constitution of the kingdom, had rendered them now so excessively jealous, that the merest trifle which seemed to militate against their rights and liberties was capable of setting the whole continent in a flame. Government had already found the inefficacy of laws and acts of parliament to enforce subjection, and for that reason, four regiments, as we have already related, had been sent to Boston. The terrors of military power had for some time preserved a degree of tranquillity unknown in that city for several years. This, however, lasted no longer than while the full complement of soldiers remained there. As soon as part of them were removed, the inhabitants, thinking themselves able to cope with the remainder, began to pick quarrels with them, and frequent frays and tumults ensued. A most remarkable one of this kind happened on the 5th of March, 1770, were several people were killed by the fire of the soldiers\*. Whatever might have been the provocation given to the soldiers on this occasion, or however justifiable the conduct of them and their officers, it is certain that this accident was made use of, and contributed more than any thing to inflame the minds of the populace against government.

Some people killed in a tumult at Boston, March 5, 1770.

The day after this disaster, upwards of four thousand of the inhabitants assembled, and having given it as their opinion, that the inhabitants and soldiers could no longer live together in safety, a message was sent to the lieutenant-governor desiring the removal of the troops to the castle. To this he replied, that with regard to the absolute removal of the troops, he had it not in his power to countermand the orders of the commander in chief; but that he had acquainted the commanding officer of the 29th with their request, who had promised to remove that regiment immediately to the barracks in the castle; and as the 29th had been principally concerned in the quarrels with the inhabitants, it was hoped the removal of it would give satisfaction. This, however, was by no means the case. Of the four thousand assembled, as already related, only one declared himself satisfied with the answer. A

\* The American accounts of this melancholy affair represent the soldiers as the aggressors, and that there was a premeditated design to murder the people. But, to every impartial person, this must evidently appear a malicious calumny. At this time, the ministry, so far from being in a condition to counteract schemes of this kind, were unable to support their authority in any degree, and would no doubt have gladly accepted of any concession, however slight, from the colonists, whose haughtiness in this respect indeed knew no bounds.

CHAP. committee was then appointed† to wait on the lieutenant-governor, and inform him, that the reply made to the

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vote of the inhabitants is by no means satisfactory; and that nothing less would satisfy them than a total removal of the troops, and that immediately. This vote was laid before the board of council, who declared themselves unanimously of the same opinion; however, there was no other removal made at that time than of the 29th regiment; the lieutenant-governor having declared, in answer to another petition, that he had no authority to order the king's troops from any place where they were posted by his majesty's order. A solemn procession was made through the town of Boston at the funeral of the people who had been killed; the shops were shut up; all the bells in the town, as well as those in the neighbourhood, were tolled; the bodies were carried through the streets in procession, and the people followed in great crowds, making the deepest lamentation, as if a design had been discovered of murdering every one of them.

Violent behaviour of the colonists.

While the minds of the people still continued to be agitated in this manner, news arrived of the repeal of the obnoxious acts of parliament, excepting only the trifling duty of 3d per pound on tea. The prediction of opposition, that this would be sufficient to continue the disturbances, was then verified in its utmost extent. Violent resolutions were every where formed against the importation of British goods, particularly the article of tea; proposals and resolutions were continually made for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the consumption of home-products, and the retrenchment of superfluities. These took place not only at Boston and throughout the New-England colonies, but through the whole continent, not excepting even those provinces which depended most on the mother-country for their support and subsistence. They were further exasperated by some late regulations, by which the governors and judges were rendered totally independent of the people, in consequence of their salaries being paid by the crown. This was looked upon as a most violent encroachment on the liberties of the people, and such dangerous marks of popular displeasure attended it, that very few of the judges had courage to enter upon their offices, and those who did, were either forced to resign, or interrupted in the execution of their business, to such a degree,

† This committee was composed of the principal leaders of the popular party. Their names were John Hancock, Samuel Adams, William Molineaux, William Phillips, Dr. Joseph Warren, Jafina Henshaw, and Samuel Pemberton.

that they were obliged to take shelter in fortified places, or on board ships of war. The animosities and jealousies between the governors and their assemblies were perpetual; assemblies were no sooner called than dissolved, and the new ones proved equally refractory, so that it was evident that all interest of government was entirely at an end, and even then, if Britain meant to maintain the authority she had assumed, a war was inevitable.

The rigorous exertion of the smuggling laws gave occasion to the first daring act of violence, which might, with propriety, be called an act of hostility against government. This happened at Providence in Rhode-Island, where, on the 10th of June, 1772, the *Gaspes* schooner was burnt, and the captain wounded by a mob, exasperated at the vigilance he had manifested in the execution of his office. A reward of 500*l.* was offered for the discovery of those concerned in such an atrocious proceeding; but so agreeable was it to the universal voice of the people, that not one was found to accept the offered reward.

About the same time, the animosity between the people of Massachusetts Bay, and their governor, was inflamed to the utmost, by the following accident: During the time of the former disputes with the mother-country, a number of letters had been written by the governor and deputy-governor of the colony, to some of the English ministry, in which a very unfavourable account was given of the people in general, as well as of the views of their leaders; and violent measures, as well as a very considerable change in the constitution and system of government, was declared to be necessary, in order to ensure obedience. On the death of a gentleman who had kept these letters in his possession, they, by some unknown accident, fell into the hands of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, the agent for Massachusetts Bay, at London, who instantly transmitted them to the assembly at Boston, which happened to be sitting when they were received. The arrival of such a packet, at the time when so much ill-will already subsisted, could not fail of producing the most violent effects. The assembly, after expressing their utmost indignation at the conduct of their governors, delivered the letters to the council, with express injunctions not to trust them out of their hands even for a moment. The council proceeded in a similar manner; the letters were presented to the governor; but when he desired to examine them, the council refused to trust him with them, and he was obliged to submit to the affront of having them transmitted to him by a committee to examine them in their hands, as well as to

CHAP. IX.  
A schooner burnt at Providence, in Rhode-Island. June 10. 1772.

Violent animosities occasioned by the discovery of governor Hutchinson's letters.

CHAP. the mortification of owning the signature, after having in-  
 IX. spected it in this disgraceful manner. The consequence of  
 this was a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, in  
 1772. which the American governors were charged with betray-  
 ing their trust; with giving private, partial, and false in-  
 formation against the people they governed; declaring  
 them enemies to the colony, and praying for speedy jus-  
 tice against them by their removal. These extraordinary  
 proceedings were carried by a majority of eighty-two to  
 twelve.

The utility  
 of the tea  
 scheme  
 denied in  
 Europe.

In the mean time, the ferment occasioned by the tea-  
 scheme, continued to operate universally. Even in Europe  
 its utility was doubted, although it had been set forth by  
 the minister as a proper compensation for the enormous  
 sums extorted from the East-India company, as well as the  
 seizure of their territorial rights. This scheme was sanction-  
 ed by an act of parliament, whereby the East-India com-  
 pany were allowed to export their teas into America, in  
 such quantities as the lords of the treasury should judge  
 proper, and were allowed a drawback upon exportation,  
 while a duty was imposed upon its importation to Ameri-  
 ca. It was particularly objected to by one gentleman, who  
 remonstrated, that it was more proper for the establish-  
 ment of the revenue-law in America, than for doing any  
 essential service to the company; that though the quantity  
 on hand, viz. seventeen millions of pounds, appeared im-  
 mense to such as were unacquainted with the state of the  
 trade, it amounted, in reality, to no more than two years  
 consumpt; and it was always intended to keep a year's  
 stock on hand. Some of the most eminent tea merchants  
 consulted by the company on this occasion, represented the  
 scheme as full of absurdity. By it the company had devi-  
 ated from the usual method of procedure, with regard to  
 the sale of their goods, and instead of disposing of them to  
 merchants by public sales, was become its own exporter  
 and factor. Thus, it was said, that the returns of money  
 would be too slow and trifling to answer the present ex-  
 igencies for cash; at the same time that it would be offer-  
 ing a great injury to the merchants who had been accus-  
 tomed to take their teas at all events, and paid immense  
 sums of money for them. Measures were proposed for  
 holding two sales within a short time, by which the com-  
 pany would probably not only dispose of all their teas,  
 but receive the first payment in the space of five months;  
 and this would bring in, most probably, no less a sum  
 than 1,200,000*l.* which might possibly prevent any  
 necessity of applying for that fatal loan they were negoci-

ding from government, and for which ministry were about to make them pay so dear. CHAP. IX.

These salutary proposals, however, were over-ruled; the other scheme, being the favourite with administration, was adopted, and several ships, freighted with tea, were sent off to America, where agents were appointed by the company to dispose of it in the different colonies as soon as it arrived. But, whatever might be the views of the company, and those who canvassed this subject in Britain, it is certain that the colonists almost universally looked upon the tea-scheme, as contrived for the sole purpose of introducing taxes into America, and of which, if they suffered them to be established in any one instance, no end would ever be found. The new method of disposing of it, also offended all the dealers in that commodity, who were extremely numerous; and at Boston, the tea-consignees happened unfortunately to be nearly related to the governor, whose letters had already produced such a ferment. The company was, besides, so universally odious, both on this and the other side of the Atlantic, that any scheme professedly for its interest, would have probably met with opposition, though ever so just and equitable in other respects. At present, the colonists represented the company as wilfully quitting their usual line of conduct, and wantonly enforcing a law which they themselves detested; thus bringing them into the dangerous dilemma either of giving up their own liberties, or taking some effectual measures to prevent this obnoxious article from being introduced among them.

Though the most positive resolutions not to use any more of the India company's tea had been taken by the Americans, immediately after the partial repeal of the revenue act, considerable quantities had nevertheless been secretly introduced into the colonies. Of this, the leaders of the popular faction had been sufficiently sensible, though no means, of effectually preventing its importation were in their power. As soon, however, as the news arrived of the intended voyage of the tea ships, by which that detested commodity would be poured in among them in such quantities as would leave no room to doubt of the accomplishment of the purposes of ministry, they determined, at all events, to take effectual methods to prevent it. The tea-consignees felt the first effects of these resolutions; being, every where, obliged to resign their employments, or suffer the entire loss of their property, not without the greatest danger of their lives. The people assembled every where in great bodies; committees were appointed to inspect the books of merchants, propose

The news of the tea ships being sent out, exasperates the Americans.

CHAP. oaths to proscribe the refractory, by the dangerous appellation of *enemies to the liberties of America*, and to assemble the people whenever they thought proper. Thus, every kind of government was entirely at an end, every thing, at least what related to the transactions betwixt the colonies and the mother country, being carried on by tumultuous popular assemblies. At these meetings the British legislature was treated with the utmost indecency and contempt; nor were the hand-bills and other temporary publications on the subject a whit more moderate. Printed papers were dispersed at Philadelphia, warning the pilots not to conduct the tea ships up the Delaware; at New-York, they were said to be laden with the fetters which had been forged for America, in Great-Britain. The same spirit, in short, seemed to have pervaded all the colonies like lightning, even the most distant and least connected with Boston, where, indeed, the disturbances generally began and were peculiarly violent. On this occasion, also, Boston was the scene of the first positive act of hostility. Three tea ships having arrived there towards the end of the year 1773, met with such an ungracious reception\*, that the captains gladly consented to return to England, provided they had the permission of the tea-consignees, the board of customs, and the governor. All this, however, was refused them, and they were obliged to remain in Boston harbour. The people now perceiving, that if the ships were permitted to lie so near the town, their cargoes would be landed secretly, and the purposes of ministry thus fulfilled, came to the resolution of destroying it at once, which was executed by a number of people dressed like Indians, who threw it into the sea. Hence, we may learn, that it was not the precipitate act of a riotous mob, but a consequence of the plan deliberately laid against submission to any ministerial interference whatever with the ancient constitution of the colonies. The governor, and ships of war, permitted the tea to be destroyed, without making the least effort to save it. The quantity thrown into the sea was valued at 18,000*l*. Some smaller quantities met with the same fate at Boston, and in South-Carolina; but, in general, the ships laden with this commodity returned with it again to England; only a small

Tea destroyed at Boston and other places.

\* The American accounts of the destruction of the tea at Boston, show the disposition of the people, at that time, in a very striking light, and that so far from thinking they had committed any crime, they looked upon their conduct as meritorious, not only calculated to free their country from the slavery intended for them, but even the best and tenderest method in which they could have acted towards the India Company.

quantity was landed at New-York, under the cannon of a man of war; and even there it was obliged to be locked up by government to prevent its being made use of. The quantity returned unfolded was valued at 300,000l.

CHAP. IX.

1774.

News of this transaction arrived in England about the beginning of March, 1774, and was communicated, to both houses of parliament by a message from the throne, along with which were sent a great number of papers relative to the American affairs, all of them tending to show the rebellious spirit of the Americans, which indeed pervaded the whole continent; so that the publications of the popular faction, of which a great number were laid before parliament, all resembled one another, whether executed at Boston or any where else. From these papers it appeared, that the tea-consignees had petitioned the council of Massachusetts Bay, praying that their persons might be taken under the protection of government; but the business had been declined by the board of council, who, nevertheless, condemned the destruction of the tea, and advised legal prosecutions against the perpetrators, provided they could be found out, which, however, was impossible.

March.

Transactions at Boston, &c. laid before parliament.

The minister commented largely on the papers, and set forth, in very strong terms, the disobedience of the Bostonians, which had now manifested itself in such an outrageous manner. The inhabitants of that place, he said, had been left to their own discretion, and were now entirely without excuse. Every possible method had been taken to establish the civil power, but without effect. The governor, though he could have preserved the tea by an interposition of the naval or military force, had yet prudently declined such an interference, as the Bostonians had all along given out, that this interposition was the occasion of their disturbances; "and yet," says he, "this loyal and peaceable people of a mercantile town, as they affect to call themselves, have wantonly destroyed the property of another loyal mercantile body, without even the plea of necessity for so doing; as nothing more was requisite than to adhere to their own agreements of non-consumption, to evade the revenue-laws in an effectual manner." Indeed, this last step of destroying the tea, was looked upon in a very heinous light throughout our island, and occasioned the desertion of many who had hitherto professed friendship to the American cause. When the matter is fairly considered, however, we must acknowledge, that this was no more than a necessary consequence of their former proceedings, and what might have been easily

**CHAP.** foreseen on the part of ministry. The Americans had un-  
**IX.** formally declared, that they would not submit to parlia-  
 mentary taxation on any account whatever ; and their be-  
 haviour on the occasion of the stamp-act manifested, that  
 they were ready at that time to come to the utmost extre-  
 mities rather than submit ; but this administration either  
 did not, or pretended not to believe. When the stamp-act  
 failed, another mode of taxation, less direct, was at-  
 tempted ; and when this also failed, an insidious method  
 was tried of taxing them through the medium of the East  
 India Company. As this, in the opinion of the Americans,  
 favoured of hypocrisy and treachery, it therefore excited  
 a greater flame than even the stamp-act itself ; so that, in-  
 stead of being surprized at the destruction of the tea, after  
 a refusal to take it back to England, many rather won-  
 dered at its not being instantly destroyed on its arrival,  
 without any questions asked. To those, however, who  
 considered only the crime of destroying property, matters  
 appeared in a very different light ; and thus administra-  
 tion found it a more easy matter to effect its purposes  
 against the colonies than would otherwise have probably  
 been the case. On the present occasion, therefore, the  
 papers were stuffed with writings, in which the disobedi-  
 ence of the Americans was set forth in the strongest man-  
 ner, and that for the future there was an impossibility of  
 carrying on any trade with America, if such a flagrant in-  
 sult should go unpunished.

System of  
 reasoning  
 adopted by  
 the Ameri-  
 cans.

It is easy to see that here the public were misled by  
 appearances ; and that the Americans never made any ob-  
 jection to trade with Britain on the same footing they  
 had done formerly. They denied that they were rebels ;  
 and, on the principles they assumed, they argued right.—  
 They maintained, that their constitution, as held by char-  
 ter, was unalterable ; and, therefore, they would suffer  
 no innovations whatever. They did not now refuse sub-  
 mission to any laws to which they had once yielded obe-  
 dience ; but they only resisted the new ones to which  
 they had never been in subjection, or that unlimited and  
 despotic authority which, as we have already seen, minis-  
 try had so eagerly sought for, and at last supposed to exist  
 in the decisions of both houses of parliament, when rati-  
 fied by the royal assent. With the Americans, however,  
 even this authority was not allowed to be superior to the  
 constitution of the realm ; and they insisted, that if a su-  
 preme uncontrollable authority were lodged any where,  
 except in the universal consent of the people at large, the  
 government was that moment degenerated into a tyranny.



let the governors be called a parliament, or what we please. CHAP. IX.

It was, in fact, by this general voice of the people, and not by acts of parliament, that liberty had ever been obtained. In the time of king John, the barons at large assembled, and their unanimous voice at that time being the voice of the whole nation, obliged him to sign Magna Charta. In the time of king Charles I. the people at large opposed, and obliged him to call a parliament; but the same parliament, neglecting their constituents, and taking upon them to assume a supreme and uncontrollable power, degenerated into the most intolerable tyranny. In like manner, at the revolution, the despotism of James II. was opposed by the people at large; for he had found means to make his parliament obsequious; and such means, they insisted, would never be wanting to corrupt ministers.— Though parliament, therefore, as the representatives of the people, might enact laws, by which individuals, or parts of an empire, might be made subservient to the good of the community, it was impossible it could have any right to make a great and flourishing country, such as America was, subservient to any purpose whatever; as the people were now sufficiently numerous to defend themselves, and ought, in justice and reason, to have a vote in those transactions which regarded their own interest, as well as the mother country.

As the above piece of reasoning contains the essence of all the arguments that were, or, indeed, could be urged on the subject of the American disputes, we shall, for the future, confine ourselves to facts, without entering into any detail of those innumerable contests in parliament, which were, on this occasion, often conducted with an acrimony so little to the honour of either party.

The minister having fully set forth the disobedience of the Americans, and declined any retrospective view of their affairs, as tending to inflame people's minds, reduced the matter to this single question, Whether America was, for the future, to be dependent on Britain, or not? and, if she was, by what means was her dependence and obedience to be secured and enforced? The whole attention of parliament being thus drawn to the disobedience of the colonists, without any inquiry into the motives of their conduct, matters began to wear a very threatening aspect towards them. Mr. Bolland, agent for Massachusetts-Bay, therefore, dreading that the storm would fall heaviest upon that colony, presented a petition, in which he desired leave to lay before the house of commons, the *acta regia* of queen Elizabeth and her successors, for the

March.

CHAP. security of the planters and their descendants, and the per-

IX. petual enjoyment of their liberties; which he presumed  
 had never been laid before the house, nor had the colo-  
 1774. nies hitherto any opportunity of ascertaining and defend-  
 ing these rights. The petition was received, and ordered  
 to lie upon the table, or, in other words, consigned to  
 oblivion.

Boston port  
 bill.

All obstacles being thus removed, the ministerial plan  
 of punishment was next unfolded. In this, as had been ex-  
 pected, Boston was to have the principal share. This  
 town, the minister remarked, had been the place whence  
 all the disorders originated, and in which the free commerce  
 to America had been destroyed by the late unheard-of out-  
 rage; and if a severe punishment were not inflicted on  
 this rebellious city, it would be altogether impossible to  
 protect the peaceable part of his majesty's subjects. Had  
 such an insult been offered by any foreign power, the na-  
 tion would have been called upon to demand satisfaction  
 for it. It was, therefore, his opinion, that the town of  
 Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea which had  
 been destroyed in their port. Nor was this sufficient pu-  
 nishment. The destruction of the tea was not a single act  
 of injustice. The city had been in a long course of sedition,  
 and must give security that trade should be peaceably car-  
 ried on there in time to come, as well as that the laws  
 should be obeyed, and the duties paid. Until security of  
 this kind should be given, it was proper that Boston should  
 cease from being a port; which privilege, however, should  
 be restored as soon as his majesty was satisfied of the re-  
 formation, and publicly declare his satisfaction in coun-  
 cil. Until this time, the custom-house-officers should be  
 removed to Salem, where they might exercise their func-  
 tions in safety. The sufferings of Boston, which must ne-  
 cessarily, in this case, ensue, were not deserving of com-  
 passion; they were less than her demerits required. She  
 was not precluded from all supply, as the port was only  
 removed to seventeen miles distance; and the duration of  
 the punishment was entirely in her own power, as there  
 was no doubt that his majesty would exert his natural cle-  
 mency, by restoring her privileges, as soon as the city  
 should give sufficient evidence of her repentance, by pay-  
 ing the debt to the East-India Company, contracted by  
 her own violence, and give full assurance of obedience  
 to the revenue-laws in time to come. He enlarged on the  
 former bad behaviour of the Americans. They had threa-  
 tened, when the stamp-act was passed, that they would  
 not pay the debts they owed to this country; the stamp-

and was repealed, and they had not paid. The threat was repeated on the present occasion; and would continually be so, if any regard was paid to it. He was the more inclined to the bill, that it required no military force to put it in execution; four or five frigates would be sufficient for the purpose; but should it even require the aid of a military power, he should not scruple to use it, as it might act effectually without bloodshed. It was very improbable that the other towns would be offended at the punishment of this refractory city; or, if they should combine, they must take the consequence of their own rebellious proceedings. The bill was then brought in, and received with general applause, excepting by a few of the most distinguished members in opposition, who predicted, that the consequences would be a general combination against the British government throughout America; but as no regard was paid to their opinions, they would not divide on the question. In the course of the debates, however, another petition was presented by Mr. Bolland, the agent for Massachusetts-Bay, desiring to be heard for the council, and in behalf of himself and the other inhabitants of Boston. But this petition was rejected by ministry, on pretence that the agent for the council was not agent for the corporation; nor could any agent be received from a body corporate, unless he were appointed by all the necessary constituent parts of that body. The council was also fluctuating, and the body by which he was appointed could not then be actually existing. Against these arguments, opposition indeed exerted a little of its force; but charges of inconsistency operated very little upon the minister, who had still further statutes in view.

On the third reading of this bill, a petition was given in by the lord mayor of London, in name of several of the natives and inhabitants of North America, at that time residing in London. In this it was set forth, that "They apprehend it to be an inviolable rule of natural justice, that no man shall be condemned unheard; and that, according to law, no person or persons can be judged without being called upon to answer, without being permitted to hear the evidence against them, and to make their defence. They conceive it, therefore, to be directly repugnant to every principle of law and justice, that such a severe punishment should be inflicted on the town of Boston, without the said town's being apprized of any accusation brought against them, or having been permitted to hear the evidence, and make their defence. The law in America affords sufficient re-

CHAP. IX.

1774.

March 18.

Petitions against the bill rejected.

CHAP. dress for any injuries sustained in that country, as is evi-

IX. dent from the case of captain Preston and his soldiers, who had a fair trial and favourable verdict, in a case where every circumstance seemed so strongly to militate against it. While this is the case, they apprehend, that the interference of parliamentary power is dangerous and unprecedented. If the persons who committed this injury are known, the India company have recourse against them by an action at common law; if unknown, the petitioners cannot comprehend by what rule of justice the town can be punished, for a civil injury committed by persons not known to belong to them. The cases brought as precedents, viz. of the city of London having been fined, in the time of Charles II. when Dr. Lamb was killed by persons unknown; of the city of Glasgow having part of its revenue sequestrated, when a mob pulled down Mr. Campbell's house; and of Edinburgh in the affair of captain Porteous, were not to the point. These cities had the full executive power of legislation within themselves; but, with Boston, the case was very different. There the governor holds that power, and in the present instance, was advised by his majesty's council to carry it into execution. If it has been neglected, he alone is answerable; if it has been executed, perhaps at this instant, while punishment is inflicting here on those that have not been legally tried, the due course of law is operating there, to the discovery and prosecution of the real offenders."

To this petition no answer was given, nor was it, indeed, taken into the consideration of the house. Administration insisted, that it was in vain to hear petitions in behalf of a town which would not, in any manner of way, acknowledge their authority. The trade of England called for immediate protection, and should the town of Boston be allowed to plead their cause on this side of the Atlantic, it would spin out the affair to an unreasonable length. It was asked, if the house doubted of the existence of the offence, or of their own right to punish it? To leave Boston to the mercy of the crown was doing it a favour, as mercy could no where be better placed than in its legal repository, the breast of the sovereign.

The debates now became more violent, and continued for a long time. Opposition contended, that the act was not for imposing a fine for an offence; and although it had been so, it would still be liable to the same objections. It was simply a proscription of one of the greatest trading towns in the British dominions, by prohibiting the use of their port, and interrupting the commerce, by which up-

wards of 20,000 people got their bread. A power was granted to his majesty, by which he might prevent the port from being ever reinstated, if he should think proper; and this would only be to establish a precedent for delivering over whole towns and communities to the arbitrary pleasure of the crown. This was not like the cases where the mercy of the crown was to take place; for none were at the mercy of the crown except those whom the law had condemned after a fair hearing, which had not been done with regard to Boston. The transaction was altogether without a precedent: those which had been brought did not apply. The towns whose examples were set forth, had been fined; but no example could be brought of a maritime city having been deprived of its port. It was impossible to conceal from the Americans, that the act, under pretence of indemnifying the East-India company, was to enforce the taxation which had occasioned such a general flame.—The consequence of this would be, a general combination of all the colonies in behalf of the distressed city. All of them were as guilty as Boston; for not one of them had received the tea, that which was not destroyed having been every where returned. It was incredible that all this violence should be for the sake of trade; for not a single trader or manufacturer had made a complaint; not even the company itself, which was the immediate sufferer.

Though these arguments were vehemently urged by opposition, the members would not divide on the question. The bill was accordingly passed (March 25, 1774;) and being carried up to the lords, it was warmly debated; but, as in the commons, passed without a division.

From his unexpected success in this measure, the minister was most probably emboldened to propose the other penal acts which were passed during this remarkable session. By some even of those, however, who had voted for shutting up the harbour of Boston, it was proposed that something of a conciliatory nature should accompany a measure so very harsh and rigorous. As the tea-tax, therefore, was not only universally detested by the Americans, but a matter of little consequence to government, on account of the smallness of its produce, they thought that a repeal of it would be one of the most effectual methods of procuring the good will of the colonists.—This, however, was rejected, on account of the appearance of inconsistency which it would give to the transactions of administration, and the unhappy opinion that,

CHAP.  
IX.

1774.

March 25th

**CHAP.** by persevering in coercive measures, the obstinacy of the Americans would at last be overcome. Instead of this, a new coercive bill was brought in for "the better regulating the government of Massachusetts-Bay." By this the constitution of the province was altered from the plan on which it stood according to king William's charter; the democratic part being entirely abolished, and the nomination of councillors, judges, and magistrates of all kinds, lodged in the hands of the crown, or, in some cases, of the governor.

1774.  
Bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts-Bay.

The arguments in favour of this bill were, that, by reason of the disorders prevailing in that province, the colony was not only distracted within itself, but an ill-example was set to the rest. There was a total defect of executive power, by reason of the vitiated state of the democratic part of the constitution. The governor could not appoint magistrates, nor even give an order, without the consent of seven of the council; the military could not act without the order of a magistrate; and, let the tumults be ever so outrageous, no magistrate would call for their assistance. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to reform the government of that colony, as far as related to the executive and judicial powers. The juries were also improperly chosen, and an instant remedy was required, which, it was hoped, the present bill would speedily afford.

Petitions against it rejected.  
April 28, 1774.

On this occasion, opposition exerted itself much more than in the case of the port bill; and its voice was seconded by Mr. Bolland, who presented another petition to the house, requesting time to receive an answer from the province, and to inform them of the proceedings carried on against them; but it was refused by a majority of ninety-five to thirty-two. Another petition was presented by the same persons who had given in the former. The style of this petition was animated and nervous. It set forth, "That the bill in question was calculated to deprive a whole province, without any form of trial, of its chartered rights, solemnly secured to it by a compact between the crown and the people. A charter so granted was never before altered or resumed, but upon a full and fair hearing; on which account, the present proceeding is totally unconstitutional, and sets an example which renders every charter in Great-Britain and America utterly insecure. The appointment and removal of the judges at the pleasure of the governor, with salaries payable by the crown, puts the property, life, and liberty of the subject, depending upon judicial authority, entirely in his

power. The petitioners perceive, by this act, a system of judicial tyranny imposed upon them, which, from the bitter experience of its intolerable injuries, has been abolished in this country." The petition concluded with conjuring the house, in the most pathetic manner, "to consider that the restraints which such acts of severity impose, are ever attended with the most dangerous hatred. In a distress of mind, which cannot be conceived, the petitioners conjure the house not to convert that zeal, which has hitherto united every American hand and heart in the interests of England, into passions the most painful and pernicious. Most earnestly they beseech the house, not to attempt reducing them to a state of slavery, which the English principles of liberty they inherit from their mother country, will render worse than death: That they will not, by passing these bills, reduce their countrymen to the most abject state of misery and humiliation, or drive them to the last resources of despair."

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IX.



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This petition was ordered to lie upon the table, and the bill soon after passed by a prodigious majority. It was, however, warmly debated in the house of lords, where the injustice of condemning the colony, and taking away its charter without any form of process, was particularly insisted on; as also the impropriety of making alterations in the charter, without even having it laid before them: The courts and mode of judicial proceeding were likewise altered, without the slightest evidence being produced of any one of the inconveniencies stated in the preamble. To all these objections, administration made one general reply, namely, That there was an absolute necessity for a powerful and speedy remedy to a government which was nothing but disorder; and that there was no time for going through the ordinary forms of justice. It was even said, that this alteration was in many respects beneficial, and an improvement of their constitution; which, however, was denied by opposition. The bill passed in the upper house by a majority of ninety-two to twenty.

May 2.

May 11.

The minister having carried these two bills with so much ease, now brought in a third, intitled, A bill for the impartial administration of justice, in cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay in New-England." By this it was provided, that when any person is indicted for murder, or any other capital offence, and that it shall appear to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy, in suppressing tumults or riots, and

Bill for the administration of justice.

CHAP. that a fair trial cannot be had in the province, he shall  
 IX. send the person so indicted to any other colony, or to  
 { Great-Britain, to be tried. The charges on both sides to be  
 1774. defrayed by the customs. This act to continue in force  
 for four years.

In favour of this act it was urged, That the bill was necessary to give efficacy to the former. It was in vain to appoint a magistracy that would act, if none could be found hardy enough to put their orders in execution. The numerous tumults and riots gave reason to think, that blood would be shed in the suppressing of them; but nobody would risk the event of executing his duty, were the rioters themselves, or their accomplices, to sit in judgment upon them. The act was not without precedent. When smuggling has been notoriously countenanced in one county, trials for it have been directed in another. The rebels in the year 1746, were tried in England, tho' the offence was committed in Scotland. Particular privileges must, in all cases, give way to the public safety; and in cases of great danger to the state, even the Habeas Corpus act has been suspended. The act did not establish any military government, but a civil one, by which the former was much improved. There was a necessity for shewing the Americans, that Britain would not put up with their insults; and that even when exasperated to the utmost, our measures were not cruel and vindictive, but necessary and efficacious. At the same time, he acquainted the house, that the usual relief of four regiments for America had been all ordered to Boston; and, that general Gage, in whose abilities he had great confidence, was sent out as commander-in-chief of the forces, and governor of Boston: That, while proper precautions were taken for the support of magistracy, the same spirit was shewn for the punishment of offenders; and that prosecutions had been ordered against those who were ringleaders in sedition. Every thing should be conducted with firmness, and, at the same time, legally and prudently, as he had the advantage of being assisted by the ablest lawyers; and he made no doubt, that, by the steady execution of the measures now taken, obedience, and the blessings of peace, would soon be restored. He concluded with predicting, that the event would be advantageous and happy to this country.

This bill was more violently opposed than any of the former. It was denied, that it would answer the end proposed, namely, the procuring an impartial trial; for if a party-spirit against the authority of Great-Britain would induce the Americans to condemn an active officer as a



murderer, the same party-spirit against the Americans might induce the inhabitants of Britain to acquit a murderer as a spirited performer of his duty. There was, in truth, no absolute security against the effects of party-spirit either in Britain or America; but, before the exercise of their natural rights was denied to the Americans, it ought to have been proved that in some cases they had abused them. This, however, had not been done in any one instance; on the contrary, from the recent case of captain Preston, it appeared, that the Americans had acted justly towards him; so that there was not the least reason to doubt of the impartiality of the American courts. The intention of the bill, however, was not the administration of justice, but to set up a military government, and to provide an indemnity for all the murders and outrages which might be committed under that barbarous authority. It was impossible for the relations of a murdered person to prosecute at the distance of 3000 miles from their families and business. The charges of the witnesses were to be borne out of the customs, but the governor was to be judge how much ought to be allowed; and they could not imagine that any person would voluntarily offer himself as a witness, when, by that means, upon a mere payment of charges, he was to be removed so far from his native country. Thus, a poor man, whose finances could scarce afford a prosecution at home, would be totally excluded from the benefits of the law when obliged to come to Britain for that purpose. It was strenuously maintained, therefore, that this was holding out an encouragement for all kind of lawless violence. It was denied that the cases of smuggling, and the rebellion in 1746, did at all apply to the present case; as the distance to which the parties were removed was but trifling in comparison with that betwixt Great-Britain and America. The necessity of this act was denied, even on the supposition that no justice could ever be obtained in New-England; as the governor had it always in his power to relieve those who should happen to be convicted notoriously against law and reason. It was apprehended, that, instead of promoting justice, this act would give rise to assassinations, and horrid revenge among individuals; nay, that it would most probably occasion an open rebellion throughout the colonies. On this occasion, Mr. Fuller, who had usually supported administration, ended his speech with these remarkable words: "I will now take my leave of the whole plan. You will commence your ruin from this day. I am sorry to say, that not only the house has fallen into this error, but the people

**CHAP.** approve of the measure. The people, I am sorry to say it, IX. are misled; but a short time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it is this."

1774.

Quebec  
bill.

The bill having passed the house, on the 6th of May, was also warmly opposed in the house of lords, where it occasioned a protest, as the others had also done. No more bills were at present projected, which could affect the colony of New-England in particular; but that which concerned the province of Canada or Quebec, was peculiarly calculated to affect the whole. The objects of this bill were to extend the limits of the province far beyond those which had been assigned to it by the proclamation in 1763. A legislative council was to be formed, which should have the whole direction of the affairs of the province, taxation only excepted. The council was to be appointed by the crown, the members removable at pleasure, and the Canadian Roman Catholics to have a place in it. The French laws were to be established, and a trial without jury in civil cases; but after the English manner, by jury, in criminal ones. To the Roman Catholic clergy, regulars excepted, the peaceable enjoyment of their estates, and tithes from those of their own persuasion, were secured. It was said, in favour of this bill, that it was intended chiefly for the French, who having been accustomed to live under an arbitrary government, had little understanding or regard for the forms of a free one; and they were besides very much averse to a popular representation, from which they had seen so many mischiefs flow in the rest of the colonies. It would, at any rate, be unreasonable to exclude the natives totally from a share in representation; and it was impossible to say what might be the consequences of giving this privilege to a people newly taken into the British empire, and as yet not ripe for English government. A trial by jury was new and disgusting to them; and, as to religion, it had been expressly stipulated by the treaty of Paris, that they should be allowed the profession of theirs in the most ample manner. The penal laws against Popery did not extend beyond the Island of Britain; but the king's supremacy extended over the whole empire; and there was a clause in the act, by which it was established in Canada; while, at the same time, by an oath prescribed as a test, the allegiance of the subjects was secured from all claims of the Papal power. Persecution on account of religion was at any rate odious; and people cannot be said to have the freedom of their own religion, who have not the choice of their own priesthood.

With regard to the new boundary, it was said, that there were French scattered in several parts beyond the limits assigned in the proclamation, for whom provision ought to be made; and there was one entire colony at the Illenois. CHAP. IX.

1774.

The Quebec bill originated in the house of lords, where it met with very little opposition; but, on being sent down to the commons, it was criticised in such a manner as to alarm the ministry. It was found necessary, therefore, not to push it forward with such violence as had been used with the other bills, but rather to apologize for it; and this was done the rather, that the subject of religion was concerned, which was more likely to make it unpopular than the others. It was allowed, that the bill came down in a very imperfect state from the lords; and administration would be open to conviction, and consent to any reasonable amendments that might be suggested; the plan might be discussed more at leisure than that of regulating the colony of Massachusetts Bay; in which case it was necessary to show a degree of vigour and decision, or all order might be lost, and government entirely confounded. With respect to Canada, however, the case was different, as the people there were disposed to peace and obedience, though the government stood very much in need of regulation. Great altercations ensued, and several witnesses were examined, among whom were general Carlton, governor of Canada; Mr. Hay, chief-justice of that province; Mr. Mazores, late attorney-general and agent for the English inhabitants of Canada; Dr. Marriot, the king's advocate-general in England; and Mons. Lolbiniere, a French gentleman of considerable property in Canada.

This bill was opposed on the topic of religion more than on any other. Opposition insisted, that by the capitulation, no more than a bare toleration for the Catholic religion was provided, and with this, the people were contented and happy; but now the case was so far reversed, that the Protestants enjoyed no more than a bare toleration; the Popish clergy were entitled to a maintenance by a legal parliamentary right, while the former were left at the king's discretion. It would have been but reasonable to put both on an equal footing. To enlarge the limits of the province seemed to indicate a design of spreading this arbitrary plan as wide as possible. If there were any Canadians settled on distant spots, it was no doubt proper to provide for them; but no reason could be given for annexing to Canada, immense territories running along the back of the other colonies. This could not fail to aggravate their discontents, and they would attribute the exten-

CHAP. fion of this arbitrary, military government, to a design of  
IX. utterly extinguishing their liberties, and bringing them in-  
to a state of the most abject vassalage, by means of the very  
1774. people whom they had helped to conquer.

Though the arguments used by opposition could not prevail so far as to prevent the act from passing, they nevertheless occasioned several alterations to be made, by which its appearance was very much changed, though the substance remained the same. Motions were made to allow juries in civil cases at the option of the parties, and to grant them the benefit of the habeas corpus act; but both were rejected. The victory of ministry on this occasion, however, cost them dear; as it occasioned much more discontent throughout the kingdom than any of the former, and regained many friends to the Americans, which had been lost by their violence at Boston and other places. This discontent produced a considerable opposition on its being returned to the lords. Minority, however, had no strength in numbers; the victory of the ministry was complete, and the session was not concluded till near the end of June. The most sanguine hopes were expressed in the speech from the throne, that the new act would be attended with the best effects in quieting the minds of his majesty's subjects in Canada; and the ministry were equally sanguine in their hopes that the submission of America would be the immediate consequence of the resolute spirit manifested by the parliament, the strength shown by the ministry, and the extreme weakness of opposition. It was also supposed, that the punishment of Boston, by shutting up its port, would be a gratification to the neighbouring towns, on account of the great advantages arising to them from the destruction of its commerce; the terror of that punishment would influence the other colonies, and prove the means of dissolving that powerful confederacy which had seemed so likely to take place among the Americans. In all this, however, the ministry were exceedingly mistaken. The publication of the letters written by governors Hutchinson and Oliver had produced such a flame as could not by any means be allayed. As soon as they were discovered, the assembly had voted them to have a tendency "to subvert the constitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." A committee appointed to examine them, gave their opinion, dated June 15, 1773, that they contained aggravated accounts of facts, and misrepresentations; and that one manifest design of them was to represent the matters they treat of in a light

Violent  
discontents  
at Boston.

highly injurious to the province, against whom they were CHAP. wrote, &c. In England, also, they produced some con- IX. fusion. Copies of them had been transmitted thither, along with a petition to the king for the removal of governors Hutchinson and Oliver, in consequence of which they were laid before the privy-council. The council made very light of the accusations, but seemed very much inclined to censure the method in which they were procured, provided they could have known it; though Dr. Franklin, who, it seems, only could have given intelligence of the matter, did not think proper to publish it. Mr. Wedderburn, in his speech for the governors, animadverted severely on the doctor's conduct, which he endeavoured to represent as very unfair.

1774.  
Governor  
Hutchinson's letters  
laid before  
the privy-  
council.

Previous to the examination of these letters by the council, the discovery of them had occasioned a duel betwixt Mr. Whately, a banker, brother to Mr. Whately, formerly secretary to the treasury, and John Temple, esq. lieutenant-governor of New-Hampshire, on a supposition that the former had given the letters to Dr. Franklin. This disagreeable affair, which took place December 11, 1773, and in which Mr. Whately was dangerously wounded, produced the following manifesto from Dr. Franklin :—

A duel  
fought in  
England,  
on account  
of the New-  
England  
letters.

“ Finding that two gentlemen have been unfortunately engaged in a duel about a transaction and its circumstances, of which both of them are totally ignorant and innocent, I think it incumbent on me to declare, (for the prevention of farther mischief, as far as such a declaration may contribute to prevent it,) that I alone am the person who obtained, and transmitted to Boston, the letters in question. Mr. Whately could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and, for the same reason, they could not be taken from him by Mr. Temple. They were not of the nature of private letters between friends; they were written by public officers, to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures. They were, therefore, handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies; and, by the steps recommended, to widen the breach; which they effected. The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy was, to keep their contents from the colony-agents, who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them, to America. That apprehension was,

CHAP. it seems, well founded : for the first agent who laid hands  
 IX. on them, thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents. *B. Franklin, agent for the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts-Bay, Craven-street, December 25, 1773.*

1774.

The rest of the Americans seem to have been of the same opinion, as to the nature of these letters, with Dr. Franklin. A vote of the committee appointed to examine them, declared, that “ they were wrote by the present governor (Hutchinson) when he was lieutenant-governor and chief-justice of the province, who has been represented abroad as eminent for his abilities as his exalted station, and was under no obligation to transmit private intelligence ; and that they, therefore, must be considered by the person to whom they were sent, as documents of solid intelligence ; and that gentleman in London to whom they were wrote, was then a member of the British parliament, and one who was very active in American affairs ; and, therefore, that these letters, however secretly wrote, must naturally be supposed to have, and really had, a public operation.”

Whether there really was occasion for all this violent clamour, the reader may judge from the following passage in one of Mr. Hutchinson's letters :—“ I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the colonies without pain. *There must be an abridgement of what are called English liberties.* I relieve myself by considering, that in a remove from the state of nature to the most perfect state of government, there must be a great restraint of natural liberty. I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government, in which a colony, three thousand miles distant from its parent-state, shall enjoy all the liberties of the parent-state. I am certain I have never yet seen the projection. I wish the good of the colony, when I wish to see some further restraint of liberty, rather than the connection with the parent-state should be broken ; for I am sure such a breach must prove the ruin of the colony.”

But, in however heinous a light these letters might appear to the Americans, or their friends, it is certain, that the privy-council declared the charges founded upon them to be frivolous and malicious, and their request for the removal of the governors was utterly rejected. The assembly had, in the mean time, presented a remonstrance against Peter Oliver, justice of the superior court of judicature, to governor Hutchinson and the council, on ac-

count of his consenting to accept a salary from the crown, which they said was destroying his trust, and the chartered rights of the province. This was followed by the adjournment of the superior court, from the day on which it was legally held, to a further day; it being judged improper, that the chief-justice should sit and act under the present circumstances, and uncertain what opinion and resolution he might have formed concerning the matter laid before the governor. The governor, however, refused to give his consent to this adjournment; of consequence, the court was opened in the absence of the chief-justice, and adjourned itself to the day following. A message was then delivered from the governor, in which he declared, that he could have no hand in removing the chief-justice from his place, lest he should act in express contradiction to his majesty's orders; but, that he should take the first opportunity of laying their remonstrance before his majesty. This occasioned an address of the whole house, petitioning, that he would take the advice of the council, and not determine by himself, upon one of the most important affairs of the province, in a manner contrary to the most evident design of the charter.— They concluded with assuring the governor, that the continuance of the chief-justice in his place, would increase the uneasiness of the people without doors, and endanger the public tranquillity. Their request not being complied with, they proceeded formally to exhibit articles of impeachment against Mr. Oliver, as having a “design to subvert the constitution of the province as established by royal charter, and to introduce into the superior court of judicature, a partial, arbitrary, and corrupt administration of justice, by accepting of a salary from his majesty, instead of the usual grants of the people.” Along with this charge, they sent a copy of a paper delivered by the chief-justice in his own vindication. In this he set forth, “that during seventeen years, in which he had held his office, he had suffered great inconvenience by neglecting his private business, and not having a salary at all adequate to the support of his family. He had repeatedly thrown himself on former assemblies for relief, but had never been able to obtain redress. For these reasons, he thought it incumbent on him to accept of his majesty's salary; and this he had only had for two years: but, as to any future grant, he did not think himself at liberty to refuse it, lest he should incur the censure of his sovereign; and, as he had it only “during his good beha-

CHAP. IX.

1774  
Proceedings against chief-justice Oliver, in New-England. Feb. 24.

CHAP. viour," this might be considered as a sufficient bias against  
IX. any mal-administration in regard to his office."

1774.

This paper was enumerated among one of the high crimes and misdemeanors of which Mr. Oliver had been guilty. It was styled "an ungrateful, false, and malicious attempt to lay an imputation on his majesty's government;" and the impeachment being fully completed, it was voted to carry it to the governor by a majority of 92 to 8; but Mr. Hutchinson being previously acquainted with their design, informed them by a message, that he had no authority to take cognizance of any crimes or misdemeanors whatever; and, at any rate, as their process was unconstitutional, he could not give any countenance to it. But, as this was found to be insufficient to make them give up their attack, he determined to put an end to it by dissolving the assembly, which was done in the end of March, 1774.



## CHAPTER X.

*General Gage arrives at Boston—Solemn League and Covenant—Measures for holding a General Congress—Opposed—Bostonians refractory—Boston Neck fortified—Suffolk Delegates—A General Assembly called and countermanded—The Assembly, however, meets—Friends of government take refuge in Boston—Schemes for its Relief—General Congress meets at Philadelphia—Parliament dissolved.*

THE dissolution of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay was among the last acts of governor Hutchinson; he being soon after superseded by the arrival of general Gage—a person, in the opinion of ministry, more likely to prove agreeable to the people. But whatever advantages might have been accomplished by his appointment, they were utterly effaced by the news of the Port Bill, which had been received on the 15th of May, four days before the arrival of the new governor. The first effect was one of those desperate exertions of popular rage, which had been but too frequent since the commencement of the disputes. A vast number of copies were printed with a death's head affixed to them, and hawked about the streets, under the name of “A barbarous, bloody, and inhuman murder,” with the most vehement denunciations of vengeance; though the better sort of people endeavoured, as yet, to restrain this extravagance. The case was much the same at New-York, where the bill was printed in a similar manner, and hawked about under the same name. Ten thousand copies of it were thrown off, and distributed in different places; and a meeting of the inhabitants was called on the occasion. This was also the first regu-

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X.

1774.

News of  
the port-  
bill arrives  
at Boston.

CHAP. lar step taken at Boston, where Mr. Samuel Adams being  
 X. chosen moderator, it was unanimously voted, " That it  
 1774. would be the salvation of the liberties of America, should  
 all the other colonies come into a general non-importation  
 and exportation agreement, both with regard to  
 Great-Britain and the colonies, until the act for blocking  
 up the harbour should be removed." A committee was  
 appointed to communicate this resolution to the towns of  
 Marblehead, and others in the neighbourhood. The  
 meeting then adjourned to the 19th, and were passing  
 similar resolutions, when general Gage arrived. The uni-  
 versal discontent, however, did not prevent the people  
 from receiving their new governor with proper marks of  
 respect. Indeed, their rage was now, in some measure,  
 converted into a calm and determined resolution to resist;  
 while the resolution to enforce obedience seemed to be  
 equally strong on the other side. All proper civilities, there-  
 fore, were paid by both. The governor called an assembly  
 according to the terms of the charter. As little business  
 then came before the house, a project was formed of  
 hurrying through it as fast as possible, that the assembly  
 might have it in their power to adjourn themselves to a  
 future day, without receiving any formal intelligence of  
 their intended removal to Salem; but before this could  
 be accomplished, the governor having got intelligence of  
 their design, adjourned them unexpectedly to Salem, on  
 the 7th of June following. Previous to this adjournment  
 they had presented a petition for appointing a day of fast-  
 ing and prayer, with which he did not comply. He had  
 afterwards the satisfaction to receive an address, signed  
 by 127 of the best affected inhabitants; in which, besides  
 the usual compliments, they expressed great hopes from  
 the general's public and private character; disavowing,  
 at the same time, all lawless violences; and lamenting that  
 a discretionary power was not lodged in his hands, of res-  
 toring trade to its former course immediately, on the terms  
 of the law being complied with; and shewing, that as  
 the act then stood, notwithstanding the most ready com-  
 pliance, so much time would be lost before his favourite  
 account of their conduct could reach the king and coun-  
 cil in order to produce the wished-for effect, as must ne-  
 cessarily involve them in the utmost misery and ruin.

This address, however, was in a few days counteracted  
 by another from the council, containing some very severe  
 reflections on the conduct of his predecessors, to whose  
 machinations, both in concert and apart, they attributed  
 the origin and progress of the disunion of the colonies

Arrival of  
 general  
 Gage.

with the mother country, as well as all the calamities which affected the province. They further declared, that they claimed no more than the rights of Englishmen, without diminution or abridgement; and these, as it was the indispensable duty of that board, so it should be their constant endeavour to maintain, to the utmost of their power, in perfect consistence, however, with the truest loyalty to the crown, the just prerogatives of which they would ever be zealous to support.

This address was rejected by the governor, who would not suffer the chairman to proceed any farther than to that part which contained the reflections on his predecessors; telling him, that he would afterwards give an answer to the council in writing. This was done by a message, in which he informed them, that he could not receive an address containing indecent reflections on his predecessors, who had been tried and honourably acquitted by the privy-council, and their conduct approved by the king.—This address he considered as an insult upon his majesty, the lords of his privy-council, and an affront to himself.

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1774.  
He rejects an address from the house of representatives.

In the mean time, the Boston port-bill had been almost equally resented throughout the whole continent. Provincial meetings were every where held, non-importation and exportation agreements entered into, with the most spirited resolutions to assist their distressed brethren at Boston. In Virginia, the house of burgesses appointed the first of June, the day on which the Boston port-bill took place, to be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore the divine interposition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, as well as all the evils of a civil war, and to give one heart and one mind to the American people throughout the continent, firmly to oppose every injury to their rights. A similar resolution was adopted by all the other colonies. On receiving intelligence of this resolution, the governor immediately dissolved the assembly; but before this was accomplished, eighty-nine of the members entered into an association, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony, in order to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all the rest, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole was applied to prevent it. It was, therefore, recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies to meet annually in general congress, and to deliberate on those

CHAP. general measures which the united interests of America  
 X. might, from time to time, render necessary. They con-  
 1774. cluded with a declaration, that a tender regard for the in-  
 terests of their fellow-subjects, the merchants and manu-  
 facturers of Great-Britain, prevented them from going  
 further at that time.

Violent  
 discontents  
 throughout  
 the conti-  
 nent.

At Philadelphia, the people were somewhat more mo-  
 derate. They appointed a committee to write to the in-  
 habitants of Boston. In this letter they wished to have  
 the sense of the province in general; but observed, that  
 all lenient applications to government should be tried be-  
 fore recourse was had to extremities; that it might per-  
 haps be right to take the sense of a general congress, be-  
 fore the desperate measure of putting an entire stop to  
 commerce was adopted; and, at any rate, it would be  
 right to reserve that measure as the last resource, when all  
 others had failed. If the making restitution to the East-  
 India company for the tea which had been destroyed,  
 would put an end to the unhappy contest, and leave the  
 people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitu-  
 tional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt  
 what part they should act. But it was not the value of  
 the tea; it was the indefeasible right of giving and grant-  
 ing their own money, a right from which they could ne-  
 ver recede, that was now the matter in consideration.

At New-York, a town-meeting was also held, and a  
 committee of correspondence appointed, although govern-  
 ment had yet a much more powerful interest in that co-  
 lony than in any other. The people of Maryland, how-  
 ever, exceeded all the rest in the violence of their resolu-  
 tions. One of these was to prevent the carrying on any  
 lawsuits for debts owing to Great-Britain: however, this  
 resolution was never put in practice, nor adopted by the  
 subsequent provincial meeting. In general, the proposal  
 of the Bostonians to shut up the ports throughout Ame-  
 rica, was coldly received, though the behaviour of the  
 British ministry was every where condemned with almost  
 the same marks of disapprobation, and every measure that  
 could be thought of was adopted, to shew their detestation  
 of the Boston port-bill, and their determination to oppose  
 it in every possible manner.

On the meeting of the Boston representatives at Salem,  
 a motion was passed, in which they declared the expedi-  
 ency of a general meeting of committees from the several  
 colonies, and specified the purposes for which such a  
 meeting would be necessary; and five of the most remark-  
 able leaders of the popular faction were appointed mem-

bers of a committee to represent the province of Massachusetts-Bay; at the same time, the sum of 500l. was voted to enable them to discharge the important trust reposed in them. This last resolution, however, being rejected by the governor, the assembly passed a resolution to recommend to the several towns and districts within the province, to raise the 500l. in question by equitable proportions, according to the last provincial tax. A recommendation of this kind had, at present, all the force of a law, and was as punctually obeyed as the most positive injunctions of a sovereign. The assembly, therefore, conscious that the time of their dissolution was at hand, determined to prescribe rules for the conduct of the people, under the specious title of *recommendations*. A declaratory resolution was accordingly passed, in which they expressed their opinion of the state of public affairs, and of the designs of government. They set forth, that they, with the rest of the American colonies, had, for a long time, been struggling under the heavy hand of power; their dutiful petitions for redress of intolerable grievances had not only been disregarded, but it appeared more and more to be the fixed and determined design of government totally to alter the free constitution and civil government in British America, to establish arbitrary governments, and reduce the inhabitants to slavery. The non-consumption of Indian teas was recommended in the strongest terms, as well as the discontinuance of the use of all goods imported from Great-Britain, or the East-Indies, until the grievances complained of should be totally redressed; and, that this might be the more effectually put in execution, it was recommended to use every possible means of encouraging the American manufactures.

CHAP.

X.

1774.

As it was well known that such resolutions must prove very offensive to the governor, the utmost care had been taken to keep the transactions of the committee, by which they were made, a profound secret. By some means or other, however, general Gage obtained intelligence of what was going forward, and, therefore, sent his secretary to dissolve them on the very day the committee intended to give in their report. The assembly were aware of his intention, and kept the doors shut. The secretary then acquainted the house, that he had a message from the governor, and desired admittance to deliver it; but on this being refused, he read the proclamation for dissolving the assembly on the stairs leading up to the assembly-room; and this transaction put an end to the long

CHAP. series of contentions between the governors of Massachusetts-Bay and their assemblies.

X.

1774.

It has formerly been observed, that great part of the ministerial hopes were founded on the rivalry between the town of Salem and that of Boston, which seemed the more reasonable, as violent contests had frequently taken place among the towns of that province, with regard to their commercial interests. In this, however, as in every thing else regarding this unfortunate contest, the ministry were found to be mistaken. The inhabitants of Salem presented a most pathetic, though, at the same time; a spirited and manly address to the governor, in which, with regard to Boston, they express themselves in the following manner: "We are deeply affected with a sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren, in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiseration; and we hope your excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a farther accumulation of evils on that already forely distressed people. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine, that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce to that convenient mart. And, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbours." In other respects they expressed the greatest regard for the mother country, as well as concern for the present unhappy differences, to conciliate which, they professed themselves willing to sacrifice every thing compatible with the safety and dignity of British subjects.

Considerable dependence had also been placed upon the influence of the merchants, whose interest it was to oppose all resistance to the mother country. But though those had uniformly declared against all violent measures, they were found no less determined in their resolutions not to submit to the obnoxious acts than the rest. Indeed, it was by no means safe to profess an intention of acting otherwise; for, though it had all along been industriously inculcated on this side of the Atlantic, that the friends of government were the strongest party in America, an event which took place about this time made it evident, that the case was far otherwise. At the time that one of the town-meetings was held at Boston, the friends of government attended, and made an attempt to pass resolutions for the payment of the tea, and for dissolving the

committee of correspondence; but, instead of effecting this, they found themselves lost in a prodigious majority, and could only testify their sentiments by protesting against the proceedings of the rest. The flame was still increased by the news of the other coercive bills relative to the province of Massachusetts-Bay, rough draughts of which, as well as of one for quartering the troops at Boston, were sent over, and circulated through the continent with the utmost celerity. Even the most moderate now began to waver, and the sanguine friends of government to abate of their zeal. The shutting up the ports now came to be a necessary measure; liberal contributions for the town of Boston were every where recommended and collected; at the same time, they were commended, in the highest terms, for their perseverance and patience in their sufferings, and strongly exhorted to continue in their resolution. These exhortations were not long of producing the most sensible effects. An agreement was framed by the committee of correspondence at Boston, in which they bound themselves most solemnly, and in the presence of God, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great-Britain, from the last day of the month of August ensuing, until the Boston port-bill, and the other late obnoxious acts, were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts-Bay fully restored to its chartered rights. They also bound themselves in the same manner, not to consume, or to purchase from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the specified time; and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings, with any who did, as well as with the importers of such goods.—In the same manner they renounced all future intercourse and connection with those who should refuse to subscribe the agreement, or some other similar to it; to which they annexed the dangerous penalty of having their names published to the world, as enemies to the liberties of America.

CHAP. X.  
1774.

Solemn  
league and  
covenant.

This agreement, which they called a *Solemn League and Covenant*, was circulated, together with a letter from the committee of correspondence, throughout the whole continent, and every where entered into with the greatest eagerness; and indeed many similar agreements were made, without any previous concert, throughout various parts of the continent. General Gage opposed a proclamation in which he styled the covenant an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the king, destructive of the lawful authority of the British parliament, &c. at the same time warning all per-

Repro-  
bated by  
general  
Gage.

**CHAP.** fons againſt the pains and penalties incurred by ſuch dangerous and complicated offences, and charging all magiſtrates to apprehend and ſecure for trial thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of ſubſcribing the covenant formed at Boſton, or any other.

**X.**  
1774.

In return to this proclamation, the covenanters reſcriminated, by aſſerting, that the governor had aſſumed an unſtitutional power; nay, a power which the ſovereign himſelf could not legally aſſume, viz. the making theſe things be conſidered as treaſon which the laws did not deem ſuch; that the people had a right to aſſemble, in order to conſider of their grievances, and the means proper to redreſs them; to form aſſociations for the purpoſe, and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

Meaſures  
for holding  
a general  
congreſs.

The neceſſity of a general congreſs being now univerſally believed, deputies were choſen for the purpoſe throughout all the colonies. Philadelphia was fixed upon for the place, and the beginning of September for the time of its meeting. Where the Aſſembly of any province happened to be fitting, as was the caſe with Maſſachuſetts Bay, deputies to congreſs were appointed by them; but where this was not the caſe, the people choſe their uſual number of representatives from whom the delegates were choſen: The number was proportioned to the extent of the province, two being the leaſt and ſeven the greateſt number for any colony; but whatever the number of representatives was, each of the colonies had only a ſingle vote.

July.

Before the time appointed for the meeting of congreſs, a petition of near 900 freeholders was preſented to governor Penn, requeſting him to call a general aſſembly as ſoon as poſſible; but this being reſuſed, they proceeded to the election of deputies to represent the colony in congreſs, who met in that city in the month of July, 1774. The proceedings of this body were of ſuch a nature as ſhewed them to be well calculated to go through the arduous taſk they had undertaken, and ought to have given them a much better character in Britain than that of the leaders of an 'headlong mob. They ſet out with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and allegiance to the king; declared their abhorrence of every idea of an unſtitutional independence on the parent ſtate; on which account they viewed with the deepeſt concern the unhappy differences with Great-Britain, as being certainly deſtructive to the intereſts of both. But while they expreſſed the warmeſt wiſhes for a reconciliation with the mother-coun-



try, they reprobated in the strongest terms the bills relative to Massachusetts-Bay, and declared that they considered their brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of all the colonies. They declared the absolute necessity of a general congress, to contrive a proper plan of conduct for all the colonies, in order to relieve their suffering brethren, obtain redress of grievances, and firmly re-establish the friendship between Great-Britain and America. They declared also, that though they acknowledged a suspension of commerce with Great-Britain would be a very distressing measure; they were ready not only to undergo that, but much greater inconveniencies, in order to preserve their liberties: however, it was their earnest desire that congress would first try the gentle mode of stating their grievances, and making a firm and decent claim of redress. The dealers also were requested not to raise the price of their merchandize beyond the usual rates, on account of any resolutions that might be taken with regard to importation; and it was also threatened, that the province of Philadelphia would break off all intercourse with any city, town, or colony on the continent, or with any individuals in them, who should refuse or neglect to carry into execution any such general plan as should be adopted by the general congress.

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X.  
1774.

In Virginia similar resolves were entered into by the delegates to congress for that province; to which they added a resolution not to purchase any more slaves from Africa, the West-Indies, or any other place. Their non-importation agreement was to take place on the first of November, 1774; and if the grievances were not redressed by the 10th of August, 1775, they resolved to export no more tobacco, nor any other goods whatever, to Great-Britain. To render this last resolution the more effectual, they strongly recommended the cultivation of such articles of husbandry, instead of tobacco, as might form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts. They particularly resolved to improve their breed of sheep to the utmost, and to kill as few as possible, in order to increase their number; and concluded with a resolution to declare such as opposed their determinations to be enemies to their country. Similar resolutions were adopted in Maryland, and even in the Carolinas, though it seemed difficult to conceive how the latter could subsist without exportation.


Thus were the Americans, contrary to the opinion of administration, so far determined to resistance by those very means which had been judged effectual for reducing

Surprising  
union of the  
colonies.

CHAP. them to obedience, that a war seemed inevitable, unless  
 X. government should think proper to relinquish the affair of  
 taxation entirely. Though various circumstances contri-  
 1774. buted to make the people in some places less violent in  
 their behaviour than others, they were nevertheless uni-  
 versally determined to sacrifice life and property, rather  
 than submit to taxation by any foreign power. War was  
 now begun to be spoken of, and preparations openly made  
 for it. At Newport, in Rhode-Island, a paper was stuck  
 up with the motto JOIN OR DIE! in large capitals; the  
 blocking up the harbour of Boston was represented as an  
 act of hostility, a siege, and an invasion of the colonies.  
 "The generals of despotism," said they, "are now draw-  
 ing the lines of circumvallation around our bulwarks of  
 liberty, and nothing but unity, resolution, and persever-  
 ance, can save ourselves and our posterity from what is  
 worse than death—slavery."

The Bostonians, in the mean time, felt severely the  
 effects of shutting up their port. Liberal contributions  
 had, indeed, been raised for them throughout the conti-  
 nent, but these were insufficient to keep off distress. Indeed,  
 it may easily be conceived, that in a town containing up-  
 wards of 20,000 inhabitants who had scarce any other  
 means of subsistence than by commerce, it would be no  
 easy matter to counteract the inconveniencies arising from  
 a total deprivation of trade. Even the rich had their share  
 in the calamity, as most of their property consisted in  
 wharfs, warehouses, shades, and other erections for the  
 purpose of commerce, which the shutting up of their port  
 rendered totally useless. These distresses, however, far  
 from having any tendency to soften their minds, or dis-  
 pose them to submission, only inflamed them the more  
 against the partisans of government; nor were the news  
 of them received with less indignation throughout the  
 continent. Exhortations to perseverance, and congra-  
 tulations on their magnanimous conduct, were sent from  
 every quarter; while those towns who might have drawn  
 some advantage from their distresses, by reason of the  
 vicinity of their situation, generously offered them the use  
 of their stores and wharfs, and to transact business for  
 them without expense.

Notwithstanding this so universal combination, the go-  
 vernors of the colonies, and even the British ministry,  
 seem to have been infatuated with a notion that the whole  
 was only the proceeding of a mob, inflamed by some de-  
 signing persons, and which must of course cease in a very  
 short time. They ought to have considered that the opi-

position to government in America was composed of the **CHAP.**  
 most numerous, as well as the most respectable class of **X**  
 people there, viz. the landholders, who were too many   
 to be bribed, and by far too daring, and full of enterprise, 1774.  
 to be safely despised. Leaders they no doubt had; but  
 though these leaders had been cut off, others would in-  
 stantly have succeeded in their place; nay, so universally  
 was the common cause understood, and so much did one  
 spirit pervade the whole, that almost every man was ca-  
 pable of becoming a leader, had he been called to the sta-  
 tion. The friends of government, indeed, were com-  
 posed of the opulent and wealthy, but they were without  
 that influence which attends those in similar circumstan-  
 ces, on this side the Atlantic. Addresses were presented  
 from some of these to governor Hutchinson on his depart-  
 ure from Britain, and to general Gage on his arrival;  
 but they were far from being able to cope with the im-  
 mense number who opposed, and whom, as they took  
 care to keep their transactions as secret as possible, the  
 governor supposed to have no existence. How little in-  
 fluence general Gage possessed at this time may, indeed,  
 be collected from the following circumstance. By one of  
 the late acts of parliament, town-meetings were strictly  
 forbid without the governor's leave. About the middle  
 of August, 1774, the general called some of the select-  
 men of Boston to attend him; and, on their appearance,  
 gave them the act of parliament to read; after which, his  
 excellency told them, that he was ready, on application,  
 to give liberty for a town-meeting, if he should judge it  
 expedient; and on their reply, that the provincial laws  
 had been the rule of their conduct in these matters, he  
 said he was determined to put the acts of parliament in  
 execution, and they must be answerable for any bad con-  
 sequence which might ensue. So little regard was paid  
 to this, however, that printed notifications were pasted up  
 at Salem, only five days after, desiring the merchants,  
 freeholders, and other inhabitants, to meet at the town-  
 house, in order to confer with deputies from the neigh-  
 bouring towns, on the late acts of parliament; and it  
 was added, that this intimation was given at the desire of  
 the committee of correspondence. This produced a pro-  
 clamations, in which these meetings were declared illegal,  
 and all persons warned against the consequences of at-  
 tending them. To such warnings, however, the people  
 paid no regard. The committee avowed the passing up  
 of the paper containing the notification, when questioned  
 on the subject. On being told that they must abide by

General  
 Gage at-  
 tempts in  
 vain to  
 suppress  
 town-  
 meetings.

CHAP. the consequences, and desired to disperse the inhabitants

X. now assembled, they replied, that the inhabitants, being  
 already met, would do whatever they thought proper,

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and that the committee could not oblige them to disperse. The general then declared it a seditious meeting, which being denied by the committee, his excellency, in a passion, told them that he was come to execute the laws, not to dispute about them; the sheriff would first go to the meeting, and desire them to disperse; if he was disobeyed, the governor would support him.

It is possible, that by a well-timed exertion of military power at such a critical juncture, some degree of terror might have been struck, as people did not yet suppose themselves wholly removed from under the jurisdiction of Britain. But the governor, instead of apprehending the committee-men on the first appearance of the printed notices, allowed the meeting to be begun before he sent for the committee; and while he was in conference with them, the meeting dispatched their business, and dispersed before the soldiers could reach them. Some of the committee were afterwards arrested; but the legislative power was, by far, too weak to inflict any punishment upon them.

This dilatoriness in supporting the small remains of civil power by the military, seems, indeed, to have been one great cause of the total loss of America to Great-Britain. The colonies were now in actual rebellion as much as at the time that hostilities were commenced; nevertheless, there was no care taken to send over a number of forces sufficient to give efficacy to the acts of parliament. Two regiments had, indeed, been landed at Boston, with a small detachment of artillery, soon after the arrival of governor Gage, and these were, in a short time, reinforced by others from different parts. Their arrival was considered by the inhabitants as another step in the progress of the ministerial plan to enslave them. Actual hostilities were considered as on the point of being begun, and the inhabitants of the adjacent country held themselves ready, at a moment's warning, to fly to the relief of the Bostonians. Trial was made of their resolution, by the spreading of a report, (contrived perhaps for this very purpose) that a regiment had been posted at Boston Neck, in order to cut off all communication with the country, that so the inhabitants might be starved into a compliance with the ministerial measures. On this, a great number of the country people assembled, and dispatched two messengers to town, by whom the inhabi-

tants were informed, that had the report been true, several thousand armed men were in readiness to march to their assistance; but that, should the people of Boston be disposed to surrender their liberties, the country people would not think themselves included in the act. By the late acts of parliament, and the bills still in dependence there, the charter of Massachusetts-Bay was utterly vacated, and the compact between Great-Britain and the people of Massachusetts-Bay entirely destroyed, so that the people were left at liberty to combine in any manner they thought proper for their mutual security.

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General Gage, still willing to try what effects might be produced by his authority as governor, issued a proclamation for the encouragement, as he said, of piety and virtue; and the punishment of vice, profaneness, and immorality. This proclamation was worded in a very unhappy manner, and looked rather like an accusation of the people to whom it was addressed, than any thing else. They considered it accordingly as an insult; especially, as the writer of the proclamation had unluckily inserted the word *hypocrisy* among the immoralities, which no doubt implied a reflection on the general character of the Bostonians, whose affected sanctity of manners subjected them to the ridicule of their neighbours.

July 21<sup>st</sup>

About this time a formal notification of the new laws was sent over; and governor Gage received a list of thirty-six new counsellors chosen by the crown, in conformity to the new regulations, and contrary to the old method prescribed by charter, by which they were to be elected by the members of the house of representatives. About twenty-four of those accepted their office, which was a sufficient number for carrying on the business of the province; the remaining twelve, either through fear or principle, declined the acceptance of their seats. Those who had the courage to accept, were soon made sensible of the dangerous error they had committed. Their houses were surrounded by great bodies of people, who compelled them to resign their newly-accepted office. Most of them submitted to the conditions imposed upon them, and signed whatever the people were pleased to prescribe; while those who had the resolution to hold out, unless they had the good fortune to escape to Boston, were threatened with the utmost violence both to their lives and properties. The new judges were in the same disagreeable situation. They were every where prevented from executing their office. The great and petty juries throughout the province unanimously refused the oaths,

The Bostonians refuse subjection to the new laws.

CHAP. referring the court for their reasons to a paper which one  
 X. of them had in his hands, which, however, was refused a  
 hearing. In some places the people assembled in numerous  
 bodies, and filled the court-house in such a manner  
 that neither the judges nor officers could find access; and  
 on the sheriff's commanding them to make way for the  
 court, they replied, that "they knew of no court, nor  
 other establishment independent of the ancient laws and  
 usages of the country; nor would they submit or give  
 way upon any terms whatever."

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The constitution of Massachusetts-Bay was thus entirely destroyed; the old government being taken away by acts of parliament, and the new one rejected by the people. Amidst this anarchy, however, it was surprising to observe the efficacy of long established habit and submission to laws. No particular excesses were committed; nor did the people discover any inclination to deviate from the established laws of order and justice, except such as arose from the opposition to the British legislature, and the violences consequent upon that disposition.

Boston  
 Neck fortified.

General Gage, in the mean time, began to prepare for that crisis to which matters were so rapidly tending. The frequent desertion of the soldiers under his command furnished the first pretence for guarding the isthmus which connects the peninsula of Boston with the main land, and is called *Boston Neck*. The continued outrages of the people, and their determined opposition to the British legislature, now manifesting itself by military preparations, was an additional reason for fortifying the neck of land just mentioned. The people, notwithstanding their own preparations for war, thought it unreasonable that the general should take any steps for his defence. They complained of his designing to cut off the communication betwixt the town and country, which, however, he denied in the strongest terms; and as they assured him that they had no intention of declaring war against his Majesty's troops; so he, on his part, gave them the most solemn assurance that he would not commit any act of hostility against them. Another step which he soon after took, could not be so easily excused to them, however necessary it might be in the posture of affairs at that time. It was customary to make an annual muster of the militia of the province, and the general having conceived some suspicions of their conduct when assembled, seized upon the ammunition and stores lodged in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge, and caused them to be brought to Boston.— At the same time, a quantity of powder was seized upon,

which had been lodged in the magazines at Charlestown and some other places, though partly private property. This conduct the Americans imputed to secret advisers and tale-bearers, on whom indeed they laid the blame of all that had happened; but whatever might be the cause, it is certain that no proceeding of the governor had hitherto tended so much to increase the popular rage. Some thousands of people instantly assembled, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that they were prevented, by some of the more moderate, from marching directly to Boston, demanding the powder, and, in case of a refusal, commencing directly an attack upon the troops. A report having at the same time been spread, that the ships and troops had attacked the town of Boston, and were then firing upon it, a vast multitude of people under arms immediately assembled, and marched towards the city, in order to relieve their distressed brethren; nor could they be undeceived until they had marched a considerable part of the way.

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Every thing now began to wear the most gloomy aspect. The governor's company of cadets disbanded themselves, and returned him the standard, which, according to custom, he had presented them with on his accession. This company consisted entirely of gentlemen of Boston, who had hitherto been well-affected to government. They offered this affront to the general on account of his having deprived Mr. Hancock of his commission as their colonel. At the same time, one colonel Murray having accepted of a seat in the new council, twenty-four of his officers resigned their commissions in one day.

A meeting of delegates was now held from all the principal towns in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the capital, with a view to take public affairs under consideration, particularly the late transactions of fortifying Boston Neck, and the seizing of the powder. In this assembly the declarations of allegiance were more faint than usual. Still, however, they declared their loyalty to the king; but at the same time they insisted, that it was their duty, by all lawful means, to defend their civil and religious rights and liberties. The late acts they declared to be gross infractions of these rights, and that no obedience was due from the province to these acts, or any part of them; on the contrary, they considered them as attempts of an abandoned ministry to establish despotic government in America. They engaged that the county should indemnify those who suffered, for

Meeting  
of the Suffolk dele-  
gates.

CHAP. disobedience to the new government; nay, that if the  
 X. counsellors themselves did not very soon resign their seats,  
 they should be considered as incorrigible offenders, and  
 1774. enemies to their country. Resolutions were also passed  
 against the Quebec bill, the fortifications at Boston Neck,  
 for the suspension of commerce, the encouragement of arts  
 and manufactures, and especially the holding of a pro-  
 vincial congress, and the payment of all due submission to  
 the resolves of the approaching continental one.

At this meeting also it was resolved, that the people  
 should perfect themselves in the art of war; for which  
 purpose the militia were to exercise themselves once a-  
 week. It had been reported that several gentlemen who  
 had rendered themselves most conspicuous by contending  
 for the violated rights of their country, were about to be  
 apprehended; but in case such an atrocious measure should  
 be carried into execution, they recommended it to the  
 people to seize all the officers of such a cruel and tyranni-  
 cal government, and keep them in safe custody, until the  
 former should be restored in safety to their families. To  
 the collectors of taxes, and receivers of the public money,  
 it was recommended, that they should not pay it, as usu-  
 al, into the treasury, but detain it in their own hands un-  
 til the civil government of the province was restored to  
 its former footing, or until it should be otherwise deter-  
 mined by a provincial congress. With all those formidable  
 resolutions, however, they declared that they meant not  
 to declare war, but to act entirely on the defensive; they  
 exhorted the people in the strongest manner to avoid all  
 riots and disorderly proceedings; and, by a steady, man-  
 ly, and uniform opposition to the tyrannical measures of  
 government, to merit the approbation of the wise, and the  
 admiration of the free, in every age and country.

General  
 Gage calls  
 a general  
 assembly,  
 and coun-  
 termands it  
 by a pro-  
 clamations.  
 Sept. 28.

General Gage, in the mean time, willing to oblige the  
 people as far as possible, had issued a proclamation for  
 holding a general assembly; but the alarming height to  
 which the general resentment of the people was carried,  
 with the extraordinary resolves of the delegates of Suffolk  
 county, now determined him to alter his resolution. He  
 therefore issued another proclamation, by which the assem-  
 bly was forbid to meet. He had now the mortification,  
 however, to find that his authority was totally at an end.  
 The proclamation was deemed illegal, and the election of  
 members every where went on as though nothing had  
 happened. The assembly met at Salem on the time ap-  
 pointed, where, having waited a day in vain for the go-



governor, they voted themselves into a provincial congress, and proceeded to business without him. CHAP. X.

In this new assembly we are not to suppose that any thing could be done at all agreeable to the mind of general Gage, or favourable to the interest of Britain. Mr. Hancock, so obnoxious to the government party, was chosen chairman; and the congress adjourned to Boston, at the distance of twenty miles from Salem. Still, however, they were willing to recognize the governor's authority. They remonstrated to him, that the distressed situation of the province had rendered it necessary to hold the present assembly, in order to consider what could be done to prevent the ruin with which it was threatened, and provide for the public safety. The most grievous complaints were made of the measures pursued by administration, as well as of the method of putting them in execution; which last, they said, exceeded, in the case of the port-bill, the rigour even of that oppressive act itself. The late laws, they said, were calculated not only to abridge the rights of the people, but to license murders. They complained of the number of troops in the capital, which was daily increasing by reinforcements brought from every part of the continent; a measure which, as well as that of fortifying Boston Neck, tended to endanger the lives and properties of the people, not only of Boston, but of the whole province; and they concluded by adjuring the governor, as he regarded his majesty's honour and interest, the dignity and happiness of the empire, and the peace and welfare of the province, to desist immediately from a fortress he was constructing at Boston Neck, and to restore the isthmus to its natural state.

In answer to this remonstrance the general expressed his indignation at the supposition of such a black design being harboured by the British legislature, as that of wantonly destroying the lives and properties of any people, excepting avowed enemies; he complained of the hostile behaviour of the town's people towards the troops; that every necessary had been withheld from them, notwithstanding which they had never expressed any resentment against them for such unfriendly behaviour. In return to the complaints made about the alteration of the provincial charter by government, he replied, that they themselves were acting as much in opposition to their charter as the British legislature, and strongly warned them against such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings.

This was the last correspondence between general Gage and his province, in which the semblance of friend-

1774.  
The assembly meets, and votes itself a provincial congress.

CHAP. ship was kept up. Every thing now wore the appearance  
 X. of enmity and war. The custom-house officers had already found it necessary to abandon Salem and return to Boston, to which they carried the apparatus of a custom-house, though an act of parliament had put an end to all trade in the place. No residence was found throughout the province for any of the friends of government; nor was the behaviour of the Bostonians themselves more friendly, had the terrors of the military power been removed. Every token of hatred and contempt that with impunity could be shewn, was poured upon the soldiers; a piece of very bad policy on the part of the Americans, as they could not but expect that the former would revenge themselves by innumerable cruelties, as soon as a declaration of war gave them full liberty to vent their passions. The approach of winter rendered it necessary to provide quarters for the troops; and as general Gage rightly supposed, that the greatest disturbances would be occasioned by an attempt to quarter them on the inhabitants, he thought of erecting temporary barracks for them. Even this, however, was opposed with vehemence; the select-men obliged the labourers to desist from their work, though government had engaged to pay them. He sent to New-York for carpenters, but the rulers of that city refused to suffer any to depart.—Nor was his success better in an attempt to procure winter cloathing from thence; the merchants, to a man, returning for answer, that they never would supply any article for those who were sent as enemies to their country. In every other respect, the greatest disgust, apprehension, and animosity, subsisted between the two parties. The Bostonians pretended to be under continual apprehensions of immediate danger to their lives and properties; while, on the other hand, the soldiers considered themselves as in an enemy's country, and prepared for the worst extremities.

This universal discontent and jealousy was heightened by a measure on the part of government, which seemed not to be dictated by any immediate necessity. This was the landing of a detachment of sailors by night, who spiked up all the cannon on one of the principal batteries of the town. Such an evident indication of the governor's suspicion of hostile intentions, could not fail to impress the Americans with an idea of his entertaining designs equally hostile with regard to them. The provincial congress continued their sittings, and, under the title of *recommendations*, had, in fact, established a new go-

1774.  
 The friends  
 of govern-  
 ment obli-  
 ged to take  
 refuge in  
 Boston.

vernment. They had settled the militia, regulated the public treasures, provided arms, and appointed a day of public thanksgiving, in which, among other blessings, they particularly returned thanks to the Almighty for the general union which prevailed among the colonies. To all this general Gage opposed the ineffectual remedy of a proclamation, dated November 10, in which he indirectly charged them with treason and rebellion, prohibiting the inhabitants, in the king's name, from complying with the requisitions of such an unlawful assembly.

CHAP. X.

1774.

Nov. 1

This proclamation was not attended with the smallest effect either on the proceedings of the provincial congress in particular, or the conduct of the people in general; and as expresses were continually passing between the provincial congress at Concord, and the general one at Philadelphia, there is no doubt that the sentiments of the former were regulated by those of the latter.

Among the objects taken into consideration by this assembly, a principal one was the situation of the capital, for the relief of whose inhabitants various schemes were proposed. One was, simply to remove the inhabitants; another, to set a valuation upon their estates, and reimburse the proprietors for their losses: but both these were found to be so much incumbered with difficulties, that it was impossible to put either of them in execution; and it was thought improper as yet to have recourse to force. Great numbers of the principal inhabitants, however, now quitted the town, from the apprehension, as they pretended, of immediate violence from the troops, or of being kidnapped and sent over to England to be tried for their supposed offences. In this state, things continued till the commencement of hostilities in 1775, when the city being closely blocked up on all sides, both parties began to experience great distress; and as the inhabitants had now no other means of subsistence but from the king's stores, the provincials were the more strict in preventing any supplies, as being in hopes that the want of provisions would lay the governor under a necessity of consenting to their departure from the town; or at least, suffer the women and children to depart, which had been repeatedly applied for. At last, from what motives cannot well be ascertained, he entered into a capitulation with the inhabitants, by which, on condition of delivering up their arms, they were to have free liberty to depart with all their effects.—This condition was punctually fulfilled on the part of the inhabitants; but, when they came to demand leave to depart, as had been promised, to their

Schemes  
the relief  
of Boston.

General  
Gage ac-  
cused of  
breach of  
faith with  
the inhabi-  
tants.

CHAP. utter confusion and astonishment, it was refused. This  
 X. piece of treachery did not fail to add to that general opi-  
 1774. nion of British want of faith, which the Americans, from  
 the very beginning, had entertained, and which appears  
 to have remained with them to the last. Many inhabi-  
 tants, indeed, from time to time, obtained leave to depart,  
 but they were obliged to leave all their effects; and the  
 general congress complained, that passports were granted  
 or refused in such a manner that families were broken,  
 and the dearest connections separated; part of them be-  
 ing obliged to depart, while the rest were retained against  
 their will. Of this transaction, so disgraceful to govern-  
 ment, no account was ever published by the ministerial  
 party; that just now given, therefore, and which is col-  
 lected from the American accounts, must be supposed to  
 be the true one.—The poor and helpless, however, were  
 all sent off.

While these transactions were going forward, the  
 ministry beheld their unhappy schemes of dividing the  
 colonies, terminate in the most extraordinary union the  
 world had ever seen since the union of the Arab tribes by  
 Mahomet. The twelve old American colonies, inhabit-  
 ing a coast extended for more than 2000 miles in length,  
 clashing in manners, interests, and religious principles,  
 had with one voice appointed delegates to meet in a  
 general congress at Philadelphia. This extraordinary  
 assembly sat down for the first time in that city, Septem-  
 ber 5, 1774. Several of the colonies had given instruc-  
 tions to their deputies. In general, they contained the  
 strongest professions of loyalty and allegiance, as well as  
 of affection and gratitude to the mother country and a  
 desire of constitutional dependence on her, with other  
 things to the same purpose. At the same time, however,  
 they unanimously concurred in declaring, that they never  
 would give up those rights and liberties, which, they said,  
 had descended to them from their ancestors; and which,  
 by all laws divine and human, they were bound to trans-  
 mit whole and pure to their posterity. They maintained  
 that they were entitled to all the rights and privileges of  
 British subjects; that the power lately assumed by parlia-  
 ment was unjust, and the only cause of the disturbances  
 which had taken place; and the late acts respecting the  
 province and capital of Massachusetts-Bay were unconsti-  
 tutional, oppressive, and dangerous. Others were more vio-  
 lent; but all concurred in complaining of their grievances,  
 and in an absolute determination never to submit to the ob-  
 noxious acts of parliament. Some proposed terms of re-

General  
 congress  
 meets at  
 Philadel-  
 phia,  
 Sep. 5,  
 1774.

conciliation, which, on their part, were an obedience to all the trade-laws passed or to be passed, excepting such as were specified; the settling an annual revenue on the crown for public purposes, and to be disposed of by parliament. In every thing, however, they were to adhere to the decision of the majority; and this majority was to be determined by considering each of the colonies as having a single vote, without any regard to the number of deputies they should send.

The first public act of congress was a declaratory resolution with respect to the people of Massachusetts-Bay, in which they expressed, in the most pathetic terms, their concern for the sufferings of that people, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British parliament; and a thorough approbation of the wisdom and fortitude with which their opposition to these ministerial measures had hitherto been conducted, as well as of the conduct of the Suffolk delegates; earnestly recommending, at the same time, a perseverance in such conduct, with a continuance of the contributions from the other colonies for the relief of the city, as long as their necessities might require. By some after-declarations they formally approved of the opposition shown to government in that province, and hoped that all America should support them in case there was occasion. To the province in general, they recommended to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice until the effect of their petition to the king for the repeal of obnoxious acts should be known. They determined also, that every person who shall accept, or act, under any commission or authority derived from the late act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of that province, ought to be held in detestation, as the wicked tool of despotism. To the inhabitants, however, they recommended to behave themselves peaceably towards general Gage and his troops, as far as could possibly be done consistently with public safety; and they concluded that an attempt to transport any person beyond sea, in order to try him for offences done in America, is contrary to law, and deserves to meet with resistance and reprisal.

The congress next wrote a letter to general Gage, in which, after the usual complaints relative to the blocking up Boston harbour, &c. they declared the determined resolution of the colonies to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province had been so much oppressed. The

CHAP.  
X.

1774.

Their declaratory resolution with respect to Massachusetts-Bay.

Letter to general Gage.

CHAP. congress had been appointed guardians of the liberties of  
 X. America; and they regretted that while they pursued  
 every dutiful and peaceable measure for restoring friend-  
 1774- ship between Great-Britain and her colonies, his excellen-  
 cy should adopt a behaviour so exceedingly hostile, that  
 it did not seem to be warranted even by the oppressive  
 acts of parliament themselves. Such conduct, they said,  
 must have a tendency to provoke the people still more,  
 and ultimately bring on all the horrors of a civil war. To  
 prevent those evils, they intreated that the general would  
 discontinue the fortifications at Boston Neck, prevent any  
 further invasions of private property, restrain the irre-  
 gularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the com-  
 munication between the town and country should remain  
 open and free.

Declaration  
 of rights.

A declaration of rights was afterwards published, to  
 which they said the British colonies were entitled by the  
 immutable laws of nature, the principles of the British con-  
 stitution, and their several charters or compacts. Their  
 ancestors, at the time of their migration, were entitled to  
 all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free natural  
 born subjects; and by such emigration, they neither for-  
 feited, surrendered, nor lost any of their rights. They  
 then stated, that the foundation of English liberty, as well  
 as of all free government, is a right in the people to par-  
 ticipate in their legislative council. They next proceeded  
 to shew, that as the colonists were not, and from various  
 causes could not be represented in the British parliament,  
 they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legisla-  
 tion in the several provincial legislatures, where their right  
 of representation could alone be preserved, in all cases of  
 taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of  
 their sovereign, in such manner as had been heretofore  
 used and accustomed. To qualify this extensive demand  
 of legislation, however, they consented to the operation of  
 such acts of the British parliament as were, *bona fide*, res-  
 trained to the regulation of their external commerce, for  
 the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the  
 whole empire to the mother-country, and the commercial  
 benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of  
 taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the  
 subjects in America, without their consent.

Their other resolves, in this declaration, had an imme-  
 diate respect to the late acts of parliament. They main-  
 tained, that the colonies were entitled to the common  
 law of England, but more especially to the great and ines-  
 timable privilege of being tried by their peers: that they

were entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which by experience they had found applicable to their several local and other circumstances. They were likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws. They had a right to assemble peaceably to consider of their grievances, and to petition the king for redress; and all prosecutions, and prohibitory proclamations against those who do so, are illegal. The keeping up of a standing army, in time of peace, in any colony, without the consent of its legislature, was declared to be contrary to law. It was essential to the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature should be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power, by a council appointed during the pleasure of the crown, is unconstitutional, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation. These articles they claimed as their undoubted rights and liberties, which could neither be legally taken from them, abridged, or altered, without their own consent by their representatives in the several provincial legislatures. They then enumerated eleven acts of parliament, some part, or all of which, were declared to be infringements and violations of their rights, and the repeal of which was deemed absolutely necessary to the restoration of harmony between Great-Britain and them. Among the acts thus reprobated, that for blocking up the port of Boston, and for establishing the Catholic religion in Canada, held a distinguished place. The latter they termed "an act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and establishing a tyranny there."

Having thus declared their rights, and specified their grievances, they proceeded to consider of a proper remedy. This consisted, in the first place, in a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement; and concerning this they came to the following resolutions, for the performance of which they bound themselves in the name of their constituents.

1: That, after the beginning of December following, they would import no British goods or merchandize whatever, nor any East-India tea, from any part of the world; nor would they import any product of the British West-India Islands; nor wines from the Madeira or Western Islands; nor any foreign indigo.

Association  
of Congress

CHAP. 2. That after the same date, (Dec. 1.) they would

X. wholly discontinue the slave trade, and neither hire vessels, nor sell commodities or manufactures, to any concerned in that trade.

1774.

3. That, from the present date, they will use no tea on which a duty has been, or shall be paid ; nor after the 1st of March, any East-India tea whatever, nor any British goods imported after the 1st of December, excepting such as come under the rules and directions mentioned in the 10th article.

4. By this article the non-importation agreement was suspended until the 10th of September 1775 ; after which day, in case the obnoxious acts were not repealed, all exportation to Europe was to cease, excepting that of rice.

5. The British merchants were exhorted not to ship any goods in violation of this association, under penalty of their never holding any commercial intercourse with them afterwards.

6. Owners of ships were warned to give such orders to their captains as might effectually prevent their receiving any prohibited goods.

7. They agreed to improve their breed of sheep, and to increase their number as far as possible.

8. Frugality, industry, and œconomy, were to be encouraged to the utmost ; agriculture, arts, and manufactures promoted ; all expensive shows, games, and entertainments discouraged ; the expenses of funerals lessened ; the giving of scarfs and gloves discontinued, or the wearing of any other mourning than a piece of crape or ribbon.

9. Venders of goods were to sell them at the usual prices, without taking any advantage of the situation of affairs at that time.

10. A conditional importation was permitted for two months longer, at the option of the owner, who, if he will deliver up any goods that he imports before the first of February, to the committee of the place they arrive at, they are to be sold under their inspection, and the prime cost being returned to the importer, the profits are to be applied to the relief of the sufferers at Boston. All goods arriving after that day to be sent back without landing, or breaking up of the packages.

The other articles related to the appointment of committees, in order to prevent any violation of those already mentioned ; to the publishing of violators names, &c. and by the 14th and last article, it was determined, that any colony or province which should not accede to, or might



afterwards violate the association, should be branded as inimical to the liberties of their country; and all dealings and intercourse whatever with such colony was interdicted.

CHAP.  
X.

1774.

After appointing another meeting of congress to be held in Philadelphia on the 10th of May ensuing, unless grievances should be redressed before that time, and making proper acknowledgments to the British patriots who had with such noble zeal, though so little success, pleaded their cause in parliament, they set about framing a petition to the king; a memorial to the people of Great Britain at large; an address to the colonies, and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. All these papers were drawn up in a masterly manner, and in such a way as to do great honour to the American leaders, and ought to have given a much more favourable opinion of them, than what was entertained by the generality of people in this country.

Petition to  
the king.

But, of all the papers issued at this time by congress, the address to the inhabitants of Canada was the most artful. They declared, however, that they did not require them to commence acts of hostility against the government of their common sovereign; that they only invited them to consult their own glory and welfare, and not to suffer themselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers, so far as to become instruments of their cruelty and despotism. They concluded by informing them, that the congress had, with universal pleasure, and by an unanimous vote, resolved, that they should consider the violation of their rights by the act for altering the government of that province, as a violation of their own; and that they should be invited to accede to the confederation, which had no other objects than the common security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles they had before mentioned.

Letter to  
the Cana-  
dians.

Having issued these papers, the continental congress broke up on the 26th of October, and left the Americans in great expectations, as well from the petition to the king, as the address to the inhabitants of England. The indifference, however, with which this address was generally received, quickly convinced them, that nothing was to be hoped for from that quarter. This apparent indifference, so contrary to the expectations of the colonies, had arisen from several causes. The American con-

Congress  
breaks up  
Oct. 26.

**CHAR.** tests were no longer new. They had engaged the attention of parliament, with very little intermission, for a period of ten years. Most of the subjects in dispute were exhausted by endless altercations; and the passions excited by them, however violent at first, had now subsided, and been succeeded by that listlessness and languor consequent on violent agitations of the mind. The former non-importation agreement had been dissolved, without producing any serious consequences, owing most probably to the divisions occasioned by the repeal of the several new taxes in 1767. Most people, therefore, flattered themselves, that as things had so frequently appeared at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, some means would still be found for accommodating this dispute; or, at worst, it was supposed, that the Americans themselves would grow tired. An opinion was also circulated, with great industry, that a shew of resolution on the part of the British ministry, if persevered in for some time, would certainly put an end to the contest, which, it was said, had been wholly nourished by former concessions. The generality of people, therefore, were inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perseverance and resolution to ministry, who valued themselves on these qualities. The court itself had also adhered to this plan with great obstinacy for many years, and thus had gained frequent victories, not only over the regular opposition, but even over parties in the ministry itself, who, either through fear, or weakness, or change of opinion had been likely to waver. Thus administration, being little opposed at home, was left at leisure to prosecute such measures against America as had either been already adopted, or were as yet in embryo. A very unexpected measure, however, was this year adopted, viz. the dissolution of parliament, for which the patriots had so often petitioned in vain.

British parliament dissolved, with the probable reason.

For this dissolution various causes were assigned. The parliament at that time had but one session more to run before its dissolution took place of course, of which the popular party had designed to take advantage, and, in some few places, tests had already been framed, which the future candidates were to sign, previous to their receiving any assurance of favour or support from the electors. At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, a test was proposed to Mr. Wilkes and serjeant Gavan, and by them signed, in which they engaged to use their utmost endeavours to promote bills for shortening the duration of parliaments, for the exclusion of

placemen and pensioners from the house of commons, with other patriotic resolves, as well as for the repeal of the obnoxious American acts. Other tests on a similar plan had been proposed; and it was the opinion of some people, that the ministry, being afraid of a formidable opposition, had taken this measure of dissolving the parliament, and getting another called, before the popular party could have time to frame tests, and go through the regular steps of their plan.

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The most probable reason of this dissolution, however, is, that as the issue of American affairs became every day more precarious, it was proper that the election should be over before the minds of the people were irritated by any sinister event. Should the news of any misfortune arrive about the time of the general election, there could be no doubt that every thing would fall before the popular party. A saving of expense to the friends of government, by shortening the time of contest, had also, in all probability, its share. Opposition, indeed, complained of unfair play; that some places were lost by surprise; and that those in the secret had vast advantages, by setting out for the scene of action in proper time, and taking the necessary measures to strengthen their own interest, before there was even a suspicion of any such design on the other side.

## CHAPTER XI.

*New Parliament—Address—Irresolution of Ministry—Lord Chatham's motion to recal the troops rejected—American papers—Falsehood of the Minister—Lord Chatham's conciliatory motion—Petitions—Lord North's plan—Marquis of Rockingham's motion—Massachusetts-Bay restraining bill—London merchants petition—Quakers petition—House of Lords—Lord North's conciliatory plan—Other conciliatory plans rejected—London petition to the King—Petition of New-York—Lord Effingham's speech and resignation—Session concludes.*

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1774.

Sept. 30.  
New par-  
liament.

WHATEVER the reasons might be for the dissolution of parliament, it is certain, that, to the great surprise of the nation in general, a proclamation for this purpose was issued on the 30th of September, and the writs made returnable for a new one on the 29th of November following. The elections, however, notwithstanding the shortness of the time, were contested with extraordinary vigour; and it was observed by the curious, that a greater number of the old members were thrown out than is usual at general elections. In London, the popular party carried every thing before them. Mr. Wilkes was again elected member for Middlesex, as well as lord Mayor of London; and the ministry were now too wise to give him any disturbance. The court, however, did not seem inclined in the least to relax from its former plan of coercive measures, notwithstanding the ill-

success, that had hitherto attended them. The speech CHAP. from the throne, at the meeting of parliament, set forth XI. the conduct of the Americans, particularly the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, in the most atrocious light; and a firm resolution was announced of withstanding to the utmost every attempt to oppose the supreme legislative authority of Great-Britain over all the dominions of the crown, the maintenance of which was held to be essential to the welfare, safety, and dignity of the empire in general.

1774.

An address, in answer to the speech, was proposed in the usual form, by the minister; but the opposite party insisted, that a request should be made to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America, as well as the letters, orders, and instructions relative to that business. This amendment was opposed by ministry, on the grounds of addresses being merely complimentary; that there was not then time for entering into a full discussion of American affairs; but that they would come before the house in their due order, &c. After a warm debate, the original address was carried by a prodigious majority, no less than 264 to 73.

Debates on the address

In the house of lords, the debates were no less warm than in the house of commons. Those in opposition argued, that they could not, in the present critical situation of affairs, agree to a mere complimentary address, which might lead into measures destructive of the lives, properties, and liberties of a great part of their fellow-subjects. They objected to it as implying an approbation of the unfortunate system adopted by the last parliament with regard to America; and it afforded a melancholy prospect of the disposition of the lords, in the present parliament, to see them so ready to adopt the proceedings of the former house, which had been productive of so much mischief, without any rational prospect of advantage. On the ministerial side it was replied, that the proceedings in America had been such, that if they were not instantly opposed by a spirited declaration of parliament, the cause would seem to be given up. The sooner, therefore, the new parliament spoke out, the better; and it was hoped that this assembly would shew the same regard for its dignity that had done so much honour to the former.

By the division on this debate, it appeared, that the opposition had not gained any increase in numbers, the divisions being sixty-three to thirteen. The dispute, however, was remarkable for a protest, being the first men-

CHAP XI. tioned in the English history upon an address. It concluded thus, "but, whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity, which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have ever disapproved of measures so pernicious, in their past effects and their future tendency, and who are not in haste, without inquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

1774.

Irresolution  
of the mi-  
nistry.

Notwithstanding all the hostile declarations of ministry, however, their activity in pushing forward their schemes in parliament did not keep pace with what might have been concluded to be their design. The national estimates were entirely formed upon a peace establishment. The land-tax was continued at three shillings in the pound, the army on its former footing, and only 16,000 instead of 20,000 seamen were voted for the ensuing year. This gave fresh occasion to the members in opposition to pour forth their censure. They represented the conduct of their adversaries as so inconsistent, that it was impossible to know what to make of it. The speech from the throne had announced matters to be in the most alarming and dangerous situation; and yet, instead of taking such measures as coincided with that vigorous plan they had so much insisted upon, they had begun with reducing the naval force of the kingdom. This had all the appearance of a ministerial trick. They formed estimates; in the first place, only to serve as waste paper, and never to be adhered to; after which they were to surprise the house with grants of an improper and burdensome nature: for, to talk of enforcing acts upon a reduced establishment, was a sort of language only fit to be used to children. In the ministerial answer, besides the usual arguments, that there was no information to be laid before the house; that it was not time as yet to consider the affairs of the colonies, &c. the American power was held in the utmost contempt. The minister of the naval department publicly asserted in the house of lords, that, to his certain knowledge, the low establishment proposed would be fully sufficient for reducing the colonists to obedience. They *were* not, and *could* not be disciplined: so that their boasted numbers were entirely useless; nay, would add to the facility of their defeat.

On this occasion, however, the most wary silence was observed by the ministers with regard to their designs against the Americans; being, in all probability, afraid that they would meet with a violent opposition from the

mercantile interest; and this they were not deceived. A general alarm had been spread during the recess; the merchants of several towns had met and prepared petitions to parliament; and lord Chatham, though now broken with age and infirmities, once more appeared in the house of lords, to testify his disapprobation of ministerial measures. By him a motion was made, Jan. 20, 1775, for recalling the troops from Boston. He represented this measure as a matter not of choice, but of necessity. An hour lost in allaying the present ferment might produce years of calamity, as the situation of the inhabitants and troops, with regard to one another, rendered them continually liable to events which might cut off all possibility of a reconciliation: whereas, such a conciliatory measure on the part of Britain would remove all jealousy and apprehension on the part of the colonies, and instantaneously produce the happiest effects to both countries. He severely reprov'd administration for refusing to take the American affairs instantly into consideration; for deluding and deceiving the people by misrepresentations of facts; persuading them that Boston stood unconnected with the other colonies in the dispute with Great-Britain, and that quiet would be restored to that city by the appearance of a single regiment, &c. After condemning, in the most explicit manner, the whole series of ministerial conduct with regard to America, he is said to have concluded his speech with the following words: "If the ministers thus persevere in *misadvising* and *misleading* the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."

But, whatever might have been the hopes entertained by lord Chatham of the importance of the motion he had made, or the good effects resulting from an adoption of his measure, it is certain, that the majority paid very little regard to it. The question was lost by a majority of sixty-eight to eighteen; and, on this occasion, the duke of Cumberland divided with the minority. Such a decisive victory, however, as it discovered to the minister the true disposition of the new parliament, so it was thought to have given him confidence to go farther in his plan of coercion than he would otherwise have ventured to have done. The American papers, at least such of them as the minister at this time chose to produce, were now laid before the house. He did not, however, pretend to say,

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1775.  
Lord Chatham's motion for recalling the troops rejected.  
Jan. 20.

American papers laid before the House.

CHAP. that they contained all the intelligence relating to America; nor would he make known the names or opinions

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of the persons who wrote them; thus laying himself open to the inuendo of a celebrated gentleman in opposition, who having in vain called for the rest of the information, charged the minister with making public only such extracts of letters as best suited his purpose. To charges of this kind, however, he was now too callous to pay any regard. The papers, consisting chiefly of mutilated letters between the governors of the colonies and the British ministry, were taken into the consideration of a committee of the whole house; but, lest they should be disturbed in their deliberations upon them, a manœuvre was fallen upon to suppress that multitude of petitions which was about to invade them from all quarters. It was now discovered, that the whole affair was to be considered in a political, and not in a commercial light; though it was upon account of the commercial interests of the kingdom the ministry had so violently espoused the quarrel. As the views of the house, therefore, according to this new declaration of the ministerial party, were very different from those of the mercantile part of the kingdom, it would be the highest absurdity to employ a committee, whose thoughts were totally occupied with the former, in considering the latter. A separate committee was therefore proposed for considering the petitions of the merchants, and this committee was to begin its sittings on the 27th of January, the day after that for taking the American affairs into consideration.

A separate committee appointed to examine petitions. January 27.

On this occasion very violent debates ensued, in which the utmost asperity of language was made use of, especially on the part of opposition. The ministry, besides the reasons already given, represented, that the committee of the whole house was appointed for the more speedy discussion of American affairs: That the restoration of peace depended as much on the immediate application, as upon the vigour of the measures determined: That the great variety of facts, and mass of matter, which of course must come under the petition-committee, would render it a matter too difficult and tedious in the present situation of affairs, when every possible dispatch in the way of business was required. These reasons were treated with the utmost contempt by opposition. The pretence of appointing a committee, they said, was a pitiful shift to defeat the petitions, which they durst not openly reject. Granting it to be true, that the American disputes were merely of a political nature, yet it was certain, that the merchants,



whose correspondence was so extensive, and their information on all subjects so large, might be of use to the house, especially as the minister had refused to communicate all the knowledge that he himself had on the subject; and it was a contradiction to pretend loss of time in the consideration of the petitions, when so much had been wantonly thrown away already. The question for the separate committee, however, was carried by a majority of one hundred and ninety-seven to eighty-one.

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1775.

Thus were consigned to the *committee of oblivion*, as it was named by the members in opposition, the petitions from London, Bristol, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, &c.

January 26.

The London merchants presented another petition in the strongest language, setting forth, that the connection betwixt Great-Britain and America was of the commercial kind; and that the benefits derived from thence were entirely of the same nature: That observing the constant attention which the British legislature had, for more than a century, given to these valuable objects, they had been taught to admit the regulations by which that connection had been preserved, and those benefits secured, as the most effectual institution which human wisdom could have framed for these salutary purposes: That presuming, therefore, on that opinion, and supported by that observation, they represented, that the fundamental policy of these laws of which they complained, and the propriety of enforcing, relaxing, or amending them, were questions inseparably united with the commerce between Great-Britain and America; and consequently, that a decision on the one, could not be entered upon without a full discussion of the other. They lamented the late decision, referring their petition to a separate committee; by which, they said, they were precluded from such a hearing in its support, as could alone procure them the relief demanded by the importance and present deplorable state of their trade. They concluded by praying, that they might be heard by themselves or their agents, in behalf of their former petition; and that no resolution respecting America might be taken by the house, or by any committee thereof, until they should be fully heard. A motion was then made that this second petition should be referred to the committee of the whole house; but, after a most violent debate, it was rejected by a majority of two hundred and fifty to eighty-nine.

In the course of this debate, lord North having risen to reply to the charges brought against him by the minority,

CHAP. said, among other things, That it was impossible for him  
 XI. to have foreseen the proceedings in America respecting  
 the tea : That the duty had been quietly collected before ;  
 That the great quantity of teas in the warehouses of the  
 East India company, as appeared by the report of the  
 secret committee, made it necessary to do something for  
 the benefit of the company. It was to serve them that  
 nine-pence in the pound weight drawback was allowed ;  
 and it was impossible for him to foretel, that the Americans  
 would find fault with being able to drink their tea at  
 nine-pence *per* pound cheaper than before.

1775.  
 Falsehood  
 of the  
 Minister  
 with re-  
 gard to the  
 East-India  
 company  
 exposed.

This called up governor Johnson, a gentleman long celebrated for his knowledge of India affairs, and of great weight with the company. He said, he arose merely to speak to a matter of fact : That he could not sit still and hear the noble lord plume himself upon actions, which, of all others, were the most reprehensible in his train of political absurdities : That it was unbecoming to alledge, that this dangerous measure had been adopted to serve the East-India company, when it was notorious, that the company had requested the repeal of the three-pence *per* pound in America, and felt and knew the absurdity of giving a drawback here, and laying on a duty there : That the company offered their consent, that government should retain six-pence in the pound on the exportation, if the three-pence was remitted in America : That he himself had formerly in his place, requested and entreated the noble lord to remove the cause of dispute ; and that he then foretold to him the consequence of persevering in error. The company, he said, had thus presented the happiest opportunity that could be offered for removing with credit the cause of the American discontents. The supporting the authority of parliament was the only cause assigned by the minister himself for retaining the duty on tea ; at the same time he acknowledged it to be as anti-commercial a tax as any of those which he had repealed upon that principle. Here, then, sprung the happiest occasion of doing right, without interfering with the claims on either side. The East-India company asked, their situation required the relief. It could not be alleged, that this was done at the instance of American discontent.—New contrivances were set on foot to introduce the tea into America. Various intrigues, solicitations, and counter-solicitations, were used to induce the chairman and deputy-chairman of the company to undertake this rash and foolish business. It had been protested against as contrary to the principles of their monopoly ; yet the power of

ministry prevailed, and they would, notwithstanding, cover all those facts, which were ready, from their consequences, to convulse the whole empire, under a pretence merely of serving the East-India company.—The facts urged by this gentleman never were denied by the ministerial party, either at that time or afterwards.

CHAP.  
XI.

1775.

A petition was next presented by Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, three American agents, setting forth, That they were authorised by the American continental congress to present a petition from the congress to the king, which petition his majesty had referred to that house. They were enabled, they said, to throw great light upon the subject; and prayed to be heard at the bar in support of it. Their application had the same fate with the rest. The motion for receiving the petition was rejected by a majority of two hundred and eighteen to sixty-eight. The merchants of London also made another effort to get some notice taken of their petitions, but in vain. Two contrary petitions arrived from Birmingham, the one praying for the enforcement of the American penal laws, the other against it. A motion was made to inquire into the manner of procuring and signing both petitions; and also how far the persons severally signing them were concerned in the trade to North-America; but this was over-ruled, as usual, and the minister left completely master of the field.

Petition of  
congress  
rejected.

In the house of lords the matter was no less violently disputed than in the commons. Lord Chatham brought in a bill, intituled, “a provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great-Britain over the colonies.” By this bill, the holding of a Congress in the ensuing month of May was allowed, for the double purpose of duly recognising the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt; taking it for granted, that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flourishing state of the colonies, the necessities of the mother-country, and their obligations to her. On these conditions it restrained the powers of the admiralty-courts to their ancient limits; and without repealing, suspended for a limited time those late acts, or parts of acts, which had been complained of in the petition from the continental congress. It placed the judges upon the same

Lord Chat-  
ham's con-  
ciliatory  
motion re-  
fused a  
hearing,  
Feb. 1.

CH AP. footing, as to the holding of their salaries and offices,  
 XI. with those of England; and secured to the colonies all  
 the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by  
 1775. their several charters and constitutions. This proposal  
 was treated with the utmost indignity and contempt; not  
 being allowed even to lie upon the table. On this occa-  
 sion, as on a former, the duke of Cumberland divided  
 with the minority.

Various pe-  
 titions re-  
 jected,  
 Feb. 2.

The day after the rejection of lord Chatham's concilia-  
 tory plan, a petition was presented to the commons by the  
 West-India planters, and the merchants trading to these  
 colonies, in which it was set forth, "that the British prop-  
 erty in the West-Indies amounted to more than thirty  
 millions sterling: That the plantations were subject to  
 many more contingencies than any other species of prop-  
 erty, from their necessary dependence on external sup-  
 port; consequently, should any interruption happen in  
 the general system of their commerce, the great national  
 stock thus vested and employed must become precarious  
 and unprofitable: that the profits arising from those islands  
 in the state they were at that time, depended in a great  
 measure on a free and reciprocal intercourse between  
 them and the several provinces of North-America, from  
 whence they were furnished with provisions, and other  
 supplies absolutely necessary for their support, and the  
 maintenance of their plantations. They proceeded then  
 to show, that they could not be supplied from any other  
 markets, in any degree proportionate to their wants, with  
 those articles of indispensable necessity which they derived  
 from North-America; and that if the agreement and as-  
 sociation of the Congress should take full effect, which  
 they firmly believed would happen, unless the former  
 harmony between Great-Britain and her colonies should  
 be restored, the islands would be reduced to the greatest  
 distress." This petition, like all the rest, was consigned  
 to the committee of oblivion, and the minister at length  
 opened his plan with regard to America.

Lord  
 North's  
 plan with  
 regard to  
 America.  
 Feb. 2.

The measures now proposed by the minister were en-  
 tirely of the coercive kind. A greater force was to be  
 sent to America, and a temporary act passed to put a  
 stop to all the foreign trade of the New-England colo-  
 nies, particularly their fishery on the banks of Newfound-  
 land, until they returned to their duty; at the same time  
 declaring, that whenever they should acknowledge the  
 supreme authority of the British legislature, pay obedience  
 to the laws of this realm, and make a due submission to  
 the king, their real grievances, upon their making pro-

per application, should be redressed. The other colonies, CHAP.  
 he said, were not so culpable, and he hoped might yet XI.  
 be brought to a sense of their duty to their mother-coun-  
 try by more lenient measures. The question now lay  
 within a very narrow compass, and was simply, whether  
 we should abandon all claims on the colonies, and at  
 once give up all the advantages arising from our sove-  
 reignty, and the commerce dependent on it? Or, whe-  
 ther we should have recourse to the measures indispen-  
 sibly necessary in such circumstances, and thereby ensure  
 both? An address to the following purpose was then  
 proposed: "To return thanks for the communication of  
 the American papers, and to declare, that having taken  
 them into most serious consideration, they found, that a  
 part of his majesty's subjects in the province of Massachu-  
 setts-Bay had proceeded so far as to resist the authority of  
 the supreme legislature, and that a rebellion actually ex-  
 isted at that time within the province: That with the ut-  
 most concern they perceived, that they had been counte-  
 nanced and encouraged by unlawful engagements and  
 combinations entered into in several of the other colonies,  
 to the injury and oppression of many of their innocent  
 fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and the rest of his majes-  
 ty's dominions: That this conduct appeared the more in-  
 excusable, when it was considered, with how much  
 temper his majesty and both houses of parliament had  
 acted in support of the laws and constitution of Great-  
 Britain: that they never could so far desert the trust re-  
 posed in them, as to relinquish any part of the sovereign  
 authority over all the dominions which by law is vested  
 in his majesty and the two houses of parliament; and,  
 that the conduct of many persons in several of the colo-  
 nies, during the late disturbances, was of itself sufficient  
 to convince them of the necessity of that power, for the  
 protection of the lives and fortunes of his majesty's sub-  
 jects. They ever had been, and would be ready to pay  
 attention and regard to any real grievances of his majes-  
 ty's subjects, which in a dutiful and constitutional manner  
 should be laid before them; and whenever any of the  
 colonies should make a proper application to them, they  
 should be ready to afford them every just and reasonable  
 indulgence; but, at the same time, they considered it as  
 their indispensable duty, humbly to beseech his majesty,  
 that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce  
 due obedience to the laws and supreme authority of the  
 legislature; and begged leave, in the most solemn man-  
 ner, to assure his majesty of their fixed resolution, at the

1778.

CHAP. XI. hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by his majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of his just rights, and those of the two houses of parliament." 1775.

Great debates with regard to it.

By this formidable address, the resentment of opposition was not only excited to the utmost, but even some of the most moderate friends of administration were staggered. It was denied, that what the minister called *acts of treason and sedition* were so in reality; nor did they arise from rebellious motives; on the contrary, they were occasioned by the conduct of those who had attempted to establish despotism among the Americans, as a prelude to the realizing the same wicked system in the mother-country. An opposition to arbitrary measures was not only justifiable, but established by precedent. At any rate, it was a matter of little importance, whether the transactions in America might properly be called *rebellion* or not. The question was, Whether or not it was prudent in the house to declare them so? If in the course of events, it should be found necessary to make any concession or propose a treaty, such conduct with regard to rebels would be highly dishonourable to parliament; and, if no treaty should take place, their arms would never be the more powerful for distinguishing the war by the name of a *rebellion*. Such a declaration could have no other tendency than to make a great number, if not the whole people in America, desperate. It was in vain to think that the other colonies could be blinded by singling out the colony of Massachusetts-Bay as the only seat of rebellion. On the other hand, this could only serve to unite them the more firmly in one common cause, which, indeed, had been already done in a great measure by the coercive acts passed by the last parliament. There was a necessity, therefore, either for attempting something to effectuate a reconciliation with the colonists, or to provide for a war with the whole.

The ministerial reply consisted in making law-distinctions, at that time absurd in the extreme, between those who had actually resisted the laws by force, and those who had not yet proceeded to that length. The declaration of parliament, it was said, did not preclude the mercy of the crown; on the contrary, the address itself was an act of mercy, in warning an ignorant and obstinate people of their danger. It was not necessary to punish universally; the punishment of Hancock, with some of the principalingleaders, would be sufficient. The boasted union of the colonies would dissolve the moment the parliament shewed

itself resolved to act with vigour and severity. The whole  
 of their political confederacy, as well as their commer-  
 cial associations, were founded upon principles of self-  
 denial, suffering, and rigour, not to be endured by human  
 nature; and, therefore, must instantly fall to the ground.  
 It was also asserted, that the Americans neither were sol-  
 diers, nor ever could be made so; being naturally of a  
 pusillanimous disposition, and utterly incapable of any  
 sort of order or discipline: That, by their laziness, un-  
 cleanliness, or radical defect of constitution, they were  
 incapable of going through the service of a campaign;  
 but would melt away with sickness before they could face  
 an enemy; so that a very slight force would be more than  
 sufficient to reduce them completely.

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1775.

A gentleman, (Mr. C. Fox,) who had not long before  
 sat at the treasury board, moved to leave out all but the  
 preliminary words of the address, and to substitute after  
 them the following, "But deploring, that the information  
 which they (the papers laid before the house) had afford-  
 ed, served only to convince the house that the measures  
 taken by his majesty's servants, tended rather to widen  
 than to heal the unhappy differences between Great Bri-  
 tain and America." This amendment, however, was re-  
 jected by a very great majority, of no fewer than three  
 hundred and four to one hundred and five; after which  
 the question being put upon the original motion for the  
 address, was carried by two hundred and ninety-six to  
 one hundred and six. Another motion was made to  
 recommit the address, on account of its threatening to in-  
 volve the nation in the horrors of civil war. This occa-  
 sioned a very violent debate, attended with great animos-  
 ity and asperity of expression on both sides: The mini-  
 sters were charged with acting uniformly and systemat-  
 ically upon tory and arbitrary principles, subversive of  
 the constitution, destructive of the rights of the people,  
 and which had thrown the whole empire into a state of  
 distraction and confusion. By a pursuance of these dis-  
 graceful and ruinous measures, they had tarnished the  
 lustre of the crown, alienated the affections of the people,  
 and sunk the nation from the highest pinnacle of power  
 and glory, to a degree of contempt in the estimation of  
 the rest of Europe, which, only a few years ago, it would  
 have been deemed impossible for the accumulated misfor-  
 tunes and disgraces of an age to have accomplished. But  
 that, in the true spirit of a tory administration, they had  
 sacrificed the honour and interest of the nation in all  
 transactions with foreigners; and reserved all the spirit,

CHAP. the pride, the dignity and force of government, to be  
 XI. played off against the liberties of the people at home. A  
 bitter day of retribution, however, it was predicted,  
 1775. would inevitably come, when they must answer to the  
 justice of their country, for the mischief they had already  
 done, and for the irretrievable ruin into which they had  
 plunged the nation.

On the other side, all the evils and disturbances in  
 America were, directly, or indirectly, attributed to the  
 opposition. Great complaints were made of a faction at  
 home, a republican spirit and principles, and that the  
 Americans were spirited up to their violence and rebel-  
 lion by incendiary writers and speakers in England. In  
 the course of this violence and altercation, Sir W. Mayne,  
 having spoken something of *Catalines* at home, who ought  
 to be dragged forth to public disgrace and punishment,  
 was called to by the Right Hon. T. Townshend to point  
 them out. He was told that the imputation was un-  
 doubtedly just ; but he seemed to misplace it : That if he  
 meant by *Catalines*, those who were involving their coun-  
 try in all the horrors of civil war, they could easily be  
 found ; but it would be on that side on which he did not  
 wish the search to be made. The question, however,  
 being at last put on a recommitment of the address, the  
 motion was lost by two hundred and eighty-eight to one  
 hundred and five.

Marquis of Rockingham's motion rejected, Feb. 7. Next day, February 7, a conference was held with the  
 upper house, at the request of the commons, to propose  
 their joining in the address. This business being over, the  
 Marquis of Rockingham stood up to present a petition  
 from the West-India planters to the lords, just at the very  
 moment that the earl of Dartmouth arose to speak on the  
 affairs of that country. A debate having ensued who  
 should be first heard, the preference was, at last given to  
 the earl of Dartmouth, on account of the importance of  
 the subject on which he was to speak. This, however,  
 took up but little time ; he having only made a motion to  
 insert the words " the lords spiritual and temporal " in  
 the address of the commons, that so it might jointly come  
 from the two houses.

The Marquis now introduced the subject of the peti-  
 tions ; and in his speech, after stating the importance  
 of the subject, offered instantly to bring evidence, that  
 some of the West-India islands could not subsist after the  
 present address had once had its full operation in Ameri-  
 ca. He also denied that any real information could be  
 obtained, concerning the affairs of that continent, from



papers so imperfect, and avowedly curtailed, as had been laid before parliament by the minister. He likewise maintained, that even if the papers had been in their original state, they were insufficient to convey that full information which was necessary in the present case. The servants of the crown were much more liable to be imposed upon than the merchants, as was evident from the false information which had already been given, and by which the mischievous acts of parliament, so much complained of, had been produced.

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These, and other arguments were answered by ministry in the usual stile,—That there was a necessity either to relinquish America entirely, or instantly to compel submission by every possible method. The distresses of people of all ranks were acknowledged, but treated as a matter of little consequence, in comparison of the vast advantages to be derived from a successful war. Even if fortune should declare for the Americans, and Britain be obliged at last to relinquish her claim of sovereignty, still it was her duty to assert it. The prize was great, and well worth contending for. The event of all human affairs is uncertain. No plan, however well concerted, can insure success: The question, however, was, whether it were better instantly to give up our rights without any contest, or abide the utmost inconvenience that would attend our assertion of them?

In the course of this debate, lord Camden, who had been very severe in his charge against the Americans to the great surprise of the house, condemned, with the utmost asperity, the measure of laying on the duties in 1767, which he declared to be the most absurd and pernicious that could be devised, and the cause of all the evils which at present threatened the state. This unexpected declaration was followed by one still more surprising. Three lords, who at that time had been cabinet counsellors, and held the first offices in the state, declared separately, that they had no share in that measure, nor had ever given it any approbation: two of them condemned it in express terms; and the other, who was still in high office, did not by any means seem to approve of it.

This piece of intelligence was received with the greatest marks of astonishment. That any measure should be adopted by ministry, contrary to the inclination and judgment of ministers, seemed a paradox to be explained only on the supposition of an unseen and secret influence over the national councils, so often complained of by the patriots. This notion was accordingly revived and lamented; much altercation, arraignment, and recrimination took

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place; however, no material change happened in the general sentiments of the house; the *marquis of Rockingham's* motion was lost, and the petitions refused a hearing, by a vast majority of one hundred and four to twenty-nine. A protest was signed by eighteen lords, in which the measures of administration were severely condemned, and which concluded in the following manner: "Because the means of enforcing the authority of the British legislature is confided to persons of whose *capacity* for that purpose, from abundant experience, we have reason to doubt; and who have hitherto made use of no effectual means of conciliating or of reducing those who oppose that authority: This appears in the constant failure of all their projects, the insufficiency of all their information, and the disappointment of all the hopes, which they have for several years held out to the public. Parliament has never refused any of their proposals, and yet our affairs have proceeded daily from bad to worse, until we have been brought, step by step, to that state of confusion, and even civil-violence, which was the natural result of these desperate measures.

"We, therefore, protest against an address, amounting to a declaration of war, which is founded on no proper parliamentary information; which was introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it, (although it be the undoubted right of the subject to present the same); which followed the rejection of every mode of reconciliation; which holds out no substantial offer of redress of grievances; and which promises support to those ministers who have inflamed America, and grossly misconducted the affairs of Great-Britain."

Massachusetts-Bay restraining bill passed.

Thus the ministry, having proved ultimately victorious, no further obstacle remained to the entering upon decisive measures with regard to America. In answer to the address, a message was sent from the throne, demanding an augmentation of the forces by sea and land. This being referred to the usual committee of supply, a project was next formed of laying farther restrictions on the province of Massachusetts-Bay; it being deemed absurd to send a military force thither, without making proper coercive laws, of which the military were to enforce the execution. For this purpose, the minister declared he would make choice of a punishment so universal, that all ranks and degrees of men could not but be affected by it, which, of course, he supposed, would produce obedience to the former laws. A bill was therefore brought into the house of commons, to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and Pro-

Feb. 10.

vidence Plantations in North-America, to Great Britain, CHAP. XI.  
Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies; and to prohibit such colonies and provinces from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. The extreme severity of this act, however, might be alleviated by such provisions as would not destroy its main object; for which reason he would only propose it as temporary, to continue either to the end of the year, or the next session of parliament; and he would also propose, that particular persons might be excepted, upon their obtaining certificates from the governor of the province in which they resided, of their good behaviour; or upon their subscribing a test, acknowledging the rights of parliament.

The debates on this bill were long and violent; all the arguments which had been used on former occasions by the members in opposition were now collected and urged with the utmost vehemence. They were attended, however, with their usual want of success, the question being carried in favour of the bill by two hundred and sixty-one to eighty-five.

In the further progress of this bill, a petition was presented by the merchants and traders in London, interested in the American commerce. The purport of it was, that, by its consequences, the bill must overwhelm thousands of his majesty's loyal subjects in poverty and distress, by depriving them of the only means by which they supported their families; and that it would be injurious to the commerce of Great Britain, by disabling the colonies from paying their debts. It would increase the disturbances already existing in America, and probably prove the immediate cause of hostilities. It would induce the French to extend their fisheries; and it would add to the sufferings of the Americans, which, from the other oppressive and partial acts of parliament, were already very severe, and would besides invite them to a contraband trade.

Petition of  
the London  
merchants, &c.  
rejected.

This petition had the singular good fortune to be heard; and it was even agreed, that the petitioners should be allowed counsel in behalf of their allegations. In consequence of this, a great number of witnesses were examined at the bar, from whose depositions it appeared, that so long ago as the year 1764, the four provinces of New-England employed, in their several fisheries, no less than 45,880 ton of shipping, and 6002 men; and that the produce of their fisheries in the foreign markets,

CHAP. for that year, amounted to the sum of 322,220l. 16s.—

KI. Since that time, the fisheries had increased very much.

1775. The New-England fish was much better than that taken by ships fitted out by Great-Britain. All the materials used in the fisheries, except salt, and the timber of which the vessels were built, were taken from this country, and the nett proceeds of the fishery remitted here. It was also proved, that neither the whale nor cod fishery could be carried on to any degree of equal advantage and extent, either from Newfoundland or Great-Britain, as from North-America. In favour of the latter, there were several local and some natural advantages, which could neither be supplied nor counteracted. It was impossible to transfer the fisheries from New-England, either to Nova-Scotia or Quebec, on account of the deficiencies both of men and money; nor could the natural disadvantages of these places be counteracted any where else but in New-England. At any rate, the stopping of one fishery, and establishing another, must take up so much time, that the trade would be inevitably lost; and the people belonging to the American fisheries had such an abhorrence of the military government of Halifax, as well as the manners of the people, that they would not be induced, by any consideration, to remove thither, even supposing them reduced to the necessity of emigration. It appeared, likewise, that there was nearly a million of money owing by the people of New-England to the city of London only.

On the part of administration, Mr. B. Lister, of Pool, who had long traded to Newfoundland, was examined. He endeavoured to shew, that though the New-England fishery should be stopped, the foreign markets might, nevertheless, be sufficiently supplied; in support of which position, he urged, that the fishery from Great-Britain might be extended to any degree whatever, as this island possessed men, money, and ships sufficient for the purpose. He, however, cautiously evaded such questions as might tend to overthrow the doctrine he meant to establish. Being asked, "whether the ships fitted out for the Newfoundland fishery from Great-Britain were not fitted out at one-third more expense than those of North-America?" he answered, "that he was no judge of that matter." And to another, "how many hundred ton of shipping had been employed, on an average, in the trade?" he replied, "that he had not considered the subject." In other matters, he seemed to have sufficient information. His evidence, however, did not appear sufficiently satis-

factory to overthrow the testimony of all the rest of the witnesses. It appeared, that about 400 ships, carrying in all 36,000 tons; 2000 fishing shallops, of 20,000 tons burden; and 20,000 men, were employed in the fishery from Great-Britain to Newfoundland: that above 600,000 quintals of fish were taken annually, which, upon an average of seven years, were worth fourteen shillings per quintal; and, with the other amounts, consisting of salmon, cod-oil, sea-oil, and furs, exceeded half a million annually; and that of the 20,000 men from Great-Britain and Ireland, employed in that fishery, 8000 necessarily continued in Newfoundland all the winter.

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On this occasion, some other petitions were presented, particularly one from the Quakers, setting forth, that a great number of innocent persons, particularly in the island of Nantucket, would, by the prohibitory bill, be reduced to extreme distress. The inhabitants of this island amounted to between five and six thousand in number: the soil of it was so barren, that, though fifteen miles in length, by three in breadth, its produce was scarce sufficient for the maintenance of twenty families. From the only harbour this island contains, without natural products of any sort, the inhabitants, by an astonishing industry, kept an hundred and forty vessels constantly employed. Of these, eight were occupied in the importation of necessary provisions, and the rest in the whale fishery; which, with invincible courage and perseverance, they had extended from the frozen regions of the North, to the coast of Africa, the Brazils, and even as far south as Falkland Islands; and some of their fishing voyages continued twelve months. The petition, after expatiating on the innocence, industry, and utility of this colony, the great hazards attending their occupation, and the uncertainty of their gains, shewed, that if the bill passed into a law, they must in a short time be exposed to all the dreadful miseries of famine. The singular situation and circumstances of these people occasioned some attention to be paid to them. Mr. Rice, a gentleman on the side of administration, declared, that, on a principle of humanity, he would move, that a clause should be added to the bill, to prevent its operation being extended to any whale ships which sailed before the 1st of March, and were at that time the property of the people of Nantucket.

Quakers  
petition in  
favour of  
Nantucket.

These petitions occasioned a vast deal of disputes in both houses. A petition, similar to that presented to the commons by the London merchant, was introduced

CHAP. into the upper house by the marquis of Rockingham & XI. and two of the witnesses who had appeared at the bar of the other house, were re-examined before the lords.

1775. In the present evidence, some new ground was taken  
Debates on in favour of the merchants, and the vast importance of  
the peti- the American commerce at large insisted upon. The for-  
tions in the mer witness from Pool, with another who had been cap-  
House of tain of a ship, from the same place, were also examined;  
Lords. and the testimony of two officers of rank in the sea ser-  
vice, both of whom had served on the Newfoundland  
station, was also received. By this evidence it was in-  
tended to prove, that the British Newfoundland fishery  
might be extended to such a degree as to supply all the  
European markets; that if an absolute prohibition took  
place, so as to exclude the Americans totally and perpet-  
ually from the fishery, it would be of the greatest benefit  
to this nation; and, that upon every principle of policy  
and commerce, both to strengthen our navy and increase  
our trade, it should be confined entirely to our own peo-  
ple.

After the second reading, the Massachusetts bill was very ably opposed by the marquis of Rockingham. In the course of his speech he entered into a very minute detail of the American trade, and took a comparative view of that of New-England at different periods. In the year 1704, he shewed that the whole amount of the exports to New-England was only about 70,000*l.* annually; that in 1754, it had increased to 180,000*l.* and in the succeeding ten years to 400,000*l.* and that in the last ten years it had been nearly doubled. He concluded his speech with a total disapprobation of the measures pursued relative to the colonies, since the repeal of the stamp-act; and foretold, that an useful and constitutional agreement in sentiments, and coalition of interests, could never take place between them and the mother country, unless the former measures preceding the laying on of any duties on the Americans were recurred to and adopted.

As yet, however, the efforts of opposition served only to shew the weakness of their cause. The prohibitory bill was carried by one hundred and four to twenty-nine. An amendment was proposed, by which the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, should be included in the same restrictions with the New-England colonies, and carried by seventy-three to twenty-one. But as this amendment produced a difference between the title and body of the

bill, which would have occasioned great embarrassment to the officers who were to carry it into execution, it was rejected by the commons; which rejection being agreed to by the lords, in a conference held between the two houses, it received the royal assent in its original form.

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The New-England restraining act was accompanied with a demand of two thousand additional seamen, and four thousand three hundred and eighty-three land forces; and the last demand followed by an explanation from the minister, that the force at Boston would be augmented to ten thousand men, which was deemed sufficient for enforcing the laws; and that the appointment of a number of additional officers, (which, however, was complained of as a measure inducing needless expense,) was necessary, as it was intended to carry on the operations of America by means of detachments. These proposals drew forth the fiercest wrath of opposition; the inconsistency, folly, and cruelty of ministers resounded through the house. But while both parties were exhausting themselves in fruitless debates, lord North surprised the whole nation by his conciliatory motion, afterwards styled his *olive branch*. By this it was proposed, that when the governor, council, and assembly of any province, or the general court, should propose to make provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it would be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively.

Lord North's conciliatory plan.

Such a proposition from the minister involved him in the most violent contests, even with those of his own party. However, he soon convinced the malcontents, that the appearances of lenity and concession contained in his conciliatory motion, were by no means inconsistent with the most rigid measures; nay, so well did he

CHAP. succeed in the explanation of his own proposal, that he  
 XI. acknowledged he had no expectation of its being well re-  
 1775. ceived by the generality of the Americans; but that, if  
 it did no good there, it would in Britain: it would unite  
 the people of England, by holding out to them a distinct  
 object of revenue; and, as it united this country, would  
 disunite America: that whatever province came first to  
 make a dutiful offer, would be kindly and gently treated;  
 and if only one province accepted the offer, the whole  
 confederacy would be broken.

By the members in opposition this bill was reprobated  
 in the most violent manner. All their eloquence, how-  
 ever, was by no means sufficient to carry the point even  
 here, when the minister had been deserted by some of  
 his staunchest friends. The bill was passed by a majority  
 of 274 to 88.

Restraining  
 bill of the  
 southern  
 colonies.

This bill was followed by another, seemingly of a con-  
 trary tendency, being a supplement to the New-England  
 fishery bill, and included these colonies which had been  
 inserted in the amendment formerly mentioned. No de-  
 bate of any consequence ensued on this subject; but the  
 discussion of another petition from the West-India plan-  
 ters, proved the means of rendering the importance of  
 these islands more generally understood than it had for-  
 merly been. From the evidence adduced at this time,  
 it appeared that the capital in these islands, consisting of  
 cultivated lands, buildings, negroes, and stock of all  
 kinds, did not amount to less than sixty millions sterling.  
 Their exports of late years to Great-Britain had run to  
 about 190,000 hogheads and puncheons of sugar and  
 rum annually; amounting in weight to 95,000 tons,  
 and in value about four millions; besides a great num-  
 ber of smaller articles, as well as their immense export  
 to North-America. So rapid was the improvement of  
 these islands, that, within a very few years, their export of  
 sugar to Britain had been increased by 40,000 hogheads  
 annually, amounting to near 800,000*l.* in value; and it  
 seemed probable, that no less than thirty millions of West-  
 Indian property belonged to people in Britain; and that  
 the revenue gained above 700,000*l.* annually upon the di-  
 rect West-India trade, exclusive of its eventual and cir-  
 cuitous products, and of the African trade. It was also fully  
 shown, that this immense capital and trade, as well as the  
 African, neither of which could subsist without the other,  
 were both from nature and circumstance totally depen-  
 dent upon North-America.

This petition, as well as another from Waterford, in



Ireland, produced no good consequences. The ministerial plan was unalterably determined. Conciliatory motions were proposed by Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley ; but, whatever ingenuity might be displayed in the devising and framing of these motions, very little regard was paid to them by administration. The only thing remarkable was the immense value of North-America to Britain, as appeared from Mr. Burke's comparative view of the trade of this country at different periods. From thence it was shown, that, in 1704, the exports to North-America, West-Indies and Africa, amounted only to 569,930*l*. That in the year 1772, which was taken upon a medium, as being neither the highest nor the lowest of those which might have been applied to of late, the exports to the same places, including those from Scotland, (which, in the year 1704, had no existence) amounted to no less than 6,024,171*l*. being in the proportion of nearly eleven to one. He also shewed, that the whole export trade of England, including that of the colonies, amounted, at the first period of 1704, only to 6,509,000*l*. Thus, the trade to the colonies alone was, at the latter period, within less than half a million of being equal to what this great commercial nation carried on at the beginning of the present century with the whole world. And, stating the whole export commerce of this country at present at sixteen millions, that to the colonies, which in the first period constituted but one-twelfth of the whole, was now very considerably more than one-third.

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Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley's conciliatory plans rejected.

However astonishing this general increase of the whole colonies may appear, the growth of the province of Pennsylvania appeared still more extraordinary. In the year 1704, the whole exports to that colony amounted only to 11,459*l*. and in 1772 they were risen to 507,509*l*. being nearly fifty times the original demand, and almost equal to the whole colony export at the first period.

The conciliatory proposals of Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley having proved ineffectual, several petitions were brought forward from the manufacturing towns in Great Britain, from the British settlers in Canada, from the Quakers, and at last from the city of London, who, notwithstanding their bad success for a number of years past, now ventured to approach the throne, with an address, petition, and remonstrance, as little calculated to obtain a favourable reception as any they had formerly made use of. As Mr. Wilkes was now lord mayor, the petition was of course delivered by him. Left the forward disposition of that gentleman, however, should

Petition from the city of London to the king.  
April 10.

**CHAP.** prompt him to imitate the example of Mr. Beckford; he  
**XI.** had been previously informed, that his majesty expected  
 he would not speak to him; to which he replied, that the  
 3775: caution was needless, as he never expected or desired to  
 have that honour. Next day, the lord Chamberlain wrote  
 a letter to Mr. Wilkes, in which he acquainted him from  
 his majesty, that he would not receive on the throne any  
 address, petition, or remonstrance, of the lord mayor  
 and aldermen, but in their corporate capacity. This  
 produced a long letter in answer from Mr. Wilkes; but  
 the ministry were too wise to enter into any contest.

Towards the close of the session, Mr. Burke acquainted  
 the house, that he had received a paper of great im-  
 portance from the assembly of New-York. It was in the  
 form of a remonstrance, indeed, and complained of se-  
 veral acts of parliament, but was expressed in very decent  
 and respectful language. This being the case, he said,  
 that a mere mistake upon any one point ought not to pre-  
 vent its being received, and accordingly moved, that it  
 should be brought up. Lord North then moved an  
 amendment to the motion, "that the said assembly claim  
 to themselves rights derogatory to, and inconsistent with,  
 the legislative authority of parliament, as declared by an  
 act of the 6th of his present majesty." This amendment  
 was carried by a majority of 186 to 67; after which the  
 question being put upon the amended motion, the petition  
 was rejected without a hearing.

A similar fate attended a memorial from the assembly  
 of New-York to the house of lords, introduced by the  
 duke of Manchester; another from the British inhabitants  
 of Quebec, presented by lord Camden; and a third from  
 the inhabitants of Quebec at large. The only remark-  
 able circumstances attending these, were the two royal  
 brothers voting in the minority, and the animated speech  
 of lord Effingham in the upper house, when he declared  
 his resignation of the military command he held.\*

\* "I confess," said he, "I wish to avoid the discussion of our right  
 to such a power as we are intending for, that is to say, a power of taxing  
 a set of subjects who are not represented amongst us, and who have full  
 power to tax themselves in the ordinary and constitutional manner.  
 Was any particular province among the Americans to refuse grants of  
 money in proportion to others, or to commit any act in abuse of their  
 charters, I think that supreme controuling power, which the province  
 in question allows in its full extent would give us the charge, *Ne quid  
 detrimenti respublica capiat*: And in that case, my lords, almost the whole  
 empire would be united against the wrong-headed few, who would  
 soon be brought to reason. But I am satisfied, that without such necessity  
 we have no more power of taxation in that country, than a Roman  
 dictator had to begin his office with a declaration, that his power should

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1775.  
Conclusion  
of the  
session.

The session concluded with the passing of the money-bills in the usual form. The speaker, in his address to the king, stated the heaviness of the grants which, however, had been readily complied with, on account of the particular exigence of the times; at the same time assuring his majesty, that should the Americans persist in their resolutions, and thus render it necessary to draw the sword, the commons would do every thing in their power to support the dignity of the British legislature.

be perpetual, and was necessary in the ordinary business of government. Therefore, my lords, whatever has been done by the Americans, I must deem it the mere consequence of our unjust demands. They have come to you with fair arguments; you have refused to hear them: they have made the most respectful remonstrances; you answer them with bills of pains and penalties. They know they ought to be free; you tell them they shall be slaves. Is it then a wonder, if they say in despair, "For the short remainder of our lives we shall be free!" Is there one among your lordships, who, in a situation similar to that which I have described, would not resolve the same? If there could be such an one, I am sure he ought not to be here.

"To bring the history down to the present scene—here are two armies in presence of each other; armies of brothers and countrymen; each dreading the event, yet each feeling that it is in the power of the most trifling accident, a private dispute, a drunken fray in any public house in Boston, in short, a nothing, to cause the sword to be drawn, and to plunge the whole country into all the horrors of blood, flames, and parricide!

"In this dreadful moment, a set of men more wise and moderate than the rest, exert themselves to bring us all to reason. They state their claims and their grievances; nay, if any thing can be proved by law and history, they *prove* them. They propose oblivion; they make the first concession. We treat them with contempt; we prefer poverty, blood, and servitude, to wealth, happiness, and liberty.

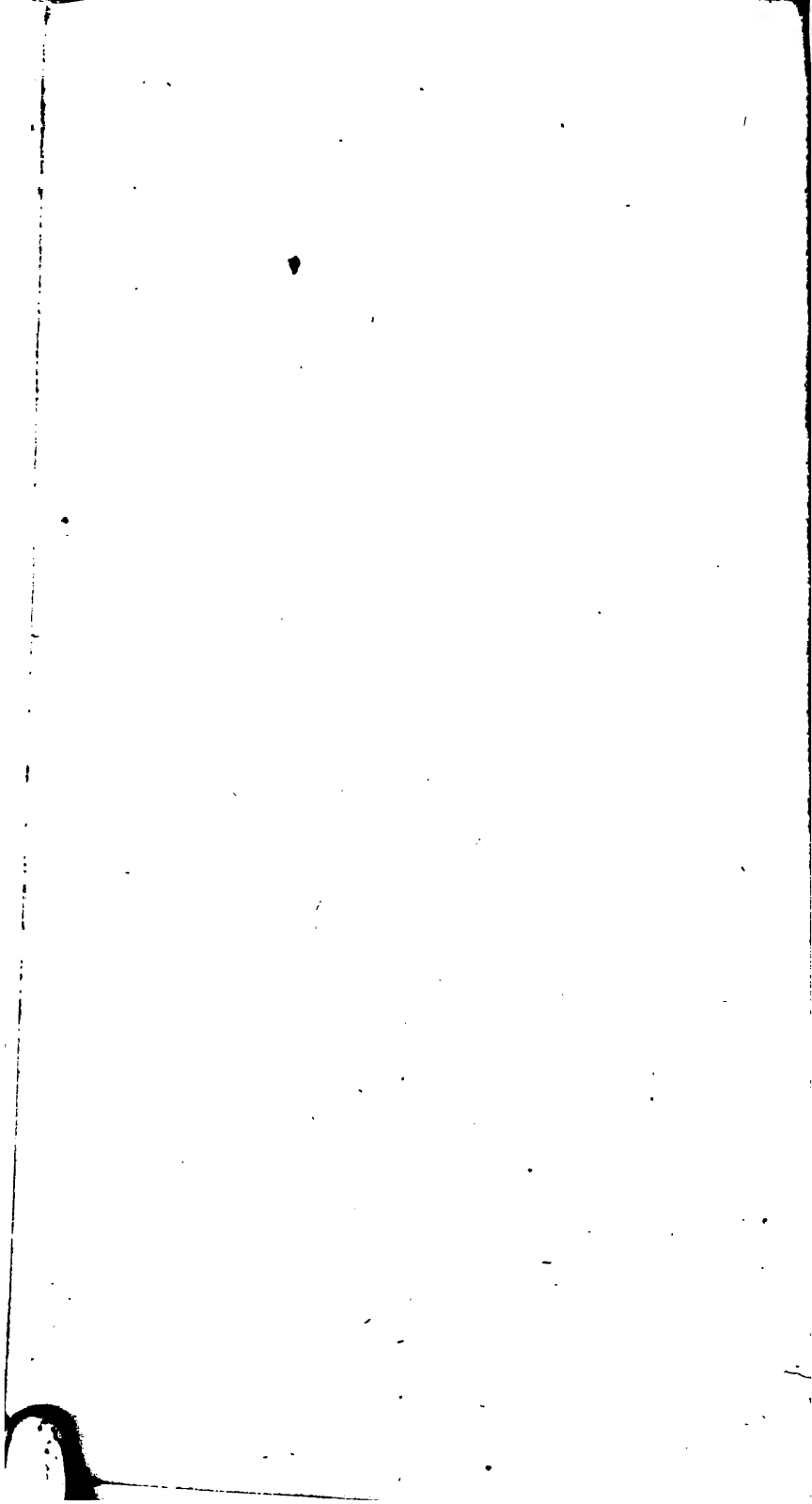
"What weight these few observations may have, I do not know; but the candour your lordships have indulged me with, requires a confession on my part which may still lessen that weight. I must own, I am not personally disinterested.

Ever since I was of an age to have any ambition at all, my highest has been to serve my country in a military capacity. If there was on earth an event I dreaded, it was to see this country so situated, as to make that profession incompatible with my duty as a citizen.

"That period is, in my opinion, arrived; and I have thought myself bound to relinquish the hopes I had formed, by a resignation, which appeared to me the only method of avoiding the guilt of enslaving my country, and embroiling my hands in the blood of her sons.

"When the duties of a soldier and citizen become inconsistent, I shall always think myself obliged to sink the character of the soldier in that of the citizen, till such time as those duties shall, by the malice of our real enemies, become again united.

"It is no small sacrifice which a man makes who gives up his profession; but it is a much greater, when a predilection, strengthened by habit, has given him so strong an attachment to his profession as I feel. I have, however, this consolation, that by making that sacrifice, I at least give to my country an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of my principles."



## CHAPTER XII.

*American colonies determined to resist—Skirmish at Lexington—Congress provide for war—Ticonderago and Crown-Point taken—General Gage declares the Americans to be in rebellion—Battle of Bunker's-Hill—Canadians and Indians refuse to assist Britain—General Washington chosen generalissimo—Articles of confederation of the colonies—Expedition against Canada—Fort St. John's taken—General Montgomery attacks Quebec, is defeated and killed—Governor Dunmore leaves Virginia—His hostilities—Norfolk destroyed—Governors of both Carolinas driven out—Distress at Boston—It is evacuated by the British.*

**W**HILE the rulers of Britain were thus pluming themselves on their own wisdom and prudence in conducting the affairs of the empire, the Americans were preparing for a final separation. Whatever had been wanting to fill up the measure of hatred and opposition to Great-Britain, arising from the proceedings of the parliament of 1773, was fully supplied by those of 1774. As soon as the resolutions of Congress had been made public, the sentiments of that assembly had been adopted from one end of the continent to the other. Great hopes were, indeed, for some time, entertained of the good effects that would, in all probability, result from the petition to the king, and the addresses to the inhabitants of Great-Britain and Canada; but as these were uncertain,

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1775.  
The Americans become more and more determined to resist.

CHAP. the leading men took care that they should be as little indulged as possible. The southern colonies began to take

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up arms as well as the northern; and as soon as news were received of a proclamation having been issued in Britain to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to the colonies, every method was taken to supply that defect. Powder-mills were erected at Philadelphia and Virginia, and encouragement given for the fabrication of arms throughout the whole continent. The people of Rhode-Island, however, bolder than the rest, or not having equal resources, seized upon the ordnance belonging to the crown, amounting to above forty pieces of cannon of different sizes; while the assembly passed resolutions for the procuring of arms and military stores by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and disciplining the inhabitants. Their example was followed by the people of New-Hampshire, who, with the same view, surprised a small fort called William and Mary, from whence they were supplied with as much powder and ammunition as enabled them to put themselves in a posture of defence.

Dec. 14.

The determination of the colonies was confirmed by the news of the king's speech, and the address in answer to it. The assembly of Pennsylvania unanimously approved and ratified the acts of congress; the assembly of Maryland appointed a sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. A provincial convention held at Philadelphia in the end of January, recommended the encouragement of most necessary manufactures; particularly salt, gun-powder, saltpetre, and steel; at the same time declaring their resolution to resist, in case the petition of congress to the king should prove ineffectual.—The only

New-York alone dissents from the rest of the colonies, Jan. 10, 1775.

exception to this general determination was the assembly of New-York, in which, January 10, 1775, it was carried by a small majority not to accede to the resolutions of congress; and at this meeting they drew up, with the consent of their lieutenant-governor, the paper afterwards presented by Mr. Burke, and which, as we have already seen, the parliament refused to hear read.

The recess of the provincial congress of Massachusetts-Bay, in the beginning of November 1774, had afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyalists, as they now began to be called, to try their strength in various places. Associations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and resolutions taken to oppose the provincial congress; but the associators were every where overwhelmed with prodigious majorities, and their attempts

had no other effect than to mislead the governor, and through him the people of Great-Britain, with regard to the general disposition of the people.

On the 1st day of February 1775, the provincial congress met, according to appointment, at the time of the dissolution of the former. They now expressed their fears, that the reasonable and just applications of the colonies would not meet with a favourable reception in Great-Britain; but that, on the contrary, from the large augmentation of the forces expected, as well as from the general appearances of things and the tenor of intelligence received from Great-Britain, there was reason to suppose, that the destruction of this particular colony was intended. Every method of providing for the worst extremities was therefore recommended. The militia were requested to spare neither time, pains, nor expense, to perfect themselves in discipline; a number were selected under the name of *Minute-men*, whose business it was to hold themselves in readiness, at a moment's warning, to engage in whatever enterprise should be necessary. Other resolutions were passed for the providing and making of fire-arms and bayonets; and they renewed, with greater strictness, the prohibition formerly issued against supplying the troops at Boston with necessaries, particularly of the military kind; though the markets of Boston were still open for provisions.

Thus both parties were prepared for hostilities, which indeed had already been begun on the part of the Americans; by the seizure of the cannon and fort above-mentioned. These injuries, however, General Gage had not thought proper to resent, as they did not come under his immediate inspection; but, on the 26th of February, an accident happened which had almost begun the conflagration for which materials had been so largely provided. On that day, General Gage sent a detachment of troops under the command of a field officer, on board a transport, in order to seize and bring to Boston some brass cannon which had been deposited in the town of Salem. Being disappointed in finding the ordnance at Salem, and having some reason to imagine they had been only removed that morning, they marched further into the country, in hopes of finding them. In this enterprise, they arrived at a draw-bridge over a small river, where a number of country people had assembled, and taken up the bridge to prevent their passage. This produced a dispute, in which the commanding officer insisted on having the bridge let down. This demand was as peremptorily refused

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1775.  
Hostile resolves of the Provincial congress, Feb. 1.

Commencement of hostilities prevented by a clergyman.

Feb. 26.

CHAP. by the people, who said that it was a private road, and he  
 XII. had no right to pass. The officer then attempted to make

1775. use of a boat, in order to ferry over his men; but a number of the people having jumped into it, cut holes in the bottom, which rendered it impossible for him to accomplish his design. This could not be done without some scuffle, which would certainly have ended in bloodshed, had not a neighbouring clergyman remonstrated with the commanding officer on the fatal consequences of using force, and at the same time prevailed with the people to let down the bridge, as the day was evidently too far spent for the troops to accomplish their purpose. Matters being thus accommodated, the colonel took possession of the bridge, and having marched a little way farther into the country, returned without the cannon.

Skirmish at Lexington Though this affair happily ended without bloodshed, it however appears that both parties were greatly irritated by it. A civil war was supposed to be inevitable. The people looked upon the soldiers as those who were soon to become their butchers; and they, on the other hand, are said to have betrayed their wishes of entering upon this dreadful part of their office, by some general and wanton insults, as well as particular outrages. In such a situation, it was impossible that matters could long continue in quiet. The 19th April 1775, was the fatal day remarkable for the dismemberment of the British empire, and the final separation of the American colonies. General Gage, the preceding night, had given orders to Colonel Smith and major Pitcairn of the marines, with a detachment of the grenadiers and light-infantry, to destroy some stores which the Americans had collected in considerable quantities at Concord; besides which, it was also thought, that he designed to seize the person of Mess. Hancock and Adams, who had become so peculiarly obnoxious to government. The detachment, consisting of about nine hundred men, embarked at midnight, and having landed at a place called Phipps's farm, proceeded with great silence and caution, hoping to reach Concord by day-break. As they marched along, several officers on horseback scoured the roads, and secured those whom they met, in order to avoid a discovery. They had not, however, proceeded far, before they found, by the ringing of bells, and firing of guns, that their precaution was vain, and the people had begun to assemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day-light. They did not arrive at Lexington, five miles from Concord, before five in the morning; at which early hour they found the company of militia be-



longing to that town assembled on a green near the road. CHAP.  
On this, an officer in the van, having called out to them XII.

by the appellation of *rebels*, to disperse, and throw down their arms, and the soldiers running up at the same time with loud huzzas, some scattering shots were fired, and these immediately succeeded by a general discharge, which killed eight of the militia, and wounded several others. The troops then proceeded to Concord; six companies being previously dispatched to possess themselves of two bridges which lay at some distance beyond the town. A body of militia, which occupied an hill in the way, retired at their approach; and the troops meeting with no interruption, proceeded to execute their commission, by rendering unserviceable three pieces of iron cannon, and throwing several barrels of flour, gun-powder, and muskets-balls into the river. Mean time, the sight of several fires, which were supposed to be houses in flames, brought back the militia, who had retired on the approach of the troops, to the bridge which the infantry had already passed, and which lay in the way to Concord. All this time, the militia seemed studiously to have avoided every hostile appearance, and assumed only the semblance of common travellers; but the king's troops instantly fired upon them, and killed two men. The provincials now returned the fire, drove back the soldiers, with the loss of several killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and some others taken. The country people now assembled from all quarters; the troops were exceedingly annoyed in their march from Concord back to Lexington, and would in all probability have been destroyed, had not general Gage luckily detached lord Piercy, early in the morning, with sixteen companies of foot, a body of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to support colonel Smith's detachment. As these had arrived at Lexington from Boston, by the time that the others had returned thither from Concord, they effectually checked the ardour of the Americans, and by the field-pieces, obliged them to keep at a distance. No sooner, however, did the troops resume their march, than the Americans renewed their attacks, which, by the increasing numbers of the assailants, became continually more dangerous, until the troops arrived at Charlestown, from whence they crossed over to Boston, under the protection, as the Americans gave out, of the Somerset man of war.

In this first action, the loss was inconsiderable on both sides; that of the king's troops, who were the greatest sufferers, consisted of sixty-five killed, two lieutenants and

CHAP. twenty private men taken prisoners, and one hundred and  
XII. eighty-six wounded.

1775.

On this occasion, both parties were at great pains to screen themselves from the imputation of beginning hostilities. It was said in the gazette, that the Americans were the aggressors; but, from the depositions of some of the British prisoners, as well as the nature of the circumstances, there is the greatest probability that the case was otherwise. Both parties also complained of cruelty and inhumanity being exercised upon the wounded and helpless; though, upon proper enquiry, there seems to have been very little occasion for complaint on either side. Be this at it will, the affair at Lexington instantly called up the whole province in arms. Boston was surrounded by an army of at least twenty thousand men, commanded by colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas; and these were speedily joined by colonel Putnam, an old and brave provincial officer, who had acquired great reputation in the two last wars, with a large reinforcement of Connecticut troops; and it was with the utmost difficulty that their commanders could prevail upon other crowds, who were marching from all quarters, to refrain from making a direct attack upon the city—with so much hatred of the king's troops, and such confidence of success were they now inspired.

The commencement of hostilities was followed by a manifesto from the provincial congress, addressed to the inhabitants of Great-Britain; in which, after excusing their own party, they complained of the ravages committed by the troops in their retreat; appealed to the wisdom and integrity of Britons; made great professions of loyalty, and declared they would not submit to the persecution of a cruel and tyrannical ministry; appealing to Heaven for the justice of their cause; and concluding with a protestation, that they were determined to die or be free.

The same congress also now began formally to provide for war. They passed a vote for the support and clothing of an army; fixed the pay of the officers and soldiers, and published orders for its regulation and government. A considerable sum to be issued in paper currency, was also voted for the military expense, to be received in all cases as money, and the faith of the province pledged for its repayment. General Gage was adjudged, by another vote, to have utterly disqualified himself from serving the colony in the capacity of governor, or any other; and therefore no allegiance was declared to be due to him; on the

The congress provide for war.

May 5.

contrary, that he ought to be considered as an unnatural enemy, and guarded against as such. As this congress was to rise on the 30th of May, another was appointed to sit down the day following, and to continue sitting for six months and no longer.

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The flame of civil discord now broke out with all its fury. The bravery shown by the American militia in their first essay at Lexington; and the advantages they imagined themselves to have gained, afforded great matter of exultation. Those who fell in the action were deeply regretted, and honoured, not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had died bravely in the cause of their country. Preparations for war were made every where, as if the most inveterate enemy had been already at the door. In some places, magazines were seized; in New-Jersey, the treasury; and a considerable part of the money therein was appropriated to the payment of the troops they were raising. A stop was generally put to the exportation of provisions, without any previous concerted plan; and in some places, all exportation was stopped till the opinion of congress should be known. Lord North's conciliatory plan was utterly rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, nor was it received any where.

On the meeting of the continental congress at Philadelphia, May 10th 1775, proper measures were taken to put the opposition to British power on a settled and permanent basis. Resolutions were passed for the raising of an army, and the establishment of a large paper currency for its payment; THE UNITED COLONIES, by which name the North-Americans now distinguished themselves, being made liable for the value. All supplies to the British fisheries were strictly prohibited; and to make this prohibition the more effectual, all exportation was stopped to such places as still professed to retain their allegiance. Though such a measure might very readily have been apprehended in England, not the least notion of it seemed to have been entertained, either by the ministry, or those concerned in the Newfoundland fishery. Hence, such distress was occasioned, that to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were obliged to return empty from their station, in order to carry out provisions from Ireland to those who remained.

Resolves of  
the conti-  
nental con-  
gress, May  
10.

That spirit of moderation which had so long distinguished the people of New-York, now seemed to forsake them altogether. A provincial congress was elected; and a very numerous association formed in favour of the liberties of the people; but, as some regiments were expected from Ireland, the situation of the place was likely to

**CHAP.** become very precarious. A body of Connecticut troops, **XII.** therefore, posted themselves in the neighbourhood, expressly with a design to protect the city; but as these **1775.** were too few to answer the purpose, application was made to congress for instructions how to act on the arrival of the king's forces. They were, by that body, advised to act on the defensive with regard to the troops; to suffer them to occupy their harracks as long as they behaved quietly, but by no means to allow them to erect any fortifications, or cut off the communication between the town and country: That if hostilities were attempted, they should repel force by force: at the same time, they recommended to them to provide a retreat for the women and children, to remove the arms and ammunition to a place of safety, and to keep an armed force on foot sufficient for the defence of the place. In consequence of these instructions, New-York was deserted by the greatest part of its inhabitants, and, by general consent, devoted to the flames. However, their apprehensions for the time were dissipated by the troops being landed at Boston.

Ticonderoga and Crown-Point taken by the Americans.

In Massachusetts-Bay the spirit of resistance had ever been most daring, and it now displayed itself by a great degree of enterprize than what was manifested by the other colonies. An expedition against the forts of Ticonderoga, Crown-point and some others situated on the lakes between New-England and Canada, was undertaken and executed with equal boldness and success. This enterprize, it appeared, had been set on foot by several private adventurers at the same time, without any previous knowledge of the designs of each other; and accordingly, many of them accidentally met by the way. These adventurers at last united under the command of a colonel Easton and colonel Ethan Allan, forming a body of two hundred and forty men; and, having surprised the small garrisons in the forts above-mentioned, returned in triumph to New-England. They found in them upwards of two hundred pieces of cannon, besides some mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of ammunition and military stores. They took also two small vessels, and found materials at Ticonderoga for building others.

By this expedition, the provincials became masters of the lake Champlain, which secured them a passage into Canada; and scarce any thing now remained to Britain but the town of Boston, where, though a very respectable force, under the most celebrated generals, was assembled; it seemed impossible for them to exert their powers to any advantage. In the month of May, two skirmishes had hap-

opened, by reason of some attempts to carry off live stock from the little islands scattered in Boston-Bay. In both these, the provincials were victorious; and an armed schooner being left a-ground by the tide, was fiercely attacked, the people driven out of her, and the vessel herself reduced to ashes.

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1775.

Hostilities were now forwarded by the resolves of the continental congress, which on the 8th of June, declared the compact between the crown and people of Massachusetts-Bay to be dissolved by the violation of the charter of William and Mary. They, at the same time, recommended to the people to establish a new government; prohibited them from negotiating any bill, or transacting business with the sea or land officers of Britain, their agents or contractors, furnishing them with stores or provisions of any kind. A general post-office was established at Philadelphia, at the head of which they placed Dr. Franklin, who had been disgraced, and deprived of the same place in England.

Congress resolves the compact between the crown and Massachusetts-Bay dissolved, June 8.

All this was opposed on the part of general Gage by a proclamation (dated June 12th) of rebellion, and threats of the severest vengeance; offering, however, a pardon, in the king's name, to such as should instantly lay down their arms, and return to their respective habitations, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose behaviour had been too flagitious to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment.

General Gage declares the Americans in rebellion, June 12.

Both parties now, highly exasperated against each other, kept themselves in readiness for action. The British forces, by no means despicable with respect to their numbers, were composed of the best troops Britain, or perhaps the world, could afford. They were commanded by the celebrated generals Howe, and Burgoyne, and Clinton, and were, by administration, judged to be abundantly sufficient for reducing the whole American force in that quarter. On the other hand, the provincials were very formidable with regard to their numbers; but having never seen actual service, might be supposed incapable of coping with the veterans who opposed them. They were, besides, but slenderly provided with ammunition. Their arms had been picked up whenever they could find them; of consequence, most of their muskets were far inferior to those of their adversaries. Their difference of bore, particularly, prevented the balls from properly filling the cavity; and this could not but produce a great uncertainty in the effect. They were also almost entirely destitute of bayonets, and by no means expert at the use of the weapon, though they

**C H A P.** had been furnished with them. These were disadvantages  
**XII.** which could not be supplied by numbers, but were partly  
 1775. balanced by that enthusiastic passion for liberty, and confidence in the justice of their cause, which originally urged them on to the contest ; while, on the other hand, those very qualities, by rendering them more impatient of controul than was consistent with their new profession as soldiers, frequently proved very detrimental to their affairs. To the causes just mentioned, however, and not to any defect in courage or natural incapacity of the Americans, we must attribute the advantages gained over them during the course of this war ; and particularly to the inferiority of their fire-arms, are we to attribute this circumstance, that almost in every instance, the number of killed and wounded on the part of the provincials greatly exceeded those of the British.

Battle of  
 Bunker's  
 Hill,  
 June 17.

As the numbers who blockaded Boston daily increased, their natural impetuosity soon prompted them to attempt the forcible expulsion of the troops confined there. For this purpose, on the night betwixt the 16th and 17th of June, they sent a body of men to throw up some works on Bunker's Hill, an eminence lying just within the isthmus connecting the peninsula of Boston with the main land. Such diligence was used by the party sent on this service, that, by day-break, they had nearly completed a small but strong redoubt, considerable intrenchments, and a breast-work in some places cannon-proof ; at the same time, they had worked with such amazing silence, as not to be perceived by any of the people on board the men of war which surrounded the peninsula. In the morning, they were first perceived from the Live-ly man of war, whose guns having alarmed the town and the rest of the fleet, an incessant fire was kept up upon their works from the ships and floating batteries in the bay, and from the top of Cope's Hill in Boston. Notwithstanding this severe trial of their fortitude, however, the provincials continued their works, as though nothing had happened ; so that, about noon, general Gage found it necessary to embark a body of troops, to drive them from their post. The detachment employed on this occasion consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, with four battalions of regular troops, and proper train of artillery. The enterprize was conducted by major-general Howe and brigadier-general Pigot ; and the troops were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the cannon of the men of war. On taking a proper view of the enemy, however, they were found so advan-

ageously posted, and so numerous, that the British commanders thought proper to send back for a reinforcement before the attack was commenced. CHAP. XII.

By the reinforcement sent on this occasion, the force of generals Howe and Pigot was augmented to about two thousand men. These advanced very slowly, under a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, and even halted several times by the way, in order to afford time to the artillery to ruin the works, and throw the enemy in confusion. At last, when they came up to that enemy who had so often been characterised as cowards, and over whom such an easy conquest had been promised, they met with a reception which staggered the most resolute. The provincials did not return a shot till the king's forces had almost got close up to the works, when a terrible fire took place, which did great execution; and some gentlemen, who had served in the fiercest actions of the former war, declared that, for the time it lasted, it was the hottest engagement they ever saw. The troops were thrown into such disorder, that for a few moments general Howe was said to have been left almost alone, and all the officers near him either killed or wounded. In this critical moment, general Clinton, who arrived at the place of action from Boston during the engagement, rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them back to the charge. The works were now every where attacked with fixed bayonets, and, as many of the Americans were destitute of that weapon, they were forced to yield, though not till after an obstinate resistance. At last they retreated over Charlestown Neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war and two floating batteries. They suffered but little, however, from this formidable artillery, though the fear of it had prevented some regiments, who were ordered to support them, from fulfilling their duty.

At the beginning of the engagement, the provincials had thrown some men into those houses of Charlestown which covered their right flank; by which means general Pigot, who commanded the left of the British, had at once to encounter the lines and those in the houses. During this conflict, the town of Charlestown was set on fire in several places, and burnt to the ground. It is uncertain whether this happened from the carcases thrown by the ships, or was done by the soldiers; however, the fate of the town was much lamented, and afforded matter of melancholy reflection to the moderate and peaceably inclined on both sides. It contained about four hundred houses,

**CHAP.** was well built, and had the greatest trade of any port in the province, Boston only excepted ; being said to clear out a thousand vessels annually for foreign commerce, besides a vast number of coasters. It was also respected on account of its having been the first settlement in the colony, by emigrants from which Boston itself had been founded.

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1775:

The loss, on the part of the British, in this engagement, amounted, according to the gazette account, to one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded ; though other accounts increased them to one thousand two hundred, most of whom, it was said, died of their wounds. The number of slain on the field of battle amounted only to two hundred and twenty-six, among whom were nineteen commissioned officers, and of these were a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and seven captains. Seventy other officers were wounded. In one account it was said, that *all* the grenadiers, except five, were killed in the attack. The loss on the part of the Americans was, by their own accounts, stated at four hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and prisoners ; though general Gage, in his letter on the subject, was confident they must have been many more, as the Americans were seen, during the engagement, conveying away and burying their dead. This, if true, must be accounted a very extraordinary circumstance, and bears some resemblance to the contest related by Homer concerning the dead bodies of his heroes. The person most lamented on their part was Dr. Warren, who acted on this occasion as a major-general, and was killed in the redoubt.

Consequences of the battle.

The consequences of this victory, for such it must be called, to the British, were entirely confined to the gaining of the post at Bunker's Hill, which the Americans had fortified, of which from that time they kept possession. This, though in some respects an advantage, as it afforded them more room, nevertheless kept the soldiers to much harder duty than before, on account of the more extended works they had to defend. On the other hand, the provincials were by no means dispirited by their defeat. They maintained, that though they had lost a post, the consequences of the action had been such as would have attended a complete victory. They had now not only completely stopped all the offensive operations of the army sent to subdue them, but kept them blocked up in a narrow space ; at the same time, they exulted in having so plainly wiped off the aspersions which had been thrown upon them on the other side of the Atlantic. The situa-



tion of the British troops was indeed by no means agreeable. Besides their being surrounded and insulted by an enemy, whom they had been taught to despise, (for the provincials, by works thrown up on Charlestown Neck, kept them as effectually blocked up as before;) they were now cut off from all supplies of fresh provisions and vegetables, which the neighbouring country afforded in the greatest plenty. This confinement to salt and putrid provisions, with the heat of the climate during the summer, must have had a very bad effect on the sick and wounded, whose number now amounted to one thousand six hundred; though few, in comparison, are said to have died.

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1775.

Few other hostilities took place between the troops at Boston and the provincials. The former indeed sometimes cannonaded, and threw shells into the works at Charlestown, but with out any effect. As, however, the live stock, as well as the grass of the islands in Boston-Bay, was now become an object of some consideration, frequent skirmishes took place between the provincials and the parties sent out to carry off the produce of these islands. In these, victory generally declared for the Americans, notwithstanding all the protection the men of war could give; and at length they became so daring, as to burn the lighthouse, though a man of war lay at the time within a mile of it; and afterwards, either killed or took prisoners a detachment of marines, with some carpenters sent to repair it. A like predatory war took place all along the neighbouring coast, in which the boldness of the Americans sometimes occasioned a severe chastisement to their towns by the men of war; numbers of their ships were taken, either in conformity to the new laws, or the commands of the admiral; all which hostilities added fuel to the flame already burning with too great violence to be quenched.

Thus were the ministerial hopes disappointed with regard to the success of the Boston army; nor did they prosper much better in other respects. The Quebec act, from which such sanguine expectations were formed, instead of giving that satisfaction which was promised, had disgusted all parties. A scheme had been concerted of raising an army of Canadians for the relief of general Gage, and twenty thousand stand of arms for this purpose had been sent to general Carleton governor of the province. The people, however, almost to a man, refused to interfere in the dispute. They said, they were under British government, and could not decide with regard to the claims of either party: That they would shew themselves dutiful

Canadians  
refuse to  
arm in the  
British  
cause.

CHAP. and quiet subjects, by an obedience to the governors un-

XII. der which they were placed; but that it was totally inconsistent with their state and condition to interfere in the disputes betwixt government and its ancient subjects.

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In answer to a proclamation issued by the governor for assembling the militia, and the execution of martial law, they said, they would defend the province if it were attacked; but they absolutely refused to march out of it, or commence hostilities against their neighbours. The governor then requested the Bishop, that he would issue an Episcopal mandate for the purpose, to be read by the parish-priests after divine service; but he excused himself, on account of its being inconsistent with the canons of the Roman Catholic church. In fine, the only persons who interested themselves on this occasion, were the French Noblesse, who indeed alone had reason to applaud the new government; and they were too inconsiderable in number, and too much separated from the body of the people, to be able to effect any thing of consequence.

The Indians refuse to make war with the colonies.

Another, and indeed the most disgraceful part of the ministerial plan, had been to excite the Indians who inhabited the country stretching along the backs of the colonies, to make a diversion, by attacking the Americans in those parts where they could be most sensibly affected.—The monstrous cruelties exercised by these wretches in their incursions, it was thought, would soon induce the colonists to submit; though such a scheme was evidently more calculated to inflame them with inextinguishable resentment and hatred of those who could disgrace themselves by courting such allies. On this occasion, however, these diabolical warriors refused to take up the hatchet; for which they gave much the same reasons as had been given by the Canadians. The congress took care to improve this favourable disposition of the Indians, and concluded a league with them, by which the savages bound themselves to observe a strict neutrality. Some of the tribes, it is said, offered to take up arms in their favour; but this, they were told, was not required of them; it was sufficient that they kept themselves neutral.

Georgia joins congress.

In the beginning of the month of July, the distant and inconsiderable colony of Georgia joined in the general alliance against Great-Britain. Having elected a provincial congress, that body entered at once into all the resolutions of the two general congresses, and appointed five delegates to attend that which was sitting at the time.—Resolutions similar to those of the other colonies were adopted; and they declared, that though their province

was not included in any of the oppressive acts lately passed against America, they considered that circumstance rather as an insult than a favour, as being done only with a view to divide them from their brethren. They also sent a petition and address to his majesty, in the usual stile; and, from the time of this accession, the general confederacy took the title of *The Thirteen United Colonies*.

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In the mean time, a military rage had seized the minds of almost all the colonists. Persons of fortune and family who were not appointed officers, entered cheerfully as common soldiers. Even many of the young Quakers took up arms, formed themselves into companies, and applied, with the utmost assiduity, to acquire a proficiency in military discipline: nay, so universal was the ambition of distinguishing themselves in the cause of liberty, that no fewer than two hundred thousand men are said at this time to have been training throughout the continent. As it was now become necessary to appoint a commander in chief, the congress, with the almost universal approbation of the people, chose to this high office George Washington, Esq; a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, and who had acquired considerable military experience in the command of different bodies of the provincials during the last war. For major-generals, they appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, Israel Putnam, Esqrs. and Horatio Gates for adjutant-general. Of these, generals Lee and Gates were English gentlemen, who had served with honour in the last war; Ward and Putnam were of Massachusetts-Bay, and Schuyler of New-York.

General Washington chosen commander in chief of the American forces.

Previous to this military arrangement, the congress had drawn up a declaration, setting forth the necessity of taking up arms. This, like all their other publications, was worded in a strong and forcible manner, while, at the same time, it was ushered in with a solemnity which could not fail to make a deep impression on those for whom it was calculated—"if it was possible," said they, "for men who exercise their reason, to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never rightly resistible, however severe and oppressive—the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great-Britain, some evidence

Declaration of congress on the necessity of taking up arms. July 6.

CHAP. that this dreadful authority over them has been granted  
 XII. to that body. But, a reverence for our great Creator,  
 ~~~~~ principles of humanity, and the dictates of common  
 1775. sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the sub-
 ject, that government was instituted to promote the wel-
 fare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the at-
 tainment of that end. The legislature of Great-Britain,
 however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power
 not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be pecu-
 liarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom;
 and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where
 regard shall be had to truth, law, or right; have, at
 length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel
 and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by vio-
 lence, and have therefore rendered it necessary for us to
 close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet,
 however blinded that assembly may be, by their intem-
 perate rage for unlimited domination, so as to slight
 justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves
 bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world,
 to make known the justice of our cause," &c.

Articles of
 confederation
 of the
 United
 Colonies.

Expedition
 against
 Canada.

To complete the establishment of their new empire,
 the congress had also drawn up articles of confederation
 and perpetual union between the colonies. As Georgia
 had not then acceded to the general league, the number
 of the colonies is not specified in the first article.*

Congress having thus, in effect, declared the colonies
 independent, unless Great-Britain should comply with
 their demands, and as every day presented less and less
 probability of that event taking place, the martial spirit

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

* I. The name of the confederacy shall henceforth be THE UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH-AMERICA.

2. The United Colonies hereby enter into a firm league of friend-
 ship with each other, binding on themselves and their posterity, for
 their common defence against their enemies, for the security of their
 liberties and properties, the safety of their persons and families, and
 their mutual and general welfare.

3. That each colony shall enjoy, and may retain as much as it shall
 think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and pecu-
 liar jurisdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own con-
 stitution, as shall seem best to its own assembly or conventions.

4. For the more convenient management of general interests, dele-
 gates shall be elected annually in each colony, to meet in general con-
 gress, at such time and place as shall be agreed on in the next preced-
 ing congress. Only where particular circumstances do not make a de-
 viation necessary, it is understood to be a rule, that each succeeding
 congress is to be held in a different colony till the whole number be
 gone through, and so on in perpetual rotation; and that accordingly,

of the people began to display itself in a new and very daring enterprize. This was no less than an invasion of Canada, for which the way had been in a manner paved by the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point. For this service were appointed generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and some others, amounting in the whole to near three thousand men. A number of batteaux, or flat bottomed boats, were built at Ticonderoga or Crown Point, to convey the forces along the lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is composed of the superfluous water of the lakes, which it discharges into the river St. Lawrence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for some rapids that obstruct the navigation.

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the next Congress, after the present, shall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

5. The power and duty of the congress shall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great-Britain, the settling of all disputes between colony and colony, if any should arise, and the planting new colonies where proper. The congress shall also make such general ordinances as shall be thought necessary to the general welfare, of which particular assemblies cannot be competent, viz. those that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the establishment of posts, the regulation of our common forces. The congress shall also have the appointment of all officers, civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy, such as general treasurer, secretary, &c. &c.

6. All charges of war, and all other general expenses to be incurred for the common welfare, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which is to be supplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age; the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

7. The number of delegates to be elected and sent to the congress by each colony, shall be regulated from time to time by the number of such polls returned, so as that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. The delegates are to bring with them to every congress an authenticated return of the number of polls in their respective colonies, which is to be taken for the purposes above-mentioned.

8. At every meeting of the congress, one-half of the members returned, exclusive of proxies, shall be necessary to make a quorum; and each delegate at the congress shall have a vote in all cases; and if necessarily absent, shall be allowed to appoint any other delegate from the same colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

9. An executive council shall be appointed by the Congress out of their own body, consisting of twelve persons, of whom, in the first appointment, four shall be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; the vacancies to be filled up annually; and no person who has served the term of three years shall be elected a counsellor again until after the expiration of other three years. This council, of which two-thirds form a quorum, is to act the part of congress during the recess of that assembly.

10. No colony shall engage in an offensive war with any Indian nation without the consent of the congress, or great council above-mentioned, who are first to consider the justice and necessity of such war.

11. A perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, is to be entered

CHAP. Not above half the forces were yet arrived, when
XII. Montgomery, who was at Crown-Point, received some
 intelligence, which rendered him apprehensive that a
 schooner of considerable force, with some other armed
 vessels, which lay at the fort of St. John's, on the river
 Sorel, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby ef-
 fectually obstruct their passage. He thereupon, in the
 latter end of August, proceeded with the forces he had,
 to the Isle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the
 river, and took proper measures for preventing the pas-
 sage of those vessels into the lake. Schuyler, who at
 that time commanded in chief, having also arrived from
 Albany, they published a declaration to encourage the
 Canadians to join them; and, with the same hope or de-
 sign, pushed on to the fort of St. John, which lies only
 about twelve miles from the island. The fire from the
 fort, as well as the strong appearances of force and re-
 sistance which they observed, occasioned their landing at

1775.

August.

Sept. 6.

into, as soon as may be, with the Six Nations; their limits ascertained and secured, and their lands not to be encroached upon; nor any private or colony purchase to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contracts for lands to be made, but between the great council of the Indians at Onondaga and the general congress. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indian tribes to be in like manner ascertained and secured; and persons appointed to reside among them in proper districts, who shall take care to prevent injustice in the trade with them, and be enabled, at our general expense, by occasional small supplies, to relieve their personal wants and distresses; and all purchases from them shall be by the congress, for the general benefit and advantage of the United Colonies.

12. As all new institutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, it is agreed that the general congress, from time to time, shall propose such amendments of this constitution as may be found necessary, which being approved by a majority of the colony assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the articles of this confederation.

13. Any and every colony, from Great-Britain, upon the continent of North-America; not at present engaged in our association, may, upon application, join in the said association, and shall thereupon be intitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual assistance and commerce.

These articles shall be proposed to the several provincial conventions or assemblies, to be by them considered; and, if approved, they are advised to empower their delegates to agree and ratify the same in the ensuing congress; after which the union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last congress to the king are agreed to; till the acts, since made, restraining the American commerce and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its port, for burning Charlestown, and for the expense of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendship with Great-Britain; but, on failure thereof, this confederation to be perpetual.

a considerable distance, in a country covered with thick woods, deep swamps, and intersected with creeks and waters. Here they were vigorously attacked by a considerable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which they derived from it. In this situation, and finding that the fort was well garrisoned and provided, they were under the necessity of returning next day to their former station on the island, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which were expected.

Schuyler, upon this retreat, returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty which he had for some time been negotiating with the Indians, by which, and other business he was so occupied, that the whole weight of the Canada expedition fell upon Montgomery. The first measure of this commander was to detach the Indians who had joined general Carleton; after which, having received the expected reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to besiege fort St. John. The garrison consisted of the greater part of two regiments, being nearly the whole number of regular troops at that time in the province; and they were besides well provided with stores, ammunition, and artillery. The provincial parties had spread themselves over the adjacent country, and every where met with the most gracious reception from the Canadians. It now became manifest, that the people of the country, instead of arming themselves against the Americans, wished in reality to join them. Considerable numbers did indeed enlist under their banners, and supplied them with every kind of necessaries, both provisions and military stores, as far as they could, for carrying on the siege. The progress of Montgomery, however, was for some time retarded by his deficiency in the essential articles of powder and ball. The little fort Chamblee, garrisoned by only part of the 7th regiment, promised an easy supply of these articles. To this he pushed forward with a part of his forces, and, with the help of some Canadians, became master of the place, which put him in possession of one hundred and twenty barrels of gunpowder, besides a considerable quantity of other stores.

The siege of St. John's was carried on with vigour. The garrison, consisting of between six and seven hundred, of whom five hundred were regulars, made a resolute defence, in hopes of being relieved by general Carleton. That brave officer, indeed, had been indefatigable in his endeavours for their relief; but the disaffection

CHAP. of the people to the British cause had operated so effectually in favour of the Americans, that all the interest of

XII. the governor could collect no more than about a thousand men. With these he attempted to form a junction with

1775.

a colonel Maclean, who had endeavoured to raise a regiment of the Scotch emigrants, that had not yet obtained settlements. Of these, with some Canadians, the colonel had formed a body of a few hundred men, with which he posted himself near the junction of the rivers Sorel and St. Lawrence; but as general Carleton was on his march to join him, he fell in with a party of provincials, by whom he was totally defeated, and the whole scheme of relieving the fort entirely overthrown. The Canadians, under the command of colonel Maclean, no sooner heard of this disaster, than they abandoned him to a man; so that, being pushed by a superior number of provincials, he was obliged to retreat, with the emigrants, to Quebec: upon which the party who had reduced him to that necessity, immediately began to erect batteries on a point of land at the junction of the two rivers, and constructed armed rafts and floating batteries, with a view to intercept a number of armed vessels which general Carleton had at Montreal, in case they should attempt an escape.

Fort St.
John's
taken.

Nov. 3.

The defeat of general Carleton, and the desertion of colonel Maclean's men, decided the fate of St. John's. The garrison, after a resolute defence, finding themselves cut off from all supply of provisions, as well as from any hope of relief, surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the 3d of November, 1775, and, after experiencing a very polite and honourable treatment from the provincial general, were conveyed, by the way of Ticonderoga, into the interior parts of the colonies. A considerable quantity of cannon and military stores were found in the place.

Ethan Al-
lan's at-
tempt on
Montreal.

While Montgomery was thus successfully employed at St. John's, an uncommissioned adventurer, Ethan Allan, had made an attempt on Montreal. As his enterprise, however, was rashly undertaken, without any adequate force, or the knowledge of the commander in chief, it was not attended with success. On the 25th of September, he was utterly defeated, and taken prisoner by general Carleton's officers, with forty of his men, the rest making their escape into the woods. On this occasion, the British commander did not set Montgomery the example of humanity which the garrison at St. John's experienced on their surrender. The unhappy captives were,

by exprefs orders of general Carleton, loaded with irons, and ſent in that condition on board a man of war, in which they were brought over to England, from whence, however, they were ſome time after ſent back again to America. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that this inſtance of haughty ſeverity to a few dozens of helpſeſ wretches, could augment the American idea of Britiſh magnanimity or mercy.

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General Carleton himſelf had retreated to Montreal after his defeat already mentioned, from whence he had frequently attempted a paſſage down the river to Quebec; but the batteries and armed floats, conſtructed by the provincial party, who had driven off colonel Maclean, had effectually rendered theſe attempts abortive. He was now, therefore, in the utmoſt danger of being made priſoner, as general Montgomery inſtantly advanced to that place, after the reduction of St. John's. On his arrival, the inhabitants propoſed a capitulation, or rather a kind of general treaty; but this was reſuſed on the part of the American commander, as they were in no condition to make any defence, and could not fulfil their part of the agreement. However, he gave them an answer in writing, in which he ſays, "the continental army have a generous diſdain of every act of oppreſſion and violence: they are come for the expreſs purpoſe of giving liberty and ſecurity: the general, therefore, engages his honour to maintain, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal. The continental army came into this province for its protection; they, therefore, cannot conſider its oppoſers as taking up arms for its defence," &c. In other reſpects, he provided for the ſafety and government of the country, as if it had been already ſubdued, and the province under the juriſdiction of the United Colonies; after which, his army took peaceable poſſeſſion of the place on the 13th of November, 1775.

General
Carleton
makes his
eſcape to
Quebec.

Nov. 13.
Montreal
taken by
Montgo-
mery.

The ſituation of general Carleton, as well as of all the province of Canada, was now become extremely dangerous. The general, however, found means to eſcape the danger, by being conveyed ſafely beyond the batteries in the night-time, in a boat, with muſſed paddles; and his eſcape ſaved the province, which he found now involved in an unexpected danger from a new enterprize of the provincials. This was an expedition againſt the lower part of the province, and the city of Quebec itſelf, ſet on foot by one colonel Arnold, who, with about eleven hundred men, made an invaſion from New-England, through

CHAP. a way unfrequented by travellers, and thought to be a together impassable to any body of forces. He set out

XII. from the camp at Boston about the middle of September ; from whence proceeding to Newburyport, at the mouth of the river Meramack, his troops were conveyed to the mouth of the Kennebec, in New-Hampshire. Up this river they proceeded with great labour and difficulty, being impeded by a very rapid stream, with rocky sides and bottom, cataracts, carrying-places,* and other obstacles. Their passage along the banks was not less difficult than by water, the country being every where covered with thick woods, deep swamps, mountains, and precipices ; so that their general progress was only from four to ten miles a-day. By this incessant labour many fell sick and died, while provisions became so scarce among the survivors, that many of them killed and ate their dogs, besides using any kind of food, however unwholesome, to appease their hunger.

1775.
Arnold's
expedition
against
Quebec.

Having at length reached the head of the Kennebec, they sent back their sick ; at which time one of the colonels, without consent of the commander in chief, took the opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions ; so that, of the eleven hundred who had set out from Boston, scarce four hundred remained to prosecute the intended invasion. Though the affair might now well be judged desperate, Arnold, with the few who adhered to him, still proceeded with great constancy ; and having crossed a ridge extending quite through that part of the continent, called the *Heights of Land*, they arrived at length at the head of the Chaudiere, a branch of the river St. Lawrence, after which they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada. On the 3d of November they procured some provisions, and soon after came to a house, being the first they had seen for thirty-one days.

Nov. 3.

On the appearance of colonel Arnold, the Canadians manifested the same good-will to him that they had done to Montgomery ; and he, on his part, assured them of the good wishes of the American colonies, whom he invited them to join in perpetual friendship ; for which purpose he published a declaration, signed by general Washington. The American army, he told them, was not come to plunder, but to protect and animate them ;

* By this expression is to be understood such places of the river as were not navigable by their boats, and where, of course, they were obliged to carry them on their shoulders along the banks. One of these was upwards of twelve miles in length.

they were requested, therefore, not to desert their habitations, or fly from their friends, but to supply them with necessaries, for which, he assured them, they should be amply recompensed.

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After the escape of general Carleton from Montreal in the manner already mentioned, general Prescott, with some other officers, and all the armed force, among whom were one hundred and twenty English soldiers, with eleven armed vessels, fell into the hands of the provincials. Montgomery having found plenty of woollen manufactures, and other articles of that kind at Montreal, took the opportunity of clothing his troops, and preparing for their future progress in his intended expedition, which was now found to be attended with very great difficulties. One of the principal of these arose from the nature of the engagements entered into by the provincial soldiers. Having enlisted only for a certain time, and the term of their service being nearly expired, they were desirous of returning home to their families; so that it was only by mere affection to their general that they could now be kept together. Besides this, other difficulties arose from the want of proper subordination, owing to the excessive passion for liberty, and to which they only could be trained through numberless wants and distresses of every kind.—Montgomery, however, happily possessed a genius calculated to remedy these evils; and having, mostly by his personal influence, prevailed on his troops to persevere in the enterprise he had so happily begun, pushed on to join Arnold, with as many men as he could spare from the defence of Montreal, and those detachments which were sent into different parts of the province, in order to encourage and persuade the inhabitants to join him,

It would probably have contributed greatly to the success of this expedition, if neither of the commanders had approached the town of Quebec till joined by the other, as much depended on the effect of their first appearance before the place. Colonel Arnold, however, instead of waiting for his superior, pushed on directly to the capital, which he found in a very distracted situation. An universal division and discontent reigned among the inhabitants, owing to the opposition of the British merchants and others to the Quebec act. The petitions on this subject had been greatly resented by their own government; and so far did they appear to have been suspected, that their application for leave to embody themselves as a militia for the defence of Montreal had not even met with any an-

Distressed
situation of
Quebec on
Arnold's
arrival,
Nov. 9.

*Montgomery's
New York*

CHAP. swer. With regard to the French inhabitants, the case

XII. was still worse; they were universally known to waver, and some to be so much disaffected, that no confidence whatever could be put in them for the defence of the city. The whole force, therefore, consisted of the handful of new raised emigrants, who had retreated from Sorel under colonel Maclean, some marines which the governor had sent for to Boston, and the militia which had been embodied by the lieutenant-governor.

1775.

In this critical situation of affairs, colonel Arnold with his party suddenly appeared at Point Levi opposite to the city, and had it not been for the intervention of the river, would probably have reduced it, notwithstanding the smallness of the force he had with him. But though he was speedily supplied with boats for the purpose of crossing it, and found means to elude the vigilance of the ships of war stationed there, the moment of opportunity was lost; the divided citizens quickly united in the common cause; the sailors landed from the ships to manage the guns of the batteries; and Arnold, with his handful of men, became the object of contempt, instead of terror. After an unavailing parade, therefore, he found himself utterly unable to attempt any thing, and was obliged to content himself with cutting off the supplies of provisions as much as possible from the city, until his force should be augmented by that under general Montgomery.

Provincials
defeated,
and their
general
killed,
Dec. 5.

By reason of the difficulties attending a winter march, through the first snows in Canada, it was the 5th of December before the American commander reached the place of his destination: and before that time general Carleton had made such preparations as rendered every prospect of success precarious, if not desperate. Montgomery in vain threatened, and made a boast of his strength. The British commander well knew that this parade was intended only to cover his real weakness, and that, unless by surprise, he had not the least chance of succeeding. That no means of intimidating the enemy, however, might be left untried, the American general opened two small batteries, one from five mortars, and the other from six cannon, against the place; but his artillery being too small and the severities of the season increasing in such a manner, that human nature seemed no longer able to resist them, he determined at last to put all to the issue of a general assault. But whilst he was making the necessary preparations for this enterprise, intelligence of the design is said to have been conveyed to the garrison by some deserters; so that, perceiving by the motions of the enemy, that they

were taking proper measures to frustrate his design, he CHAP.
 was obliged to alter his mode of proceeding. On the 31st XII.
 December 1775, he made the arduous attempt under 1775.
 cover of a violent storm of snow. The American army, Dec. 31.
 scarce equal in number to those they were about to attack, was divided into four bodies, of which two were directed to make false attacks on the upper town, while two real ones, by Montgomery and Arnold, were made on the lower town. Though by some mistake the signal for engaging was made, and the garrison alarmed before Montgomery with his party could reach the town, they nevertheless passed the first barrier, and advanced boldly to attack the second, which was much stronger. A violent discharge of grape-shot from several cannon, together with a well-directed fire of musquetry, here put an end to the life and hopes of this enterprising officer. Most of the officers, and others near their general, were killed on the spot, which so intimidated the officer (a Mr. Campbell) on which the command now devolved, that he retired without making any farther effort. In the mean time, Arnold with his party had made a furious attack upon another part of the town, and carried a small battery after an hour's engagement. Their commander, having his leg shattered, was carried off. His officers, however, carried on the attack with great vigour, until at last the garrison having driven off the enemy in every other quarter, and directing their whole force against this small body, entirely surrounded them, and prevented every possibility of escape. Even in these desperate circumstances, they did not yield till after they had continued the fight for three hours longer, during which time their numbers were greatly reduced, and, convinced that some misfortune must have befallen their friends, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war. On this occasion, the humanity of general Carleton was more conspicuous than in the affair of Ethan Allan, as the prisoners were well treated, and the dead body of their general buried with all the honours due to his rank as an officer, and his character as a private gentleman.

In this unfortunate attack, the provincials lost not less than half their number, as Arnold in his letter to the congress stated the remainder only at seven hundred. These immediately quitted their camp, and retired to the distance of a few miles from the city, where they strengthened themselves in the best manner they could, being apprehensive of an attack from the garrison. As there were few regular troops in the place, however, general Carle-

CHAP. ton did not choose to venture any attempt of this kind, as
XII. well knowing the resolution of his adversaries, and that
 any misfortune would still endanger the loss of the pro-
1775. vince. Arnold, indeed, in his present situation, discovered
 an amazing vigour of mind, as well as perseverance in his
 enterprise. Though the severity of the winter was far
 beyond any thing they had hitherto experienced, the snow
 laying four feet deep on a level, he made a shift not only
 to keep his troops together, but to render them formida-
 ble. An express was dispatched to general Wooster, who
 was at Montreal, to come with a reinforcement, and
 assume the command; but as this could not be instantly
 done, he bore up, with the small force he had, against the
 difficulties which surrounded him, and by obstructing the
 supplies of provisions and other necessaries into the town,
 rendered its situation still precarious; should any consider-
 able reinforcement arrive in time to his little army.

Governor
 Dunmore
 driven out
 of Vir-
 ginia.

While these transactions were going forward in the nor-
 thern colonies, the flames of discord were gradually in-
 volving those to the southward. A long course of alter-
 cation had subsisted between the people of Virginia and
 their governor, lord Dunmore. The assembly had been
 dissolved, and his lordship had refused to call a new one.
 Hence a plausible reason was afforded to the people for
 assembling a provincial congress, where, by virtue of an
 old law of 1738, they took measures for arraying the
 militia; and, to remedy the defects of this, they recom-
 mended to each county to raise a volunteer company for
 the better defence and protection of the province.

Such a suspicious proceeding justly alarmed the gover-
 nor, so that, towards the end of April 1775, he caused
 the greatest part of the powder belonging to the colony
 at Williamsburg to be removed from the magazine, and
 conveyed aboard a man of war by a detachment of ma-
 rines sent for that purpose. Though this was executed in
 the night, and with as much secrecy as possible, intelli-
 gence of it was received by the town's people in the
 morning. A violent commotion ensued, much greater in-
 indeed than the occasion seemed to require, as the quan-
 tity of powder removed amounted to no more than fif-
 teen half barrels of fifty pounds each. Besides this, how-
 ever, some muskets had been deprived of their locks; but
 these were too few in number to answer any essential pur-
 pose. Six half barrels of powder had been left behind,
 and a quantity of old arms and common trading guns
 were not meddled with. The people nevertheless assem-
 bled in arms, and demanded the restitution of the pow-

der; but, on the governor's assigning his reasons for its removal, and promising that it should be returned whenever there appeared the least occasion, they suffered themselves to be persuaded by their magistrates to retire.

CHAP.
XII.

1775.

On this occasion, the governor and people seem to have been exasperated against each other beyond any hopes of reconciliation. The former resented in the highest degree their having assembled in arms, with an evident design to oppose his authority; and they, on the other hand, never forgot some threats he had used in his anger, of setting up the royal standard, giving liberty to the slaves, and arming them against their masters. Public meetings were held in several counties; in all of which the measure of seizing the gun-powder became the subject of discussion and condemnation. Nor were mere declarations universally satisfactory. A considerable number of the principal people in the counties of Hanover, and others in the neighbourhood, assembled under arms, and marched to Williamsburg, with an avowed design both of forcing the governor to make restitution of the powder, and taking effectual measures for preserving the public treasury. When they had arrived within a few miles of the city, however, a negociation was entered into with the magistrates, by which it was finally settled, that the receiver-general should give security for paying the value of the gun-powder, and that, upon the inhabitants engaging for the future effectually to guard both the treasury and magazine, the insurgents should return to their habitations.

Notwithstanding this apparent reconciliation, it appears that an inveterate resentment had taken place between both parties. The governor immediately sent his family aboard the *Fowey* man of war, and fortified his palace as if expecting an attack. A proclamation was published, in which the magistrates were charged with treason and rebellion, in extorting security for the payment of the gun-powder; the commotions were attributed to disaffection in the people, and a desire of changing the government. This served only to increase the general discontent. Public meetings were held, in which the conduct of the insurgents was vindicated and applauded, and the most violent resolutions passed of indemnifying them from all suffering on that account. The charge of disaffection was denied, and that of changing the government retorted. They insisted, that they wanted nothing but to preserve their ancient constitution; that they only opposed innovations, and all disturbances sprung from the governor's conduct.

CHAP. XII. About this time, the discovery of some letters betwixt the governor and British ministry, had an effect somewhat similar to those of governor Hutchinson at Boston. They were said to contain unfair, unjust, and partial representations of the colony in general, as well as of particular facts. All confidence was lost on both sides. False reports were circulated and believed by every body. The governor, however, in the midst of this general commotion and distrust, surprised the people, by suddenly calling an assembly. The great motive for this measure appeared to be an expectation of their compliance with the terms of lord North's conciliatory plan. In his speech, therefore, he used his utmost address to carry this favourite point; and the arguments he made use of might possibly have had some weight at another time; but at present, the minds of all were too much inflamed to pay any regard to them. The carrying away the powder was not yet forgot; and some subsequent measures had tended to augment the discontent on that account. These, indeed, appear to have been highly unworthy the dignity of the supreme magistrate. Spring-guns had been placed in the magazine, without any warning given, and had wounded some people in attempting to furnish themselves with arms from thence during the late commotions. A committee appointed by the assembly to enquire into the state of the magazine, found the greatest part of the gun-powder buried in the yard, and damaged by rain. The muskets were now also first discovered to have been deprived of their locks, and the magazine itself naked and deficient in every respect. Before his lordship, however, could be made acquainted with the sentiments of the assembly on these or any other subjects, he suddenly left his palace at night, and went on board the Fowey man of war. The reasons for this extraordinary, and, to appearance, pusillanimous piece of conduct, were given in a paper left behind him, to be delivered to the house of Burgesses. In this he acquainted them, that he had thought it prudent to retire to a place of safety, as both himself and his family were in constant danger of falling sacrifices to the blind and unmeasurable fury of the people; but that business might receive as little interruption as possible, he would render the communication between the house and himself as easy and safe as he could; and he thought it would be more proper for them to send some of their members to him, as occasion might require, than to have the trouble of moving the whole house to a nearer place. In the mean time, he promised to attend, as usual, to the duties of his

1775.

June 1.

June 8.

office, and to use his utmost endeavours in conciliating the differences which had taken place. CHAP. XII.

This produced a correspondence betwixt the house of Burgesses and the governor, which, after mutual accusations, terminated in a final request of the former, That his lordship would either meet them at Williamsburg, on a certain day, to pass such bills as he thought proper, or grant a commission to pass them. To this the governor replied, That the well-grounded cause he had to think himself in personal danger at Williamsburg increased daily: He could not, therefore, comply with their request of coming ashore, but would be ready to receive the house at his present residence on board the Fowey man of war. This answer was voted a high breach of the rights and privileges of the house; That, from the unreasonable delays in their proceedings, occasioned by the conduct of the governor, and the evasive answers given to their addresses, they had reason to believe, that a dangerous attack was meditated against the unhappy people of that colony; and it was therefore their opinion, that they should provide for the preservation of their property, with the rest of their inestimable rights and privileges. Having then made strong professions of loyalty to the king, as well as friendship to the mother-country, they dissolved themselves; and their place was soon supplied by a convention of delegates, who, for the time, possessed an unlimited power over the affairs of the province. 1775.

The first act of this assembly was to give orders for the raising an armed force, providing means for its support, and putting the colony in the best state of defence they could. A manifesto was next published in justification of the steps they had taken, concluding, as usual, with strong professions of loyalty and allegiance, and of their determination to submit to every extremity rather than part with their rights; though at the same time they faithfully promised to disband such forces as they had raised for the defence of the colony, as soon as the dangers which threatened them were removed, and America restored to its former state of tranquility and happiness. July 18.

Though lord Dunmore had thus abandoned his government, he seemed still to have an inclination to command, or at least fight with the people of his province. Being accordingly joined by those friends of government, who had rendered themselves too obnoxious to the people to continue with safety in the country, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and supported by the frigates of war which were on that station, he endeavoured to estab-

Dunmore acts in an hostile manner against the Virginians.

CHAP. lish such a marine force, as would enable him, by means
XII. of the rivers which render most part of the country ac-
 cessible by water, to be always at hand, and ready to take
 any opportunity that offered of annoying the people of the
 colony. The utmost force he could collect, however, was
 never able to effectuate any purpose besides that of depre-
 dation; and, of consequence, could answer no other end
 than to exasperate the colonists against him. Some degree
 of this, indeed, they bore with patience, as they knew it
 was necessary that the governor and those who were with
 him should be supplied with provisions; but these were
 soon followed by acts of greater hostility, in one of which
 his lordship destroyed a number of iron cannon, and car-
 ried off others, which he imagined to be provided for the
 purposes of rebellion, though the Virginians asserted that
 they were ship-guns.

1775.

Oct. 25.

In return for this injury, a detachment of the newly
 raised forces was sent to protect the coasts, and a mis-
 chievous, though ineffectual war ensued, in which every
 necessary, water not excepted, was purchased by the go-
 vernment party at the price of blood. One of his lordship's
 principal attempts was against the town of Hampton, a
 considerable and important sea-port. This town, it seems,
 had been condemned to the flames; but the inhabitants
 having conceived some suspicion of the design, prevented,
 for one day, the approach of the ships of war, by sinking
 boats in the mouth of the harbour, and putting other
 obstacles in their way. In the night time, a passage was
 cut through the boats, large enough to allow the armed
 ships to pass, and a furious cannonade against the town
 began next morning; but at this critical period, a detach-
 ment of rifle and minute men having marched all night
 from Williamsburg, opportunely arrived; and, being joined
 by the inhabitants, so annoyed the ships, by repeated
 discharges of their small arms, that they were obliged to
 make a precipitate retreat with the loss of a tender, which
 was taken, and some men killed.

Nov. 7.

Lord Dunmore now issued a proclamation, in which he
 set forth, that as civil law was insufficient to prevent and
 punish treason, martial law should hence forth take place
 throughout the colony: he, at the same time, required
 all persons capable of bearing arms to repair to his ma-
 jesty's standard, and declared the negroes and indented
 servants free, provided they instantly enlisted themselves
 under his banner. Though this measure, which had been
 long expected, produced less effect than it would have
 done, had it been suddenly put in execution, and though

at was every where received with horror, it produced an addition of several hundreds to the force now possessed by his lordship; so that he began to entertain hopes of being able to reduce the whole province, by means of a force raised within itself. But, while he pleased himself with this expectation, intelligence was received, that a party of provincials were marching with the utmost expedition against the new-raised forces, which determined lord Dunmore to take possession of a post called Great-Bridge, lying some miles from Norfolk, and which was a pass of great consequence, being the only way by which they could approach that town, the inhabitants of which were generally well affected to government. Here he constructed a fort on the Norfolk side, which he furnished with artillery, and put in as good posture of defence as the time would admit. It does not appear, however, that his force was at all considerable, either as to the number or quality of the troops. He had, indeed, about two hundred regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body called the Norfolk volunteers; the rest were a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The enemy greatly superior in number, were also fortified within less than a cannon shot of Dunmore's forces, having a narrow causeway in their front; so that both parties were pretty well secured from a surprise. Having continued in this state for some days, captain Fordyce was dispatched, on the 9th of December, at the head of the grenadiers, to force the intrenchments of the provincials. This rash attempt, it was said, had been occasioned by false intelligence from a pretended deserter; and, as the captain's force was totally inadequate to the enterprise, his party was entirely defeated; he himself, with several officers, and a number of common soldiers, being killed on the spot, many others taken, and not one escaping without a wound.


After this disaster, his lordship thought proper to return on board the ships with his people, who were now considerably increased in number, as many of the well-affected, or *Tories*, as they were called by the Americans, were now obliged to seek the same asylum, whither they also carried such of their effects as could most easily be brought off. This additional number, however, instead of forwarding his lordship's operation, proved exceedingly detrimental to them. The vessels were crowded by those who could not assist even in navigating them; and diseases, the certain consequence of confinement, began to take place among the unhappy wretches thus cooped up.

CHAP.
XII.

1775.

Dec. 9.

CH AP. The provincials now took possession of Norfolk, and the
 XII. fleet removed to a greater distance.

 In the midst of these disturbances, which gave ample scope for the genius of such adventurers as wish to profit by the destruction of mankind, one Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania, projected a scheme for the subjection of his countrymen, by the inhuman means of setting the Indians against them. The plan was communicated to lord Dunmore; and Connelly, with great labour and difficulty, having found means to conclude a treaty with the Ohio Indians, returned to his lordship, by whom he was sent to Boston, with proper recommendations to General Gage. Here he was invested with a commission to act as colonel-commandant, with assurances of support and assistance, at the time, and in the manner appointed; and here the plan was fully explained and settled. The purport of it was, that Connelly should return to the country from whence he had come; where he should excite the Indians, in conjunction with the loyalists, to fall upon the back parts of Virginia. The garrisons of Fort Detroit, and others in that remote country, were to co-operate with him as far as possible, to supply his troops with their artillery and ammunition; and some assistance was expected from the nearest parts of Canada. Connelly himself was to grant all the commissions to the officers, and to have the supreme direction in every thing relative to the new-raised forces. As soon as they were in proper condition for the enterprise, he was to penetrate through Virginia in such a manner as to meet lord Dunmore, in the month of April, near the town of Alexandria, on the river Potowmac. His lordship was to bring with him a sufficient naval force; so that by their joint operation, the communication between the northern and southern colonies might be effectually cut off, and Virginia, in all probability, reduced to subjection.

This plan, so precarious in its nature, as depending on the success of a single man passing unsuspected from almost one end of British America to the other, was frustrated by that accident, which of all others, might have been most easily suspected. Connelly was met on the road by some person of his acquaintance, by whom, as he could not with sufficient perspicuity answer the common questions asked of each other by travellers, he was informed on, and brought before the committee of the provincial congress of Maryland. Here his papers were seized; among which were found the general scheme of the design, a letter from lord Dunmore to one of the In-

1775.
 Plan of
 Connelly a-
 gainst the
 colonies de-
 feated.

dian chiefs, with such other authentic vouchers, as left not the least room for doubt on the one part, or excuse on the other. The papers were published by order of the Congress, and Connelly, with two of his associates, who were taken along with him, sent to prison.

CHAP.
XII.

1775.

In the mean time, the people on board the fleet began to suffer greatly by want of provisions, which could no longer be obtained from Norfolk, as the provincial party now prevailed there. The royalists, who had not indeed used their own power with great moderation, now began to feel the vengeance of their adversaries; and the provincial troops, stationed along the coast, had the cruelty to amuse themselves with shooting at the people of those ships which approached nearest the shore. This could not fail to produce the utmost resentment; and, on the arrival of the Liverpool man of war, measures were taken to inflict a proper chastisement. They were now simply asked, whether they would supply his Majesty's ships with provisions? which being answered in the negative, the inhabitants were warned to remove from the place with their effects, as a resolution was taken to destroy it. The first day of the year 1776, was pitched upon for this service; a violent cannonade from the Liverpool, two sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship, called the Dunmore, demolished that part nearest the water; and some houses being set fire to by a body of sailors and marines, who landed for that purpose, the whole was soon involved in one general destruction. As the governor had removed the printing-presses and types, together with two servants, employed in printing for one Holt in Norfolk, he was now enabled to publish printed accounts of his own transactions in a true and impartial manner, which he complained was not done before. In one of his gazettes, the rebels themselves were charged with completing the destruction of Norfolk; it having been intended, on the part of the governor, only to destroy the lower part, from whence the shipping were annoyed by the fire of the troops. Be this as it will, the property destroyed on this occasion was said not to be less than 300,000*l.* sterling. The rent of the houses amounted to 10,000*l.* annually.

Jan. 1.

Dunmore carries off a printer's types and press, &c.

Norfolk destroyed.

However necessary or just the destruction of this place might have been, nothing could have contributed more to render government universally odious through the colony. The provincials, that they might the more effectually cut off any prospect of supply from the ships; and, perhaps, also to punish the opposite party, burned

CHAP. and destroyed all the houses and plantations within reach
XII. of the water, obliging the people to remove farther up

1775.

Miserable
end of
those who
adhered to
his lord-
ship.

August.

as they could carry. Lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued to hover about the coasts and rivers of Virginia for a great part of the year 1776; but every place being at last strictly guarded, so that no refreshments whatever could be had, those unhappy people who had put themselves under his protection, began to experience distresses which could no longer be borne. The heat of the climate increased those diseases which confinement had already begun; and the filth of the vessels in which they were inclosed, produced at last that dreadful distemper known by the name of the *jail fever*, by which great havoc was made, especially among the negroes, who were almost entirely cut off by it. After various disagreeable adventures, several vessels were at last forced on shore by a gale of wind, where the unhappy fugitives fell into the hands of their enraged countrymen. The remainder, driven from place to place, and from island to island, by the Virginians, were in danger of perishing entirely, when the governor, in the beginning of August, 1776, determined to burn the smaller and least valuable part of the vessels, and to send the remainder, consisting of between forty and fifty, with the exiles, to seek a retreat in Florida, Bermudas, and the West-Indies.

Thus ended the hopes entertained of suppressing the American rebellion in Virginia, by means of the negroes; a measure which produced the most violent resentment on the part of the colonists, without adding any thing to the strength of the royal cause; for, in the engagement at Great-Bridge, the only service in which they were employed, the negroes are said to have done more hurt to their own party than to the enemy. As for the unhappy creatures themselves, they are said to have perished almost to a man.

Governors
of both
Carolinas
driven
out.

In the other southern colonies, matters also came to such extremities, that the governors were expelled by the people of their provinces, with this mark of disgrace attending their conduct, that they were charged with exciting, or attempting to excite, the Indians or negroes to murder those whom they could not reduce to obedience by the force which the mother country had entrusted in their hands. In South Carolina, lord William Campbell was said to have entered into some negotiations with the Indians for the support of government, as well as with

those banditti called *Regulators*, in the back settlements; but before matters were ripe for execution, a discovery was made, which rendered it necessary for his lordship to retire from Charlestown, on board a man of war in the river, from whence he never returned any more to his government. In the mean time, Mr. Drayton, the judge of the superior court, and one of the most popular leaders in that part of the country, marched with a considerable force against the *Regulators*; with whom, however, he found means to conclude a treaty, by which, though they could not be prevailed upon to arm themselves against Britain, they engaged not to impede or contravene, by word or action, such proceedings as should be adopted and pursued by the province in general; nor to give any information, aid, or assistance, to such British troops as should at any time arrive in it. In other respects, they were to be entirely at liberty to enjoy a free neutrality, and to suffer no molestation on account of their not taking an active part in the contest.

In North-Carolina, governor Martin exerted himself with more activity, but with as little success as lord William Campbell. After a long warfare with the provincial congress and its committees, he was declared an enemy to America in general; to the colony he governed in particular; and all persons were forbid to hold any communication with him. The charges alleged against him were, that he had fomented a civil war, and endeavoured to excite an insurrection among the negroes. To these he replied by a long proclamation, which by the provincial congress was declared a false, scandalous, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. As the governor, however, expected, by means of the back settlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and Highland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, to be able to raise a considerable force, he took great pains to fortify his palace, that he might thus be enabled to make it answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. But, before this could be accomplished, the moving of some cannon occasioned such a ferment among the people, that he found it necessary to abandon the palace, and take refuge on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river. On his departure, the people found buried in the palace yard and garden, a quantity of powder, ball, and various other military stores and implements, which alarmed them to such a degree, that they instantly proceeded to settle the government of the province

CHAP. on a plan of their own, as had already been done.
 XII. by the rest of the colonies. An address was made
 to the inhabitants of Great-Britain and Ireland, in the
 usual stile, and with the usual professions of loyalty and
 affection, to which it will be almost needless to add, that
 no regard was paid.

1776.

Distresses
 of the
 troops and
 inhabitants
 of Boston.

October
 1775.

All this time the troops in Boston continued to experience great hardships from the close blockade of the American army, while their generals seemed inclined to revenge these misfortunes on the miserable inhabitants. In the beginning of October, 1775, general Gage having returned to England, the command of the army at Boston devolved on general Howe, who soon after issued a proclamation, condemning to military execution, such of the inhabitants as should be taken in attempting to make their escape from the town without license; or, if they had the good fortune to get off with their lives, they were yet to undergo the punishment of traitors, by having their effects forfeited. By another edict, such as obtained permission to go, were restrained from carrying any money with them beyond a small specified sum. He also enjoined the signing of an association, by which the remaining inhabitants offered themselves for the defence of the town; and such of them as he approved of were to be armed, formed into companies, and instructed in military exercises and discipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

It has been already observed, that, in order to supply the troops at Boston with provisions, it had been found necessary to carry on a kind of predatory war, similar to that already described in Virginia. In the course of these hostilities, the town of Falmouth, in Massachusetts-Bay, having given some offence relative to the loading of a masted ship, was condemned to the flames. The officer, (a captain Mowatt) employed on this occasion, is said to have produced orders for burning all the towns on the coast between Boston and Halifax. However, he gave the people two hours to remove their families from the danger, which, under pretence of a negotiation for delivering up their arms, was lengthened till next morning; during which time they had removed the greatest part of their effects. About nine in the morning, on their refusal to deliver up their arms, a violent discharge of cannon and mortars took place. Above three thousand shot, besides bombs and carcasses, were thrown into the town, by which the principal part of it, lying next the water,

Oct. 18.

and consisting of one hundred and thirty dwelling-houses, and two hundred and seventy-eight warehouses, together with the church, a new handsome court-house, the old town-house, and public library, were reduced to ashes. About one hundred of the worst houses, favoured by their situation and distance, escaped without damage. In return for this injury, the assembly of Massachusetts-Bay passed an act, of date November 13th, 1775, granting letters of marque and reprisal, and establishing courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of British ships. At this time, however, they declared their intention to be only to defend the coasts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture no farther than to such vessels as brought supplies to the royal army.

1775.

Nov. 13.

Notwithstanding all this determined shew of resistance, the Americans were at present exceedingly embarrassed. The limited time, during which the soldiers in the army before Boston had engaged themselves, was nearly expired. It was necessary, therefore, that proper measures should be taken, to prevent them from disbanding themselves; and a committee of congress, consisting of its most respectable members, was sent to the camp before Boston, in order to consult with general Washington on the subject. Little difficulty, however, occurred at present. The general military rage produced a new enlistment of the whole army for another year. The greatest difficulty was, how to procure a sufficient supply of gun-powder; for, though the utmost diligence was used to procure saltpetre, and manufacture it into gun-powder in different parts of the colonies themselves, the process was necessarily slow and tedious, and the prospect of assistance from that quarter too distant to afford relief in the present emergency. As to the procuring this necessary material from foreign states, they had not yet opened a commerce with them, nor taken the measures which afterwards afforded them such a plentiful supply. The scarcity of powder on the part of the provincials, indeed, is said to have been so great, that, at the battle of Bunker's Hill, the troops had not a single shot left; and, at another time, before Boston, so totally were they destitute of this indispensable requisite, that, had they been attacked by any force whatever, they must have been put to flight from mere inability to return the fire of the enemy. Nothing, however, was left undone to supply this ruinous defect. Among other temporary expedients, they had contrived to purchase, without notice or suspicion, all the powder on the coast of Africa, and plundered the magazine of

CHAP.
XII.

CHAP. Bermuda of upwards of one hundred barrels, carried off,
XII. as was pretended, without the knowledge of the inhabitants.

1775.
 Vast supplies destined for Boston almost entirely destroyed.

In the mean time, the British ministry, apprehensive of the consequences of those distresses to which the troops at Boston were reduced, spared neither cost nor pains to relieve them. As the want of fresh provisions was one of their principal grievances, and had caused much sickness amongst them, it was one of the main objects of government to remedy that evil. For this purpose, vast numbers of cattle of all kinds were shipped for Boston. It is said, that no fewer than five thousand oxen, fourteen thousand of the largest and fattest sheep, with a vast number of hogs, were purchased and sent out alive. Incredible quantities of vegetables were also bought up, and cured by new methods. Ten thousand butts of strong beer were supplied by two brewers. Five thousand chaldrons of coals were purchased in the river, and shipped off for Boston; and even the article of faggots was sent from London. The immense expense of maintaining armies at such a distance from home, was now, for the first time, experimentally felt. Some estimate of the whole may be formed from that of the trifling articles of vegetables, casks, and vinegar, which amounted to little less than 22,000*l.* and the articles of hay, oats, and beans, for a single regiment of light cavalry, to nearly as much more. Besides all this enormous expense, and the charge of flour, corn, and salted provisions, near half a million of money was expended in the purchase of Spanish and Portugal coin for the extraordinary and contingent articles in various branches of the military operations. The expense in every article was swelled to the utmost. Even the article of tonnage, from the multitude of transports used, was augmented to one-fourth above its usual rate.

It was not without reason supposed, that by such unbounded supplies, the troops would be restored to health and spirits, and the general complaint silenced, that had for some time prevailed, concerning the bad and unwholesome quality of the provisions with which they had been supplied. Things turned out, however, in a manner directly opposite to every expectation of this kind.—The transports were not in readiness to sail before the arrival of that season of the year which rendered their voyage almost impracticable. At last, after every cause of delay in fitting out had been surmounted, the vessels were detained for a long time on the coasts of Britain, or to-

fed about by contrary winds in the channel, until the greater part of their live flock, particularly the sheep, perished; so that the sea was every where strewed with their floating carcases. Nor was the condition of the transports much mended when they got clear of the coasts of Britain. They were peculiarly unfortunate as to winds and weather in the mid-seas; and as they approached the place of their destination, the American periodical winds blew full in their teeth, and drove them off the coasts. Several of them were blown to the West-India islands, where they arrived in great distress; others were entangled with the American coasts, where they were either taken at sea, or in the harbours and creeks where they put in for shelter. A few arrived at Boston, after having been beat about in stormy seas for three or four months, with their cargoes almost entirely spoiled, the vegetables over-fermented and perished, and only a very inconsiderable portion of the refreshments, purchased at so vast an expense, were of any service to the troops.

CHAP.
XII.

1775.

The disasters that attended the Boston transports, seemed also to have waited on the Newfoundland fishery for the year 1775. It had not, indeed, promised, in any degree, to answer the sanguine expectations of ministry, with respect to its easy translation from America to Britain. For, though there was probably some small increase in the number of ships both from England and Ireland, they were by no means able to supply the deficiency occasioned by the late law, even supposing that no new obstacles had occurred. But the American retaliation, by cutting off all supplies of provisions from the ships employed in the fishery, threw every thing into disorder, as we have already mentioned; so that by sending off a number of ships to Ireland for provisions, such a neglect was necessarily occasioned in the fishery, that the value of more than half a million sterling of the usual produce was left in the bowels of the deep. A dreadful tempest, which discharged itself chiefly on the shores of Newfoundland, contributed to render abortive the success of those who remained. The sea is said to have risen, almost instantaneously, thirty feet above its level. Upwards of seven hundred boats, with a number of ships, with all on board, perished in the ocean, while the waves surpassing their usual bounds so far, overwhelmed every thing with a rapid and unavoidable destruction. The shores presented a shocking spectacle for some time after, and the fishing nets were hauled up loaded with dead bodies. These disasters were, by some of the partizans of the American

Misfortunes of
the New-
foundland
fishery.

CHAP. cause, ascribed to the immediate vengeance of the Deity
 XII. on the opposite party.

1775. The accumulated misfortunes of the British, as they gave new life and spirits to the colonists, could not but add greatly to the distresses of the troops at Boston. They had the mortification to see a number of the transports, loaded with those necessaries of which they were so much in want, taken in the very entrance of the harbour, whilst, from various circumstances, the ships of war were prevented from affording them any relief. The loss of most of the coal-ships, which either perished in the ocean, or were taken, affected them most severely, as fuel could not be procured, though the climate rendered it altogether indispensable; however, this was in some measure remedied by the destruction of houses.

With regard to provisions, matters were not in a much better situation. Even salt provisions at last grew scarce, and it was feared the military stores would fail. The attempts to procure them had not been attended with any success. Some vessels sent to Barbadoes had, indeed, obtained, through the interest of the governor, before the matter was fully known, a quantity so moderate that it would not at other times have been taken notice of more than any common occurrence in trade; but being now cut off from their usual resources, and having, as they said, a famine staring them in the face, with eighty thousand blacks, and twenty thousand whites to feed, the measure of parting with any provisions was deemed so dangerous, that it occasioned a direct address from the assembly to the king, including, along with the detail of their own melancholy situation, great complaints of the conduct of their governor. A detachment of marines, in an armed ship, with some transports, were sent to Savannah in Georgia, with a view of obtaining rice and other provisions. They were opposed, however, and their landing prevented by the militia of the province. The dispute terminated in an engagement, in which several were killed on both sides; and seven loaded vessels, whose cargoes would have been highly useful at Boston, were designedly burnt by the provincials during the conflict.

Such was the calamitous state of the troops confined in the town of Boston. Those at Bunker's Hill were still worse, being obliged to lie in tents during the whole winter, exposed to the almost intolerably piercing snows and winds of the country, which, with the strict duty required, on account of the neighbourhood and strength of the enemy, rendered, that service exceedingly severe both to

officers and foldiers. On the other hand, the provincial army was well covered, and fupplied with every neceffary in their lines. It was projected by their leaders, not only to recover the town, but to deftroy the whole Britifh fleet in the harbour, as foon as the frofts, which ufually fet in about Chriftnas, fhould render the intervening creeks paffable. In this, however, they were difappointed; for the weather, though abundantly fevere to fuch as were expofed to its fury, proved yet infufficient to freeze the creeks as ufual; though it is probable, that the expectation of this event kept the provincials more quiet than they otherwife would have been. Their privateers were nevertheless at this time extremely active and fucceffful. Though as yet extremely poor and contemptible, being in general little better than whale boats, they were become very numerous, and made a multitude of prizes. Among thefe was an ordnance fhip from Woolwich, which being feparated from her convoy, and of no force herfelf, was taken by a fmall privateer. This was an acquifition of the utmoft importance to the American army, as the veffel contained a large quantity of fmall arms and ammunition, with abundance of all forts of tools, &c. neceffary for camps and artillery, befides feveral fine pieces of brafs cannon, and a mortar on a new conftruction. The whole value of the veffel was computed at 50,000*l.* and its lofs occafioned confiderable difcontent in England.

The news of the king's fpeech, at the opening of the parliament in November, 1775, with the entire rejection of another petition of congress, inflamed the provincial army at Boston with the utmoft rage. The fpeech was publicly burnt; and, on this occafion, they are faid to have changed the ground of their colours, from a plain red, to a flag with thirteen ftripes, ufed as an emblem of the union of the colonies. The news of fome further coercive acts of parliament determined congress to act with more vigour than formerly; and directions were fent to general Washington, to bring matters at Bolton to as fpeedy a decifion as poffible. The tranquillity which had reigned for fome time, was therefore fuddenly difturbed by the opening of a battery near the water-fide, at a place called *Phipps's Farm* on the 2d of March, 1776. A fevere cannonade and bombardment from this battery, did confiderable mifchief for this and two or three fucceeding days. But, while the attention of the army was drawn to this, they fuddenly beheld a new battery make its appearance on the morning of the 5th, of which there had not been the leaft veltige the preceding evening. This

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Boston evacuated by the king's troops.

March 2,
1776.

CHAP. was situated on the heights of Dorchester-Point, and consisted of mortars and twenty-four pound cannon; by which the situation of the troops was now rendered very critical; and, as it was evident that new works would speedily be constructed on some of the neighbouring heights, there appeared to be no small danger of having even their retreat cut off, should such a measure be found necessary.

1776.

The British general, perceiving the danger he was in; ordered five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, to be ready for embarkation, with a view to storm the new works; but his design was frustrated, by a violent storm which came on that evening; and, next day, the attempt was judged to be desperate, by reason of a new work, much stronger than any of the former, which had been thrown up during the interval. There was now no other measure practicable than that of abandoning the town, and even this could not be done without great difficulty and danger. The provincials, however; did not, during ten days, which were occupied in the embarkation, offer to give the least molestation, nor even to harass the rear of the royal troops. It was generally believed, that some kind of agreement had been entered into betwixt the American and British generals, by which the latter consented to spare the town, on condition that the troops were suffered, to pass out of it without molestation. This, indeed was positively denied by the ministry; but, in proof of it, combustibles were said to have been laid in readiness for firing the town, and the select men were permitted to go out and hold a conference with general Washington on the subject.

On this occasion, fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the British cause rendered it dangerous for them to stay, were taken on board the ships, with their families and effects. The officers had also purchased furniture which they could not leave behind; and the sick and wounded, with the women and children, who naturally required more care than the others, added to the general embarrassment; so that though one hundred and fifty vessels were employed, and ten days, as we have seen, allowed for the embarkation, many things were necessarily left behind. Among these were the cannon at Bunker's Hill and Boston Neck, with a considerable quantity of other artillery and military stores. Some mortars and pieces of cannon were thrown into the water, but afterwards weighed up by the town's people. The fleet proceeded to Halifax in Nova Scotia, to which the

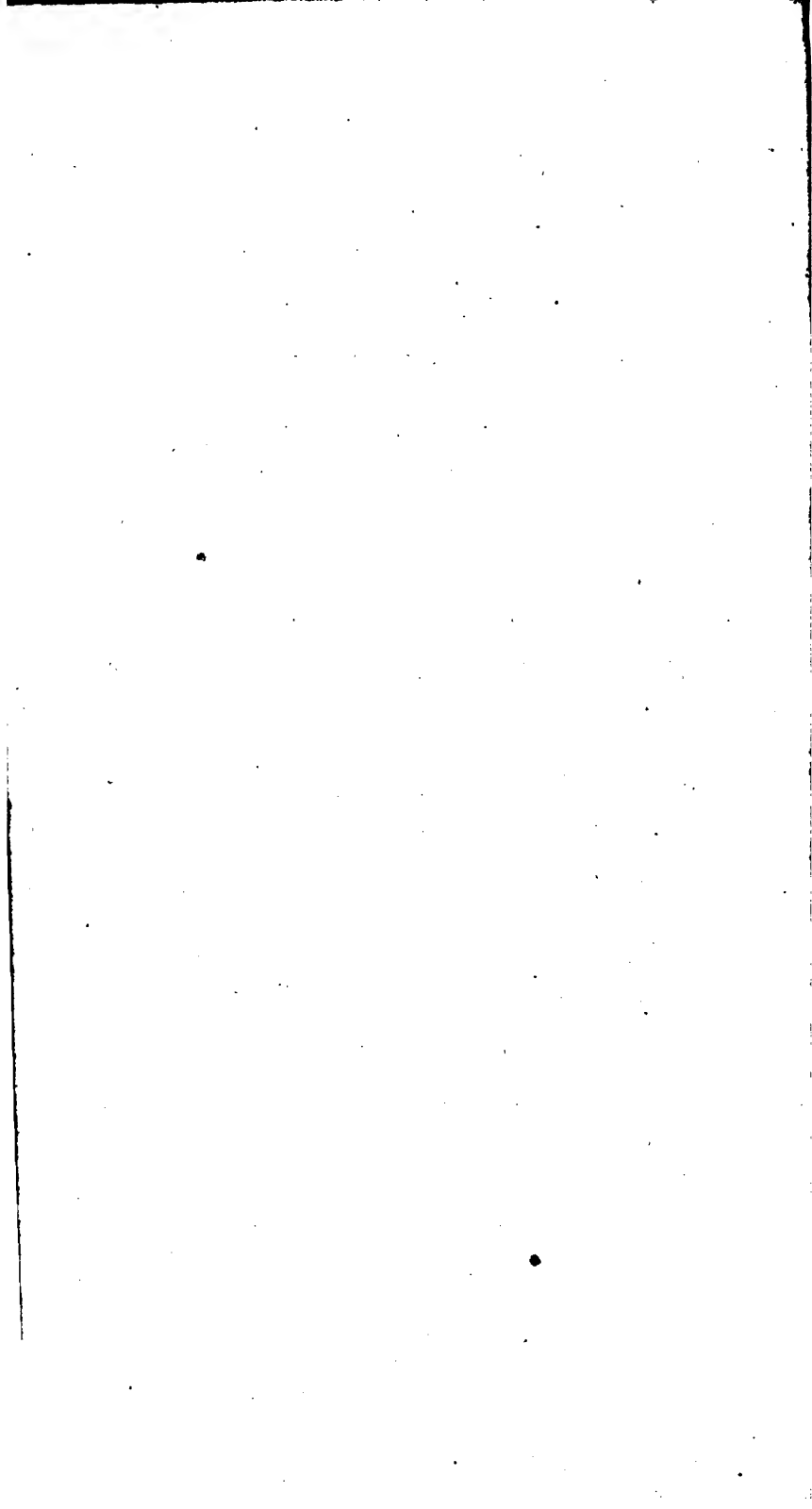
voyage was more favourable than could have been expected at that time of the year. Several ships of war were left behind in order to protect the ships which should arrive from England; and the fortifications of Castle William were blown up, lest the Americans should, by their means, lock up the men of war in the harbour, and render any future attempt on the town, by sea, totally impracticable.

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1776.

On the 17th of March, while the rear of the royal army was embarking, general Washington marched into the town of Boston with all the parade of victory. Being apprehensive, however, that general Howe might make some attempt on New-York, he that very day sent off some regiments for the defence of the place. The estates and effects of those who had emigrated along with the British general were confiscated, and the same punishment was inflicted on some loyalists who had staid behind, and were brought to a trial as enemies to their country. By the remaining inhabitants, who now recovered their former estates, general Washington was received with every possible mark of gratitude and respect as their deliverer; and he received the public thanks of the assembly of the province. The greatest diligence was used in repairing and fortifying the town and harbour, in order to render it secure against any future attempts; and such was the general attachment to this service, that the inhabitants, without exception, dedicated two days in the week to it.

March 17.



CHAPTER XIII.

Affairs in Britain—Riot at Liverpool—Another petition of Congress rejected—Negociations for engaging foreign troops—Mr. Sayer's trial—Parliament—Change of ministry—Mr. Penn's examination—Land-tax raised—Mr. Burke's conciliatory plan—Prohibitory bill passed—Lord Mansfield's speech—Militia and indemnity bills—Nova Scotia petition—Supply—Duke of Grafton's conciliatory motion—Scotch militia bill—Lord Mayor's Motion—A million granted.

THE ill success which had attended the British af- CHAP. XIII.
 fairs, during the whole of the year 1775, had by no means tended to compose the animosities generally prevailing on account of the American war. Even the ministry themselves dreaded the clamours of opposition during the ensuing session. The charges of misinformation, ignorance, and incapacity, they were sure would not be sparingly applied. The questions concerning the war must be particularly embarrassing, particularly with regard to the delay of sending a sufficient number of troops to quash the rebellion at once. Ten thousand men, it had been asserted with the utmost confidence, were abundantly sufficient to reduce the whole continent; yet the event had shewn, that 10,000 of the best troops Britain could afford, were not only utterly insufficient to subdue a single province, but could not keep their ground in it. By what means, therefore, were the rest to be subdued? or, to what purpose had a continued course of threats and provoking measures been used with the colonists at the

1776.
 State of af-
 fairs in Bri-
 tain.

CH A P. time that Britain could scarce produce a force equal to the
 XIII. task of subduing them, and while even the sending of this
 1776. force was delayed in a most unreasonable manner? The
 only method of answering these and other similar questions, in a satisfactory manner, was, to carry on the war with such vigour as should utterly overwhelm the rebellious Americans; and, by the brilliancy of its success, impose silence on all the opposers of administration. When once the people were heartily engaged in a war, it was supposed, they would never wait to animadvert on the justice of the cause in which they were engaged, or even to think at all on the subject; nor would any care be taken about future burthens or consequences of any kind, provided they were now and then gratified with accounts of glorious victories gained by the king's forces.

Besides the decided victories which administration had gained over their opponents in the course of last session of parliament, they had also the satisfaction to see the predictions of the minority, concerning the dreadful effects of the loss of American commerce, come to nothing. Many causes had hitherto concurred to prevent this from being very sensibly felt. The vast remittances in corn which had been made by the Americans, during the times of scarcity in Britain, in discharge of the debts they owed to people of this country, with the much larger sums than usual they were enabled to pay from the advanced prices of oil, tobacco, &c. all together occasioned a prodigious influx of money. The sailing of the flota from Spain, preparations made by that nation against Algiers, and the peace concluded between the Russians and Turks, occasioned an unusual demand for goods and manufactures of various sorts from all these different nations, and inspired the people with a vain notion, that inexhaustible sources of commerce were now discovered, capable of finally over-balancing the loss of the American traffic. Even the very war itself, and the supplying the army with necessaries at such a distance, produced such a bustle and circulation of cash, as, for the time, had the appearance of an advantageous commerce; and the contractors had already enjoyed such a share of the profits as was sufficient to excite their well-known avidity, and to exert their utmost endeavours for the continuance of the war. On the other hand, the great bodies of the American, African, and West-India merchants and planters, had already too deeply experienced the fatal effects of the contest, and with a majority of the great trading cities of the kingdom, struggled hard to have matters restored to their for-

mer state ; but as no other method of redress was open CHAP. XIII. 1776. except the thread-bare one of presenting petitions, it is not to be supposed they could now prevail in the smallest degree. With respect to the great body of the people, it is probable they looked on with a calm indifference, in expectation that every thing must yield to the irresistible power of their country ; though in justice it must be owned, that some few were from the beginning convinced that the conquest of America was utterly impracticable, both on account of the number of the enemy, and the multitude of obstacles which arose from the nature of the country itself.

In some places, however, the consequences of the American contest produced violent disorders. The inability of purchasing and providing for negroes in the West-India islands, which the present disputes had occasioned, together with the loss of the American market for slaves, and the prohibition of exporting arms and ammunition, had almost entirely destroyed the African trade. This loss was particularly felt in the town of Liverpool, which had possessed a much greater share of that commerce than any other in the kingdom. The Guinea ships were therefore laid up, and their crews thrown destitute. The number of seamen thus out of employment, from these and other causes, were computed at no less than 3000. In this situation they complained that the merchants had made an attempt to diminish their wages ; a violent commotion ensued ; the rigging of some ships was cut to pieces ; some houses assaulted, and other violences committed. After this they dispersed ; but some of them being afterwards apprehended and sent to prison, the disturbances revived to such a degree, as threatened the total destruction of the town, had not its safety been purchased by the liberty of those who were imprisoned. The malcontents were now, however, so much enraged and intoxicated with liquor, that no reasonable concessions would be accepted. They not only proceeded to destroy the houses of obnoxious persons, but made several attempts to demolish the Exchange. But, as this scheme had been foreseen, or perhaps intimated by themselves in their drunkenness, it was now barricaded in such a manner as to be impregnable to their attacks. Some of the assailants were killed or wounded by the fire of the merchants and town's people who defended it : the insurrection, however, was finally quelled by the arrival of a detachment of light-horse, and the cause of it removed by the employment of the sailors on board the king's ships.

Disturbance at Liverpool.

Aug. 29.

CHAP. Towards the end of the recess of parliament, another

XIII. petition from Congress arrived from Pennsylvania with

Mr. Penn the late governor, and one of the principal proprietors of that province, which he delivered to lord Dartmouth, in order to be presented to the king. As it was known still to contain the strongest expressions of loyalty, and to express the most ardent wishes for a réconciliation, great hopes were entertained, not only by the avowed partisans of America, but also by the moderate in the cause of administration, that it would be listened to with particular attention. However, they were soon undeceived, as Mr. Penn was told three days after delivering it, that no answer would be returned. This short method of proceeding tended greatly to revive the disputes concerning the justice of the war, which the hostile behaviour of the Americans had in a great measure laid asleep. The ill blood betwixt the two parties was moreover increased by the multitude of addresses poured in from all quarters, as the time of the sitting down of parliament approached. On this occasion, the Scotch particularly distinguished themselves; and, as their resentment, on account of the aspersions thrown upon them by Mr. Wilkes, appear not to have been thoroughly eradicated, they treated the leaders of the present opposition in such a manner as greatly irritated the whole body against those who procured the addresses, and thus weakened the cause which they intended to support. In opposition to these addresses, petitions in no small number likewise made their appearance; so that it was for some time doubtful to which side the balance would incline; though at the meeting of parliament, October, 26th 1775, all doubts were soon cleared, and it became manifest that the ministry had abated nothing of their former ardour for violent measures.

1775.
Another
petition of
congress.

Oct. 26.

Negociations for
engaging
foreign
troops.

The untoward accidents of the last campaign, the misfortunes at Newfoundland, and a strange unwillingness in all ranks of men to engage in the military service, had indeed cast some damp on that spirit for carrying on the war which for some time had appeared so ardent; but the court had resolutely kept their main object in view, in spite of every obstacle. Several negotiations for a supply of forces had been opened in different parts of the continent; though more than usual difficulties were now found in obtaining such an aid. The greatness of the distance, as well as the doubtful prospect of return, was very terrifying. The only country in Europe open to this traffic was Germany; and even here, the sending of the people to such an immense distance might be supposed contrary

to the constitutions of the empire, and perhaps resented either by the Emperor himself or some of the Germanic body; besides that, the voyage itself must appear terrible to the people who were to undertake it, who lived in an inland country, and scarcely knew the sea even by report. These difficulties occasioned a negociation with the court of Petersburg for 20,000 Russians, which was once said to have been in considerable forwardness; but the extreme distance of the service, the difficulty of recal, with the little probability that many of them would ever return, at last put an end to all hopes from that quarter.

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XIII.
1775.

Rejected
by Russia.

A long negociation was then carried on with Holland for the Scots brigade in their service, and, for some time, no doubt was entertained of its success. Great debates, on this occasion, took place in the assembly of the states-general, where the similarity between the present struggles of the Americans, and their own original efforts against oppression, was strongly represented; and the impropriety of a republic, which had herself purchased freedom at such a dear price, and by so long and arduous a struggle, interfering in any manner in depriving others of their liberties, was placed in the strongest point of view; so that at last the proposal was totally rejected. Even that party which was most attached to the interest of Britain, and which in Holland is generally most prevalent, now declared against the sending of troops to America. They exclaimed against a war which tended to drive the British colonies into the protection of France, as ruinous to the interests both of Holland and England; and esteemed it more eligible, by withholding the means of it, to compel the British ministry to pursue pacific measures. The city of Rotterdam, however, with some other towns, were an exception to this general sentiment. In the former, the merchants of Scotland have long been established, and had a great influence; and as the Scots were generally on the ministerial side in the present contest, they were thought to have communicated their opinions to the rulers of that city.*

Thus disappointed in Russia and Holland, the ministry were obliged to have recourse to Germany. A negociation was accordingly opened with the princes of Hesse and Brunswick, and some other states, by which a consi-

Entered
into with
Hesse and
Brunswick.

* It was remarkable, that in all the countries of Europe, in which public affairs were the subject either of writing or conversation, the general voice was in favour of the Americans. Even Voltaire and Rousseau agreed in this, though scarce ever in any thing else.

CHAP. derable number of troops were obtained, as we shall see
 XIII. afterwards; and, in the mean time, the king thought
 proper to send five battalions of his electoral troops to re-
 place the like number of English in the garrisons of Gib-
 raltar and Minorca, in order to augment the force in
 America.

1775.

Mr. Saye's
 trial for
 high
 treason.

At the opening of the session, it was announced in the gazette, that a Mr. Saye, an American by birth, and at that time a banker in London, had been committed to the tower by the secretary of state, on a charge of high treason. The crime of which he was accused was no less than a design of seizing his majesty's person, at noon day, in his passage to the house of peers, conveying him a prisoner to the tower, afterwards out of the kingdom; and then overturning the whole system of government! The only means by which it was pretended that he could accomplish this great purpose, was by an inconsiderable sum of money disposed in bribing a few of the sergeants of the guard; who were also to dispose of part of it in bribing some of their men; and this handful, in the face of a great majority of their fellows who were not bribed, were to execute their arduous task of seizing the sovereign and the tower of London at the same time! On such an improbable and even ridiculous charge was this gentleman committed close prisoner to the tower, on the 23d of October, 1775; after which, by virtue of the *Habeas Corpus* act, he was brought before the lord chief justice of the king's bench, to whom the matter appeared in such a light, that he not only admitted him to bail, but accepted his own security in 500l. and that of two sureties in as much, for his appearance in answer to the charge. No prosecution, however, was attempted; and, the bail being discharged, he sued lord Rochford, the secretary for illegal imprisonment. The jury granted him 1000l. damages, though liable to the future determination of a question of law.

Unjust
 charges
 against the
 members
 of opposi-
 tion.

But though this plot turned out in the ridiculous manner just mentioned, it was still thought necessary to fill the minds of the people with suspicions of conspiracies and treasonable correspondences with America. The most distinguished leaders of opposition, both among the lords and commons, were directly pointed at. They were charged with having been the incendiaries, who, by their dark and wicked practices, had kindled up the war. It was confidently asserted in the newspapers, that a very great number of letters from the most considerable peers and members of parliament had been intercepted, and

were actually in the hands of government; that they were to be produced at the time of the parliament's sitting down; and it was even said that a number of the members of both houses, who were described and understood, would not venture to abide the consequence of attending their duty in parliament.

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1775.

The discoveries of treason, however, after the meeting of parliament, were by no means adequate to the expectations that had been raised. The members in opposition continued to attend as usual, and to oppose the measures of the minister, who, on his part, heard them with his usual indifference. In the speech from the throne, his majesty complained of misrepresentations by the leaders of sedition in America, who, having first infused into the people's minds a system of opinions contrary to their true constitutional subordination, had at length commenced hostilities, and usurped the whole powers of government. His majesty then entered into the difference between the views of those leaders and those of the crown and parliament; from whence the former derived their present advantages. The latter meant rather to undeceive than to punish; for which reason, only few forces had been sent over, and along with them measures of a conciliatory nature. The American leaders, on the other hand, had no other view than the establishment of an independent empire. The spirit of the British nation however was too high, and its resources too numerous, tamely to lose what had been acquired with so much toil, nursed with great tenderness, and protected at the expense of much blood and treasure. A full exertion of these resources was required; for which reason the navy had been increased, and the land forces greatly augmented. Foreign succours were mentioned, though no treaty as yet had been concluded. The disposition of the Hanoverian troops at Gibraltar and Minorca was specified. At last, assurances of pardon were given as soon as the deluded multitude should return to their duty; and, to prevent any inconveniencies which might arise from the distance betwixt the two countries, authority would be given to certain persons on the spot to grant indemnities in such manner as they thought proper, and to receive the submission of any colony or province that might be disposed to submit.

Parliamentary transactions.

In answer to this speech, an address was soon drawn up, which, as usual, adopted every measure proposed in it. Long and violent debates ensued, in which the ministry were attended with their usual success; and the ques-

CHAP. tion for the address was carried by 176 to 72. On this
XIII. occasion the minority insisted, that ministry had rushed
 into a destructive war, in spite of the clearest evidence,
 1775. repeatedly laid before them, and innumerable warnings
 which had been given by the gentlemen in opposition;
 whose predictions had been so exactly verified, that they
 looked rather like the effect of some extraordinary inspira-
 tion, than of ordinary reasoning from the observation
 of facts.

The introduction of the Hanoverian troops into Gib-
 raltar and Minorca was deemed a measure highly uncon-
 stitutional; and so violent was the opposition against this
 measure, that the minister found himself obliged to
 promise, that he would bring in a bill of indemnity for
 those who had proposed it. As soon as the address
 was carried, however, he seemed to forget his promise,
 till put in mind of it by opposition, and the country gen-
 tlemen who joined them on this occasion. Sir James
 Lowther, one of the supporters of administration, moved,
 "that the bringing in the Hanoverian troops to any part
 of the British dominions, without the previous consent
 of parliament, is contrary to law." This struck so directly
 against the minister, that he had his bill of indemnity
 instantly made ready, and brought into the house that
 very morning. — After much debate, in which every
 shift and evasion of ministry was exhausted, the previous
 question was lost by a majority of 203 to 81.

In the house of lords, the address was no less vehement-
 ly opposed, and the introduction of Hanoverian troops
 reprobated by the minority, though the ministerial party
 finally prevailed. The debates on this occasion, however,
 were remarkable for the defection of general Conway in
 the house of commons, and the duke of Grafton in the
 house of lords, from the side of administration, which they
 had hitherto uniformly supported. The general introduced
 his defection of the cause by reprobating the principle,
 that persons holding places under government must impli-
 citly support it in all cases whatever. He then expressed
 the utmost abhorrence of the American war, which he
 called "unjust, cruel, and unnecessary; a mere butchery
 of his fellow subjects, and to which he could not in con-
 science assent." He declared in the most unreserved terms
 against the right of taxation; and wished to see the de-
 claratory law repealed, (though it had been passed under
 his own auspices, and though on abstract legal principles
 he thought it right, as well as necessary at the time,) rather
 than it should be employed to colour designs the most

opposite to the publicly declared intentions of those who supported it in parliament, and particularly so to the fullest declaration of his own at the time of his moving it. The duke of Grafton, besides a decisive condemnation of all their acts for some time past with respect to America, as well as of the measures now held out by the speech, declared, that he had been deceived and misled upon the subject; that by the withholding of information, and the misrepresentation of facts, he had been induced to lend his countenance to measures which he never approved. Among those particularly, was that of reducing America by force of arms; an idea the most distant from his mind and opinion, but to which he was blindly led to give his support, from his total ignorance of the true state and disposition of the colonies, and the firm persuasion that matters would never come to an extremity of that nature; that an appearance of coercion was all that was requisite to establish a reconciliation; and that the stronger government appeared, and the better it was supported, the sooner all disputes would be amicably adjusted. He declared, that nothing less than a total repeal of all the American laws that had been passed since the year 1763, could now restore peace and happiness, or prevent the most destructive and fatal consequences: That nothing could have brought him out in his present ill state of health, but the fullest conviction that he was in the right; a knowledge of the critical situation of his country, and a sense of what he owed to his duty and conscience. He concluded by a declaration, that though his nearest relations, or dearest friends, were to be affected by this question; or the loss of fortune, or any other thing he most valued, was to be the consequence of his present conduct; yet the strong conviction and compulsion operating at once upon his mind and conscience, would not permit him to hesitate upon the part which he should take.

These defections were not less offensive than alarming to administration. However, they were not attended with any of those serious consequences which had been apprehended. The general infatuation concerning the inexhaustible strength and resources of Britain prevailed, and the coercive plan was executed with as great vigour as possible. The affair of the Hanoverian troops was no sooner discussed, than a new militia bill was brought in; and, after the usual opposition, carried by 259 to 50. The principal objection to this bill was, that it armed the crown with a prodigious additional power, as by it the king had a right to draw out the militia, whenever he

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CHAP. XIII. thought proper, in case of a rebellion in any part of the empire. The militia-bill was followed by debates on the estimates for the army and navy for the ensuing year. In these, the obstinacy of the minister, in refusing to lay before parliament any information whatever, in relation to American affairs, had again nearly involved him in a contest with his own party. However, by a proper appearance of humility and condescension, they were again called to their standard, and likewise to agree, in defiance of every argument to the contrary, that a force of twenty-five thousand men was fully adequate to the purposes of subjugating America.

1775.

Mr. Penn's
examination
before
the Lords,
Nov. 7.

On the 7th of November, a conversation took place on the second petition from congress, by the accidental circumstance of seeing Mr. Penn, who brought it, standing below the bar of the house. The affair ended in the examination of that gentleman; but, as his answers were universally unfavourable to the views of administration, it was thought necessary to reject the evidence altogether. His examination, indeed, had by no means been a agreeable to those in office, though they had at last reluctantly agreed to it. Now, however, finding it impossible to reconcile their own schemes with the facts set forth by Mr. Penn, they charged him with partiality and prejudice. As to the petition itself, it was utterly rejected by a majority of 86 to 33.

Land-tax
raised.

These debates were followed by the augmentation of the land-tax to four shillings in the pound. This passed with little opposition, excepting some complaints about the want of information. However, so many of the country gentlemen at last began to demand the indemnity bill, formerly mentioned, with such vehemence, that the minister was again obliged to promise, that it should be speedily brought forward; in consequence of which, the augmentation of the land-tax was soon agreed to.

Militia bill. An attempt was now made to get the militia-bill re-strained in its duration to the time of the present contest; but this having proved abortive, another motion was made, that "the militia should not be called out of their respective counties, unless in case of actual invasion." This being also rejected, another was made, for empowering the king to assemble the parliament in fourteen days, whenever the present act, in the event of a war or rebellion in any part of the British dominions, should begin to operate; which was agreed to without a division. At the same time, five motions were made in the house of lords, respecting the laying before the house an account of the

number of forces in America; the plans for providing for them; the number of forces in Great-Britain and Ireland; and likewise the force necessary to be sent to America, &c. all of which were rejected, excepting that which regarded Britain and Ireland. The many defeats which opposition had hitherto received, did not, however, prevent Mr. Burke from attempting another plan of reconciliation, which though it failed of success, yet shewed a considerable increase of the minority; the numbers being now 210 to 105.

CHAP.
XIII.

1775.

Mr.
Burke's
concilia-
tory plan.

In the mean time, several changes took place in the ministerial departments. The declaration of the duke of Grafton's new sentiments was very soon followed by his resignation of the privy seal. He was succeeded in his office by lord Dartmouth, and he by lord George Germaine. The earl of Rochford was succeeded by lord Weymouth; and lord Lyttleton was called to the privy council, and promoted to be chief-justice in Eyre beyond the Trent; lord Pelham to the great wardrobe, and lord Ashburnham to the keeper of the stole.

Nov. 10.
Changes in
ministry.

Soon after the rejection of Mr. Burke's conciliatory plan, Lord North brought in the famous prohibitory bill. By this, all trade and intercourse whatever with the American colonies was prohibited; all property of the Americans, whether of ships or goods on the high seas, or in harbour, were declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war. Several clauses were inserted to lessen the expense of condemning prizes and recovering prize-money. By this bill also, the Boston-port act was repealed, together with the fishery and restraining acts; their provisions, in some instances, being deemed insufficient in the present state of warfare, and their operation in others being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It also enabled the crown to appoint commissioners; who, besides the power of simply granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to inquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine whether any part, or the whole of a colony were returned to that state of obedience which might entitle them to be received within the king's protection; in which case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, the restrictions of the present bill were to cease in their favour.

Prohibi-
tory bill
passed,
Nov. 20.

In the course of the debates on this bill, a very extraordinary amendment was proposed by Mr. Fox; namely, to leave out the *whole* of the title and contents, except what related to the repeal of the Boston-port and other

CHAP. obnoxious acts. This, however, was rejected by 192 to 64;

XIII. soon after which, the bill itself was carried by the usual majority. Many and violent debates ensued on the second and third reading, and several amendments were proposed; but these being uniformly lost by vast majorities, the minority at last grew weary of attending, and the house became so thin, that a motion to postpone the last reading of the bill till after the holidays, was lost by one hundred and twelve to sixteen only.

1775.

House of
Lords.

In the house of lords, the prohibitory bill was not less warmly opposed than it had been in the house of commons. It was particularly remarked, that by the promiscuous and indiscriminate rapine of the property of friends and foes, authorised by it, the union of North-America against the authority of parliament must be thoroughly completed; and that the friends of government in that country, whose numbers had been so much boasted of by administration, would now plainly see, that parliament was much more inclined to distress than relieve them. Its impolicy and injustice with regard to the West-India Islands was still more glaring; as it there inflicted a punishment much more severe than what could, by its means, reach the most refractory Americans. But of all the clauses contained in this bill, that which underwent the severest censure was one by which all those who were taken on board the American vessels were indiscriminately compelled, without distinction of persons, to serve as common sailors on board our ships of war. This, in a protest taken on the occasion, was stiled "a refinement in tyranny, which, in a sentence worse than death, obliges the unhappy men who shall be made captives in this predatory war, to bear arms against their families, kindred, friends, and country; and, after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren." The injustice and cruelty of this clause, they said, was still heightened, by rendering the unhappy persons who were thus compelled, subject to the articles of war, and liable to be shot for desertion. They pathetically represented the miseries to which persons in this melancholy situation, particularly those of the better sort, would be subject, from the insolence and outrage of those whom they were obliged to serve; who being themselves destitute of liberal principles and education, would still continue to treat them as rebels; nor did they consider it as the smallest part of their calamity, that they would be frequently obliged to be lookers on, when the spoils of their honest industry, and the natural support of their

sober families, was squandered in riot and debauchery, by those profligate comrades, with whom they were, at the same time, obliged to live and serve. Upon the whole, this situation was said to be the last degree of wretchedness and indignity to which human nature could be subjected; and a cruelty, unknown to the most savage nations, was thus to be practised by Englishmen on Englishmen. They insisted, that no man could be despoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the same time obliged to serve the state as a citizen, upon any principle of law or right known among civilized nations: That such a compulsion upon prisoners as the present is unknown in any case of war or rebellion; and the only examples of the sort that can be produced must be among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human society.

To these, and many other charges of injustice and cruelty, the intolerable insolence of the Americans was opposed. With regard, however, to the particular clause so much complained of, it was said to be an act of grace and favour to the Americans; as, instead of confining them in close prisons, during the continuance of the war, which must be the case if they were considered as alien enemies; or punishing them as traitors, if they were considered as rebels; they were now to be rated on the king's books, and put on the same footing with a great part of his majesty's most useful and faithful subjects, suffering no inconvenience but that which they were always liable to, of being pressed into his majesty's service; and, as to the supposed violation of their principles, which was so much lamented, their pay and other emoluments were said to be a full compensation for any scruples or delicacies of that nature. The supposed ill consequence to the West-India islands were said to be exaggerations; but, at any rate, these as well as the losses which the well-disposed in North-America might sustain, must be considered as a part of those unavoidable evils which are incident to war. In the course of these debates, lord Mansfield urged the necessity of the American war, upon the mere principle of self-preservation and defence. His speech was, as usual, animated and elegant, and made a great impression on the house; though his arguments have been considered by many as rather specious than convincing*.

* "Though I was ever of opinion," says he, "from the commencement of this unhappy dispute, that every individual of the colonies was as much bound in obedience to the king and to the parliament of Great Britain, as any subject of England in London or Middlesex; though I am persuaded that the colonies of North-America, ever since the

CHAP. The prohibitory bill having passed a third time, a mo-
 XIII. tion was made by the duke of Manchester, for delaying
 1775. the commitment till after the holidays; but this passed in
 the negative without a division. He next offered to pre-
 sent a petition from the merchants of Bristol, setting forth
 the ruinous consequences of it to themselves in particular,
 and to the mercantile interest in general; but, as the
 order of the day had been already moved for, it was said
 that the petition could not be admitted. An amendment
 was then proposed in the bill itself, by which its opera-
 tion was to be delayed from the 1st of January to the 1st
 of March 1776; thereby to preserve from confiscation
 the property of those merchants who, under the faith of
 parliament in the two restrictive laws, had loaded vessels

" peace of Paris, had concerted, or at least their rulers there, and their
 " adherents, a scheme of independence, and that I think it appears even
 " on the evidence of Montcalm's letters, which, on an enquiry since
 " I first mentioned them, I believe to be authentic; though I am of
 " opinion, that the declaratory act, if it was proper to have made that
 " act at all, clearly asserts the supreme legislative authority of this
 " country over America; and though I approve the measures since ta-
 " ken to oblige them to submit to the authority of the mother-country;
 " yet, my lords, I am willing to reverse all this for a moment, and to sup-
 " pose that no such plan of independency had been concerted; that this
 " country had no such authority over her colonies; that the declaratory
 " act amounted to no more than the king's title to the crown of
 " France; that all the measures pursued to bring them to obedience
 " were oppressive; and what is worse, that the ministers were the
 " worst set of men that ever existed: in short, admitting every thing
 " that has been urged by the friends of the Americans, and every thing
 " that has been said against the conduct of government at home, prior
 " to this time; where are we now, my lords? and what are we to do?
 " We are engaged in a war which we must pursue, or run away from
 " it. We cannot do the latter; for if we do not get the better of Ame-
 " rica, America will get the better of us. They are not carrying on a
 " war merely defensive. They have invaded Canada; perhaps, (God
 " forbid!) conquered it. The Canadians were not their enemies;
 " they only desired to observe a neutrality. They threaten Halifax.
 " The people of Nova-Scotia has done them no harm; aye, but it is a
 " province belonging to the government of England, and therefore the
 " Americans will make war upon it. They seize the ships belonging
 " to Ireland, yet they stile the Irish their friends and fellow subjects.
 " Yes; but it is necessary to wound England through the sides of these
 " friends. They are preparing a naval force to carry on an offensive,
 " war against you. In this state of the case, for God's sake, my lords,
 " what is an honest man to do, who is a well-wisher to the honour and
 " interest of Great Britain? Are we to sit still with our hands before
 " us, because we are told this is an unjust war on our part, till they
 " have fitted out an expedition against this country; My lords, the
 " Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II. was cried out against as an
 " unjust ruinous war, till the Dutch came to Chatham and burnt your
 " ships; then every man in England was ready to turn out against the
 " Dutch. I care not, therefore, who began this dispute, or by whose
 " means it has been carried on hitherto, or by whose fault it was not en-
 " ded: I have nothing to do with any thing but the present situation of
 " things; and, in that point of view, I consider the bill we are about
 " to pass, not only as a just, but as a necessary bill.

with lumber in North-America or the West-India islands. CHAP. XIII.

This also passed in the negative, without a division.

The other bills carried through before the Christmas recess were those regarding the militia, and the indemnity bill. In consequence of a motion made by sir George Saville, the former was restricted in its operation to seven years. With the indemnity bill, however, the case was otherwise. During the course of business in this important session, the minister had frequently found it necessary to vary his ground. In the beginning, to prevent the defection of the country gentlemen, after the greatest shew of firmness, and even obstinacy, he suddenly seemed to conform to their ideas, in agreeing to bring in the indemnity bill. But, after gaining the great point of the address, he seemed totally to forget the matter, and did not wish to be reminded of it. Their importunity, however, at last becoming troublesome, and many important points still remaining undecided, he seemed to fall in with their opinions, and accordingly brought in the bill; though he took care to word it in such a manner that it should answer purposes extremely different from those which they intended. At the last reading, a very warm and animated debate took place, the subject of which was the leaving out of the preamble these words, "doubts having been entertained of the legality of the measure," and substituting in their stead, "that the measure of sending the Hanoverian troops to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca was not warranted by law; and was against the spirit of the constitution." It was contended, in support of this motion, That the bill, in its present state, carried an absurdity glaring on its very face; its body contained an indemnity for an offence, while the preamble declared that none had been committed: That it was an insult upon the house, to propose the remittal of a punishment, and, at the same time, to make it acknowledge, that no offence had been committed; the mockery, they said, was too gross to be endured: That, however dangerous the measure of introducing foreign troops without the sanction of parliament was, the precedent to be established by the bill was infinitely more so, as it was obtaining the assent of parliament to a downright violation of the laws, and dangerous infraction of the constitution. The minister now came before the house in a situation no other had ever ventured: He first violated the laws of his country; and then had the effrontery to come to parliament, not to claim its indulgence, but to make it testify, that what he had done was perfectly right and unexcept-

CHAP. tionable. The minister, however, was now perfectly
XIII. deaf to all such remonstrances. The great points he had
 wanted to carry were nearly gained; and most of the
 country gentlemen were absent. He, therefore, returned
 to his original doctrine, from which he would not recede
 in the smallest degree, and declared, that, as far as
 his vote went, he would not suffer the alteration of a title
 in the bill. He wanted no indemnity; and, let those
 who were in love with the measure take the bill in its
 present state, or not at all. Thus did the majority of
 parliament consent to an evident infraction of the laws
 of the kingdom, which, however trivial it might be in itself,
 or however innocent the motives which produced it, certainly
 afforded matter of uneasiness to the friends of government,
 and to those who were most remote from party and prejudice,
 who could not with unconcern see the court at this time so
 eager to establish a precedent for the introduction of foreign
 troops without the consent of parliament, and so anxious to
 prevent any thing like a censure which might in future be a
 clog to the measure.

Nova-Scotia
 petition.

A petition from the colony of Nova-Scotia was next
 laid before the house. As it had been promoted by the
 friends of administration, and expressly founded on lord
 North's conciliatory proposal, it was taken into consideration.
 It did not, however, escape the censure of opposition, who
 treated it as one of those mean contrivances, by which
 ministry, as they said, were continually in the practice
 of mocking the credulity and implicit confidence of
 parliament; and they predicted that it would come to the
 end which its futility and absurdity seemed to merit.

By this petition, the assembly proposed to grant a
 revenue to government, to be raised by the payment of so
 much *per cent.* on all foreign commodities imported, bay-
 salt only excepted; by which means the amount of the
 revenue would always be in proportion to the opulence
 and consumption of the province. The rate of this duty
 was at first to be settled by parliament, and afterwards to
 be perpetual and unchangeable, excepting only such regu-
 lations as were necessary to preserve the comparative
 value of money and goods in their original state.

Many causes, however, concurred to lessen the effect
 of this petition from Nova-Scotia. The province had
 cost government immense sums, without producing any
 equivalent. It was still unequal to the support of its own
 civil government, the expense of which was granted by
 parliament. The offer of a revenue, therefore, in such

circumstances, had a ludicrous appearance rather than CHAP. any other. As it was also under the influence of a mili- XIII. tary power, its acts could not be supposed to carry any great weight as an example with those colonies who abhorred such an appearance, and whose present troubles, according to their own account, arose from their defence of their civil immunities and constitution. 1775.

Even the little merit which could be claimed from the proposal of a revenue in the circumstances above mentioned, was considerably diminished by other parts of the petition. It contained a long list of grievances, for which redress was as earnestly solicited, tho' in a more humble strain, as by the other colonies; and this seemed to be in some measure necessary to preserve the obedience and affection of the people. The assembly also pressed most earnestly, that when at any time future exigencies should require further supplies, the requisition should be made in the manner formerly practised, whereby they might have an opportunity of shewing their duty and attachment; their sense of the cause for which it was made; and, by that means, and that only, of rendering the sovereign acquainted with the true sense of his people, in that distant part of his dominions. So that, upon the whole, excepting the profession of submission to the supreme legislature, this petition seemed little different from the applications of the other colonies.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, and the severe sarcasms of the minority, lord North proposed resolutions to the following purpose, which were passed in a committee as foundations of a bill, viz. That the proposal of a poundage duty *ad valorem*, upon all commodities imported, (bay-salt excepted) not being the produce of the British dominions in Europe or America, to be disposed of by parliament, should be accepted; and the duty fixed at 8 *per cent.* upon all such commodities: That as soon as the necessary acts for that purpose were passed by the assembly of Nova-Scotia, and had received the royal approbation, all other taxes and duties in that province should cease and be discontinued, and no others laid on while those acts continued in force, excepting only such duties as were found necessary for the regulation of commerce, the nett produce of which was to be carried to the account of the province. Parliament also agreed to admit an importation into that province of wine, oranges, lemons, currants, and raisins, directly from the place of their growth. These resolutions, however, were not productive of any consequence whatever. The minister, Nov. 23.

CHAP. notwithstanding all his parade about the bill he intended
XIII. to bring in, suffered the matter gradually to die away,
 and seemed about this time to give up every pacific idea,
 and to depend entirely on coercive measures for the re-
 duction of America.

1776.

Supply
 moved for,
 March
 1776.

The remaining part of the session, at least as much of it as was taken up in the discussion of American affairs, afforded only a succession of violent and fruitless debates. A conciliatory plan was again brought in by Mr. Hartley. Motions were made for enquiring into the cause of our ill success in America; for enquiring into the nature of the German treaties, &c. but in all these the minister carried his point by prodigious majorities. The most remarkable of these debates was occasioned by an intimation from the secretary at war, that he would move, at a short specified day, for a supply to the amount of 845,165*l.* towards defraying the extraordinary expense of the land forces, and other services incurred, between the 9th of March, 1775, and the 31st of January, 1776. Such an enormous demand called up all the fury of opposition. They examined the journals to shew, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which saved the German empire, and broke and ruined that military force which for more than half a century had been the scourge and terror of Europe; nor that of 1760, which gave us the vast continent of North America, had in any degree equalled in expense the shameful campaign of Boston in 1775. They endeavoured to prove, by various calculations, that the maintenance of 8500 wretched, disgraced, and half-starved forces in Boston, had not cost the nation much less than 100*l.* *per* man. They examined the state of national finance, and called upon the minister to say, in what manner we were capable to support, in the present and future campaigns, 50,000 men in America at a proportional expense, exclusive of the naval, ordnance, and other charges of our standing expenses, and of the hazard of a foreign war. The glorious successes in queen Anne's wars, and of that of 1759, were displayed with all the powers of eloquence; while the most mortifying comparisons were made with regard to the exploits of this year. The battles of Blenheim and Schellenburg were contrasted with those of Lexington and Bunker's Hill; and to complete the picture, the river Mytic was compared to the Danube.

As the ministerial party, however superior in numbers, were very deficient in those great rhetorical powers which adorned the speeches of the leaders in opposition, they

found themselves at present altogether unable to maintain their ground in fair debate and therefore had recourse to the sanction of parliament. The ministers affirmed, that they had acted in this business from the beginning, not only with the concurrence, but also with the approbation of parliament; they had not taken it up wantonly, but found it as a legacy left them by their predecessors—That whenever parliament should think it necessary to alter its conduct or opinions, they would also give up or change their measures; but whilst they found themselves in full possession of the good opinion and confidence of a great majority of that house, they never would desert the trust reposed in them, but would continue to fulfil their duty at all events.—There were only two simple questions arising on the subject, whether the money had been properly applied? and, whether the measures that induced the expenditure were necessary? The former would in due time be attested by proper vouchers, and parliament had already repeatedly given its sanction to the latter—That as to the inglorious appearance of the campaign, it had the same origin with all the rest of our calamities, namely, too good an opinion of the Americans. It never could have been believed, that they would be wicked enough to join with Massachusetts-Bay in rebellion, nor, consequently, able to shut up his Majesty's forces in the town of Boston, and prevent the supply which the abundance of that country yielded. But our eyes were opened, and the measures taken in consequence must open the way to abundance; after which it was hoped, that there would be no longer any necessity of sending all their provisions from Europe. For the time, indeed, it was unhappily necessary; and whatever the expense might be, they could not justify themselves if they should starve either the army, or the cause in which they were engaged, but that the vigour and generosity of the present session would give repose and economy to the next. The question for the grant was carried on a division by 180 to 57.

CHAP.
XIII.

1776.

Nov. 3.

Granted,
March 11.

The last proposal of a conciliatory nature was introduced by the duke of Grafton, and seems to have been designed to remedy the defects of the late prohibitory act, which, as the opposition had all along contended, left no room whatever for accommodation. His grace's proposal indeed was much less favourable to the colonies than any that had hitherto been made. It consisted in a motion for an address to the king, that, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, and to manifest the pacific

Duke of
Grafton's
proposition
March 14.

CHAP. intentions of both crown and parliament, a proclamation
 XIII. might be issued, declaring, that if the colonies, within a
 1776. reasonable time, either before or after the arrival of the
 troops destined for America, should present a petition to
 the commander in chief, or to the commissioners to be ap-
 pointed under the late act; setting forth in such petition,
 to be transmitted to his majesty, what they consider to be
 their just rights and real grievances; that in such case his
 majesty will agree to a suspension of arms; and that he
 has authority to assure them from his parliament, that
 their petition shall be received, considered, and answered.
 This proposal, however, was rejected by a majority of
 very near three to one, the numbers being 92 and 31.
 The ministers and their adherents had now totally chang-
 ed their stile; all modifications were laid aside, and the
 haughty language of assured victory and conquest most
 completely adopted. A reconciliation was declared to be
 little less than impracticable; and that, if any thing could
 add to the difficulties of such a project, it would be a
 concession upon the part of Britain; no alternative now
 remained between absolute conquest on our part, and un-
 conditional submission on that of the Americans.

Scots mili-
 tia bill
 thrown out.

A bill for the establishment of a militia in Scotland had
 been brought in by lord Mountstewart, on the 8th of
 December, 1775; but, for want of attendance, and mul-
 tiplicity of other business, had been neglected during the
 greater part of the session. It was now brought under
 consideration; but, notwithstanding the apparent sanc-
 tion of administration, as well as the patronage of the Scots
 gentlemen, it was at last thrown out by 112 to 95. On
 March 20. this occasion, the minister divided with the minority.

About this time, a great noise was made concerning a
 clause in the prohibitory bill, by which the admiralty
 had been enabled to grant licenses to vessels for convey-
 ing stores and provisions to the forces in America. By
 this bill, it was said, a monopoly had been formed in fa-
 vour of some ministerial partisans. The American trade
 was taken from the known and reputable merchants, and
 given to a few obscure persons of no account or condition.
 An illicit commerce was also established under the sanc-
 tion of that bill, in such a manner as evidently to defeat
 one of its principal objects. It was even proved, that,
 within a few weeks, a greater quantity of all kinds of
 goods had been shipped for the North American market
 than was done in any of the usual seasons of exportation.
 It was said to be exceedingly grievous to the great body
 of American merchants, who had already suffered so

verely from the present troubles, and who, in obedience to the late act of parliament; were at this very time sinking under the weight of a vast quantity of goods which they had purchased for that, and for which they could find no other market, to see the trade which they had, for a number of years, conducted with the greatest reputation and fairness, smuggled out of their hands by a set of nominal merchants, and unknown adventurers. The injury was rendered still more grievous, by being committed under the colour of law, and under the license of authority.

CHAP. XIII.

1776.

This matter was first publicly taken notice of in the house of lords, where it was introduced by lord Effingham, a little before the Easter recess; though, by reason of other business which intervened, it lay dormant for a considerable time. On the 2d of May, it was taken up by the lord mayor in the house of commons, who moved for a committee to inquire into the whole transaction. This gave great offence to ministry. The enquiry, it was said, proceeded from ill temper and malignity; was intended only to embarrass and distress government; and it would come to nothing. Some said, the matters complained of were too trifling for notice, and were only intended for the ease, benefit, and comfort of the troops; while others insisted, that there was no violation of the act; and that the words *provisions and stores* included every thing that could administer to the wants or luxuries of man or woman. The minister, however, at length acknowledged, that the powers given in the act had been misunderstood, and the licenses abused; but that these matters had been already rectified; enquiry, therefore, could now answer no purpose.

May 2.
Lord Mayor's motion.

The minister now, finding himself pressed by these facts, put in practice a manoeuvre which he knew would effectually check the progress of the enquiry, by agreeing in part with the motion, but changing the mode of enquiry from an open or select committee up-stairs, to a committee of the whole house within doors. In this committee, several witnesses were examined; and, among other matters, it came out, that one of these nominal merchants, and a principal actor in this business, who had freighted five large ships with the most valuable commodities, was so totally unqualified for such an undertaking, that he hawked about a letter in the city from a very considerable officer belonging to the treasury, in order to obtain goods on that credit. The opposition said, that several of the principal witnesses were sent out of the

CHAP. way; the papers which the house demanded, and which
 XIII. were essentially necessary for the purposes of the enquiry,
 were designedly held back at some of the public offices;
 1776. They were therefore desirous to postpone the affair for a
 few days, until proper information could be obtained;
 and, accordingly, moved the question for adjournment,
 but were constantly overpowered by a great majority. At
 length, after being kept up till five in the morning, the
 minister dissolved the committee without its coming to
 any resolution whatever, by the previous question, "that
 the chairman do now leave the chair," which was carried
 by 105 to 31.—The matter, however, was revived in the
 house of lords by the earl of Effingham, who moved,
 that the papers necessary for the enquiry should be laid be-
 fore the house, in order to prosecute the matter next ses-
 sion; to which the ministry, at last, found themselves
 obliged to agree; and this, with the grant of a million to
 answer any intermediate service, put an end to the session
 of parliament on the 23d of May, 1776.

A million
 granted by
 parliament.

CHAPTER XIV.

Siege of Quebec raised—Provincials defeated—Attempt on North-Carolina—Expedition against Charlestown—Successes of General Carleton—Colonies independent—Great armament before New-York—Provincials defeated—Unsuccessful negotiation—New-York set on fire—The Jerseys over-run—General Washington retreats—General Lee taken prisoner—Resolution of Congress—Hessians surprised at Trenton—British driven out of the Jerseys—Indians defeated by the Provincials.

THE ill success of the Americans, which commenced with their repulse at Quebec, pervaded most of their affairs during the present year. Colonel Arnold indeed continued the blockade of that place for some time, though under great difficulties. Some reinforcements were sent; but these arrived slowly, and suffered incredible hardships in their march, which, however, they endured with unparalleled constancy. The Canadians began to waver as soon as they observed fortune declaring for the royal army; and congress seemed to be as yet unequal to the task of conducting so many and so difficult enterprises. On the other hand, general Carleton guarded with his usual vigilance against every surprise; but, as all supplies were cut off from the country, the garrison experienced considerable distresses. The season, however, now approached, when the arrival of succours from England was certainly to be expected, which rendered it necessary for the Americans to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner. They again, therefore, commenced their

CHAP.
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1776.
Siege of
Quebec
raised.

CHAP. operations by erecting batteries, and attempting to burn
 XIV. the fleet by means of fire-ships, at the same time making
 1776. an attempt to storm the town during the confusion which
 they naturally imagined these efforts would produce. But
 they found this impracticable; and their utmost exertions
 could extend no farther than to the burning part of the
 suburbs, which, in the end, proved rather serviceable
 than otherwise to the cause of the town's people; for the
 remaining houses of the suburbs being pulled down to pre-
 vent the spreading of the conflagration, afforded a con-
 siderable supply of fuel, which had hitherto been an article
 very much wanted.

March 25. Towards the end of March, a body of Canadians, un-
 der the command of a M. Beaujeau, undertook to raise
 the siege, but were utterly defeated and dispersed by the
 provincials. This small success, however, was soon for-
 got. The small-pox broke out in the camp, which render-
 ed it utterly impossible, not only to preserve any proper
 order or discipline, but even, by reason of the terror it
 occasioned, to keep up the shew of an army. In this
 disastrous situation, according to their own accounts,
 they intended to raise the siege, before any reinforcement
 arrived from England; but before this design, if really
 meditated, could be put in execution, the Isis man of war
 and two frigates, with succours for general Carleton,
 suddenly made their appearance in the river, forcing their
 way through the ice, before such an attempt had been
 deemed practicable. This unexpected fight threw the
 besiegers into the utmost consternation, which was not
 lessened when they found the communication betwixt
 their forces on the opposite sides of the river almost in-
 stantly cut off. Of this, general Carleton determined to
 take advantage, and therefore, putting himself at the head
 of the garrison now reinforced by a small detachment
 of land forces and a body of marines, marched out to at-
 tack the provincial camp. At the approach of the king's
 troops, the provincials, who had already begun a retreat,
 fled with such precipitation, that they could not be over-
 taken; leaving behind them all their artillery, scaling lad-
 ders, and other warlike implements. Only some of the
 sick were made prisoners; but some other ships of war
 having made their way up the river about the same time,
 took a number of small vessels from the enemy, and re-
 took the Gaspee sloop of war, which they had seized in
 the beginning of winter.

The provincials suffered extremely in their retreat. A CHAP.
 number of their sick and wounded were scattered about XIV.
 the woods and villages, not only destitute of every comfort necessary in their miserable situation, but in the utmost danger of perishing for want. To prevent the melancholy fate which threatened these unhappy creatures, general Carleton issued a proclamation, by which the proper officers were commanded to find them out, and afford them all necessary relief and assistance at the public expense; at the same time assuring them, that as soon as they were recovered, they should have free liberty to depart. The rest continued their retreat till they arrived at the river Sorel, where they joined some of the reinforcements that had been marching to their assistance. They were now, however, extremely dejected; the small-pox continued to rage with great violence among them; and so many reinforcements had arrived to the royal army from England, that its number was computed about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was at a place called *Trois Rivières*, or Three Rivers, which lies half-way between Quebec and Montreal, about 90 miles from each. It takes its name from the neighbourhood of a large branch of the St. Lawrence, which discharges itself by three mouths into that vast channel. The provincial generals, however, notwithstanding the many severe checks they had received, and the immense superiority which threatened to overwhelm them, were not discouraged from acting on the offensive. As the British and Brunswick troops, which had lately arrived, were now separated, a body of about 2000 provincials, under the command of General Thomson, undertook to surprise part of them. Those against whom this enterprise was directed, were under the command of general Fraser, and stationed at Three Rivers. Another, under the command of brigadier-general Nesbit, lay at no great distance, on board the transports. The main body, with the generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and Reidesel, were in several divisions by land and water, betwixt them and Quebec. The distance from Sorel was about 50 miles; and several armed ships, with transports full of troops, lay full in the way. The provincials embarked at Sorel in 50 boats, and coasting the south side of what is called the lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence spreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, whence they fell down the river by night, and passed over to the other side, with an intention to attack the village of *Trois Rivières* by a strong de-

1776.
 Defeats and
 misfortunes
 of the pro-
 vincials.
 May 10.

CHAP. attachment on each end at the same time, while two smaller
 XIV. ones were drawn up to support or cover them; and, if
 they proved successful, it was proposed to destroy all the
 vessels which lay near the shore.

1776.

June 8.

So many circumstances were necessary to render this enterprise successful, that the hopes of its taking place must, from the beginning, have been very dubious. An hour's delay overthrew the whole; and thus, though the provincials escaped the notice of the ships stationed up the river, they were discovered by the troops on their landing. They were accordingly attacked by general Frazer, when entangled in swamps and bad grounds, which threw them at once into confusion. Several light six-pounders, which were now landed for the purpose, played upon them with great effect; and general Nesbit landed his troops from the transports directly in their way back, so that the communication with their boats was entirely cut off. In these desperate circumstances they were severely galled by the artillery, and driven for several miles through a deep swamp, in which they waded with prodigious toil, and exposed to the utmost danger and distress, until at last they reached a wood, which afforded them a grateful shelter, and the British troops, tired with the pursuit, returned to their former stations. On this occasion, general Thomson himself, with the officer who was second in command, and about 200 of their men, were taken prisoners. The loss on the part of the British was very trifling.

The provincial army in Canada being now no longer in a condition to act on the offensive, or even to keep its ground, continued to retreat with the utmost expedition; so that, though pursued with all possible diligence by the royal army, they never could be overtaken. In their retreat they set fire to every thing combustible in the forts of St. John's and Chamblee, which could not be carried off, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, over which they instantly retreated to Crown Point. This disastrous retreat was conducted by general Sullivan, in which he certainly shewed considerable abilities, as it was effected without any great loss. The provincial general received the thanks of congress for the prudence with which he had conducted himself, and for having saved their ruined army at a time, they said, when it was encumbered by a vast multitude of sick, most of them ill of the small-pox. Here they remained in security for the present, as the royal army, for want of proper vessels, were unable to

follow them. The constructing of these was a work of CHAP.,
time and labour; and even though six armed vessels were XIV.
sent from England for that purpose, it was found im-
possible to convey them up the falls of Chamblee, so that
all operations in that quarter were of necessity suspended
for the present year. 1776.

As it had been generally known, that part of the minis- Unsuccess-
terial plan for the year 1776, was to make an attack upon ful attempt
the southern colonies, no means had been left untried for in favour of
putting the town of Charlestown in a proper state of de- government
fence. The colony of North-Carolina was justly esteem- in North-
ed the weakest of the whole, Georgia alone excepted; Carolina.
and as it was besides infested by those banditti called *Re-
gulators*, governor Martin had formed a scheme of mak-
ing a considerable diversion there in favour of govern-
ment, which appeared more likely to succeed, as sir Peter
Parker, with a squadron of men of war, having on board
lord Cornwallis, with seven regiments, were to touch at
Cape-Fear in North-Carolina, previous to an attempt on
Charlestown, where they were also to be joined by sir
Henry Clinton, with a small detachment of forces from
Boston.

We have already seen, that this governor had failed in
the execution of his former plan, and been obliged to
take refuge on board a sloop in Cape-Fear river; how-
ever, this did not in any degree abate his ardour; and as
he had now found means completely to attach the *Regu-
lators*, as well as the Highland emigrants, who were very
numerous in that province, to his cause, he made no
doubt of success, even independent of the force expected
from England. Several commissions were granted to
these people, and one Mr. Macdonald was appointed ge-
neral. A proclamation was also sent, commanding all
persons forthwith to repair to the royal standard under
general Macdonald, which was erected about the middle
of February.

The new general assembled his troops at a place called
Cross-Creek, but was instantly opposed by the provincial
general Moore, at the head of a regiment, and such mi-
litia as he could suddenly collect. He took his post at an
important place called Rock-Fish-Bridge; and though
much inferior in numbers, yet being possessed of some
cannon, he fortified himself in such a manner that his ad-
versaries durst not attack him. On the 15th of Februa-
ry, general Macdonald sent him a letter, inclosing the
governor's proclamation, and requiring him, with those
under his command, to repair to the king's standard, or

Feb. 15

CHAP. he should be under a necessity of considering them as ene-
 XIV. mies. On this occasion, however, the new general shew-
 1776. ed his inexperience, by suffering himself to be amused by
 a negociation, until he was in danger of being surrounded
 by the provincial forces, which were assembling from all
 quarters, when Moore gave his final answer, informing
 him, that he and his officers were engaged in the most
 honourable and glorious cause in the world, viz. a de-
 fence of the liberties of their country. He reminded the
 emigrants of their ungrateful behaviour to the people of
 the colony, and the general himself of an oath he and
 some of his officers had taken a short time before, that
 they only came to see their friends and relations, without
 any concern whatever in public affairs; upon which de-
 claration alone they were allowed to enter the country.
 In return to the proclamation, he sent them the test pro-
 posed by the congress, with a proffer, that if they sub-
 scribed it, and laid down their arms, they should be re-
 ceived as friends; but, if they refused, such consequences
 as they had already held out to his people must ensue.

The British general now perceived his danger; and,
 therefore, abruptly quitted his ground, and endeavoured
 to disengage himself as fast as possible. In this he disco-
 vered considerable abilities, by making forced marches,
 passing rivers unexpectedly, and making the most rapid
 movements. The great design was to introduce governor
 Martin, lord William Campbell, and general Clinton,
 who had now joined them, into the heart of the country,
 by which means he hoped that all the back-settlers would
 be united in the royal cause, the Indians might be brought
 forward, and the loyalists meet with encouragement to
 shew themselves. The royal army, however, if we may
 call them by that name, were so closely pursued by dif-
 ferent bodies of provincial troops, that M'Donald was at
 last obliged to engage a colonel Caswel, with about 1000
 militia and minute-men, at a place called Moore's-Creek-
 Bridge, where they had thrown up an entrenchment. The
 Feb. 27. Highlanders began the attack with great fury; but some
 of their bravest officers being killed in the first onset, par-
 ticularly M'Leod, the second in command, their ardour
 soon cooled; and, according to the provincial accounts,
 they deserted their general, who was taken prisoner, with
 almost all his officers.—The rest were totally broken
 and dispersed, and the victory on the part of the provin-
 cials every way complete. Their leaders were sent to
 different prisons, and such a strict watch kept over the

people of the province, that no effort in favour of government could ever afterwards be made. CHAP. XIV.

This engagement happened on the 27th of February; but it was not till the beginning of May, that sir Peter Parker's Squadron arrived at Cape-Fear. Though they had sailed from Portsmouth in the close of the year 1775, they had been delayed unexpectedly in Ireland, and afterwards by adverse weather. Here they found general Clinton, who had already been at New-York and Virginia; but finding that no service could be effected at either of these places, had now come thither to wait for them.—It was here resolved to make an attempt on Charlestown. A vessel had indeed been dispatched by general Howe from Halifax, desiring them to proceed to the northward. The ship, however, unluckily met with such delays, that she did not arrive at Cape-Fear till after their departure.

1776
Unsuccessful expedition against Charlestown.

In the beginning of June, the British fleet anchored off Charlestown. The naval force consisted of the Bristol, the admiral's ship, of 50 guns; the Experiment, of the same force; the Active, Solebay, and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each; the Sphynx, of 20; a hired armed ship of 22; a small sloop of war, an armed schooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. The land forces were commanded by general Clinton, lord Cornwallis, and brigadier-general Vaughan. The Americans were commanded by general Lee, who had been the constant antagonist of Clinton ever since he left Boston. When the British general touched at New-York, such was the activity and diligence of the provincials, headed by general Lee, that he found no place open to attack. On his arrival at Virginia, he found every thing in the same state. When he came to Cape-Fear, in North Carolina, the same general was present, and in the same state of preparation. And now, on his arrival at Charlestown, the same opponent presented himself, seemingly as well prepared for his reception as ever. June.

The fleet found some difficulty in passing Charlestown bar; nor could the large ships, even though they were lightened by taking out their guns, effect their passage without touching the ground. After this difficulty was got over, they found the passage to Charlestown commanded by a fort on Sullivan's island, about six miles below the town. This fort was of so late a date, that the works at that time were not in any state of perfection, and are said to have been represented to the British generals as much more imperfect than they really were. It being,

CH A P. however, justly considered as the key to Charlestown harbour, its acquisition became an object of great consequence ; and it was not expected that the raw American militia, by whom it was defended, could make any great opposition. The troops were landed on Long Island, to the eastward of Sullivan's, from which it is separated only by some shoals, and a creek called the Breach, deemed passable at low water, the ford being represented to the British officers as only eighteen inches deep in that state. The provincials had posted some forces, with a few pieces of cannon, near the north-eastern extremity of Sullivan's island, at the distance of two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the Breach. General Lee was encamped with a considerable body of troops on the continent, at the back and to the northward of Sullivan's island, with which he held a communication by means of a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at any time, march the whole or any part of his force, to support the post above mentioned at the extremity of Sullivan's island.

As Long Island consists entirely of naked burning sand, the troops were exceedingly incommoded by the heat of the sun ; nor did they suffer less from the badness of the water, and the unwholesome quality of their provisions. In this disagreeable situation they were confined till the 28th of June, before any attack could be made ; and during this interval, the provincials had applied themselves with the utmost assiduity to the completing of their works.

June 28. The attack was begun by throwing shells into the fort from the bomb-ketch ; and, about eleven o'clock, the ships of war and frigates, having got up directly against the fort, commenced a most dreadful cannonade. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to the westward, to take their station between Sullivan's island and Charlestown, partly to enfilade the works of the fort, and partly, if possible, to cut off the communication between the island and the continent, which would of course cut off the retreat, as well as all succours from the garrison, and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ships or otherwise, to interrupt the grand attack. This design, however, miscarried through the unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled all the three ships of war among shoals, in such a manner, that every one of them stuck fast ; and the Acteon, which could not be got off, was set on fire next morning, lest she should become a prey to the enemy.

In the mean time, the provincials in the fort stood their ground with the greatest bravery, and firing deliberately with a good aim, did proportionable execution. The ships were almost torn to pieces; the springs of the Bristol's cable were cut by the shot, so that she lay for some time exposed to the enemies fire, and was dreadfully raked. Captain Morris, though he had received a number of wounds, still kept his place, until at last his arm was shot off, in which miserable condition he was carried off the quarter-deck, and died in about a week after.—The quarter-deck of the Bristol was said at one time to be cleared of every person but the commodore himself; all the rest being either killed or wounded. The slaughter on board the British ships was dreadful; but there is great reason to suppose, that a true state of this unsuccessful enterprise was never published in this country. By the provincial and other accounts it was said, that the bomb-ketch was placed at too great a distance to be of any service; which being perceived by colonel James, the principal engineer, he unfortunately thought to remedy the defect, by putting an additional quantity of powder into each mortar; the consequence of which was, that the mortar-beds were damaged in such a manner, that no more than about 60 shells could be thrown. During all the time of the attack by sea, no attempt was made by the land forces on Long Island to pass over to their assistance, the reason of which was never understood. The gazette account alledged, that they were stopped by too great a depth of water, where they expected to have passed almost dry-shod. It is impossible, however, to suppose, that so many experienced officers could have remained for such a length of time in the island, without taking proper measures for ascertaining the depth of the channel, through which they knew very well it was essentially necessary for them to pass. A more probable cause was that alledged in some private accounts, that general Lee had made such excellent dispositions of masked batteries, &c. that the troops must have been cut off had they ventured an attack. During the time of the engagement the fort continued silent for about an hour; at which time, sir Peter Parker and others were of opinion, that it might have been taken, if the troops could have made good their landing. The provincials accounted for this silence by the want of powder in the fort; and the event seemed to justify their assertion, as the fire afterwards commenced as severely as before, and continued till ten o'clock at night, when the British commander,

CH AP. finding all his efforts unsuccessful, thought proper to re-
 XIV. tire. The Americans, on this occasion, boasted of their
 heroes. A serjeant observing the flag-staff shot away in
 1776. the beginning of the action, jumped from one of the em-
 brasures upon the beach, took up the flag, and fixing it
 on a sponge-staff, put it in its proper place, in the midst
 of the dreadful fire already mentioned. For this distin-
 guished act of bravery he was presented with a sword by
 the Congress. Another, while exerting himself in a very
 distinguished manner, was cruelly shattered by a cannon-
 ball. When about to expire, "My friends," says he, "I
 am dying, but don't let the cause of liberty expire with
 me." Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, re-
 ceived great applause for his distinguished bravery and
 conduct in the defence of the place.

Successes of
 general
 Carleton
 against the
 provincials.

Thus failed one part of the ministerial plan for the year
 1776, viz. the attempt on the southern colonies. The
 other two were an invasion of the northern provinces
 from Canada, and an expedition against the city of New-
 York. The conduct of the former was given to general
 Burgoyne; the latter to general Howe. From the attack
 on New-York great advantages were expected. Its cen-
 tral position would enable the British generals to carry on
 the war with equal facility, either in Connecticut or in
 the southern provinces, and to quit or vary the scene of
 action as they pleased; while its maritime situation, being
 mostly inclosed with islands, not only promised to ensure
 success originally, but to afford an easy defence and pro-
 tection by the ships of war. By a junction of the army
 from Canada with that under general Howe, it was also
 proposed to distress the colonies in the most effectual man-
 ner, by cutting off the communication between the nor-
 thern and southern provinces; and the abundant fertility
 and plenty of the province of New-York, seemed to ren-
 der it a most eligible station for any body of troops.

While the British northern army remained in Canada,
 general Carleton, as head of the province, took the com-
 mand. The obstacles to his progress we have already men-
 tioned. The six vessels which arrived from England had
 been taken to pieces, in order to be carried over land in
 those places where they could not be navigated; besides
 which, 24 others, 30 long boats, a number of flat-bot-
 tomed boats, a gondola weighing 30 tons, with about 400
 bateaux, were to be constructed, in order to convey the
 troops across the lake Champlain. In this arduous under-
 taking not only the British seamen and soldiers were in-
 cessantly employed, but the Canadian peasants and farmers

were taken from their rural employments, and forced into the service of his majesty. With all the diligence, however, that such a number of hands could use, it was not till the month of October that the fleet was in a condition to transport the troops across Lake Champlain. It was conducted by captain Pringle, and the ships of war navigated by upwards of 700 excellent seamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the transports. The guns were served by detachments of men and officers belonging to the corps of artillery. The enemy's force was by no means equivalent, either in number or goodness; nor had it been in their power, notwithstanding the great lapse of time, to remedy any of those essential defects, in any effectual manner, for want of timber, artillery, and carpenters skilled in ship-building.

CHAP.
XIV.

1776.

On the 11th of October, the provincial fleet, consisting of fifteen armed vessels, was discovered in an advantageous position, between the island of Valicour and the Western Main; by the former of which they were so well concealed, that, had it not been by accident, they might have been passed by without notice. In the engagement which now ensued, colonel Arnold, though on a different element, supported the character he had justly acquired by land; but, being exceedingly inferior in all respects to the enemy, he was obliged to take advantage of the darkness of the night, in order to save his fleet from total destruction. The fate which he dreaded, however, was not distant. He was overtaken, in two days, and compelled to stand another engagement. The victory gained by the British, on this occasion, was much more complete. Some of the headmost vessels escaped to Ticonderago; one galley was taken; and thus Arnold, with a single galley, and five gondolas, was left to encounter the whole British force. After a desperate resistance, finding it utterly impossible to cope with so great a power, he ran the galley in which he himself was, with the other vessels, on shore in such a manner, that he could not be prevented from blowing them up, and making his escape, with all the people on board. General Carleton immediately took possession of the ruins of Crown-Point; for the provincials there, on the first news of the defeat of their fleet, had evacuated the place, set fire to the houses, and destroyed every thing they could not carry off. Here he continued till the end of the month, and even advanced to within a small distance of Ticonderago; but the difficulty of forcing that strong post, the advanced season of the year, and the impossibility of keeping up a communication during

Oct. 11.

CHAP. the winter with Canada, induced him at last to retire in-
 XIV. to that province, where he cantoned his troops in the best
 manner he could.

1776.
 Congress
 declares the
 colonies in-
 dependent.

May.

The ill success which had attended the provincial arms in Canada, did not in any degree damp the general spirit of the people. Matters had now been carried to such extremities, that little hope of a reconciliation seemed to remain. About the middle of May, therefore, the congress began to put in execution the scheme with which they had been so long charged on this side of the Atlantic; namely, that of declaring the colonies independent, and separating from Britain entirely. As a proper introduction to a declaration of this kind, a circular letter, or manifesto, was sent through the different colonies, in which was set forth the necessity of suppressing the authority of the crown entirely, and taking all the powers of government into their own hands. In support of this position, they instanced the prohibitory act, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petitions for redress of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their destruction. They concluded with a recommendation to those colonies, whose government was not already sufficiently well settled, to proceed to the establishment of such a form as was necessary to the internal peace of the country, and the present exigency of affairs; for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies.

This address proved universally acceptable, except in the provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland; and the deputies sent to congress from the latter even left the assembly, after voting peremptorily against independence. The situation of these provinces, however, was extremely embarrassing, and the arguments on both sides such as might have puzzled the most quick-sighted politicians. On the one hand, the separation from Great Britain, even supposing that it could be instantly accomplished, must be attended with many inconveniencies. The protection of the great parent state, and the utility of the power of a common sovereign to balance so many separate, and probably discordant commonwealths, besides many political and commercial advantages derived from the union with Britain, were self-evident. On the other hand, they considered their liberty as their greatest good, without which all other advantages were of no value. Were they to submit to a great standing army, consisting of foreigners

as well as Englishmen, and even partly of their own slaves, what terms could they hope for? The moment they laid down their arms, they must be at the mercy of the enemy. But, to what purpose did they take up these arms? If to secure their liberty, then, should they lay them down without any security, such an act must be supposed an acknowledgment that their first resistance was rebellion, and the pardon offered was the only security for the future, or satisfaction for the present they could expect. As Britain, therefore, had uniformly rejected their entreaties, and now abandoned them to plunder without remorse, except on unconditional submission, it was plainly by war alone that their object was to be gained.

Another weighty consideration was, that as long as they acknowledged the claims of the crown of Great-Britain, their councils and generals would be equally destitute of authority civil or military; the war they carried on must be feeble, irregular, and unsuccessful; orders would be given which nobody would obey, and conspiracies and mutinies formed, which none could have a just power to punish or repress. Neither would any foreign power support them against the hostile attempts of Great-Britain, and so many foreign powers as she had called to her assistance, as long as they held themselves to be her subjects. "We do not break the connection," said they; "it is already broken and dissolved by act of parliament; and, thus abandoned, all laws, human and divine, not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means for our preservation."

These arguments in favour of liberty, now seconded by the enmity against the mother-country, which had begun to take place in the minds of most people, soon decided the matter. The Maryland delegates were instructed to return to the congress, and act there as they found most proper for the interests of their country. In Pennsylvania the matter had been fairly debated in their provincial assemblies, where it was carried by vast majorities, that the delegates should agree to the determinations of congress. The 4th of July, 1776, announced the erection of this new empire. The declaration of independence was perfectly consonant to their circumstances, and is by no means inferior to any manifesto of that kind published in any age or in any country.

It was not long before the constancy both of the rulers and subjects of the new state were put to a severe trial. Immediately after the repulse at Charlestown, a most formidable armament appeared before New-York. This

CHAP.
XIV.

1776.

July 4.

Great ar-
mament
appears be-
fore New-
York.

CHAP. was composed of the fleet and army which had left Bos-
 XIV. ton, along with the new raised forces in Britain, and
 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers. The whole number
 1776. destined to act on this occasion was not less than 35,000
 men; though all these never were at any time brought
 into one engagement. The force, however, was very
 formidable, and such as had never before appeared in any
 part of America; nor was it perhaps ever exceeded by any
 European army of equal number, whether we consider
 the goodness of the troops, the abundant provision of all
 manner of military stores and materials, or the excellence
 and number of artillery of all kinds. It was besides sup-
 ported by a very numerous fleet, particularly well adapted
 to the nature of the service. The conduct of the expedi-
 tion by sea and land was given to admiral lord Howe,
 and his brother the general; men of approved valour and
 experience, who had already signalised themselves in the
 service of their country. The latter having become im-
 patient of his stay at Halifax, where he not only could be
 of no service to his country, but could not even find quar-
 ters for his troops, set sail from that place on the 10th of
 June, and near the end of that month arrived at Sandy
 Hook, a point of land that stands at the entrance of that
 confluence of bays, sounds, and creeks which are formed
 by the island of New-York, Staten, and Long Islands, the
 continent on each side, with the North and Rariton rivers.
 On their passage they were joined by six transports, with
 Highland troops on board, which had been separated from
 their companions by the way; and soon after they learn-
 ed, that several of the missing ships, with 450 men on
 board, had been taken by the American cruizes. Finding
 New-York and Long Islands too well fortified for him to
 make any attempt with the force under his command,
 general Howe determined to land on Staten Island, which
 being of less consequence, had not been attended to.
 Here, therefore, he disembarked his men without opposi-
 tion, to the great joy of such of the inhabitants as had
 been sufferers on account of their loyalty; and the troops
 being cantoned in villages, were plentifully supplied with
 the refreshments of which they had stood very much in
 need. He had been met at Sandy Hook by governor Try-
 on, with several well affected gentlemen, who had taken
 refuge with him on board a ship, and from whom he re-
 ceived a full account of the strength of the enemy, as well
 as of the state and disposition of the province. The ap-
 pearance of sixty persons from New-Jersey, who came to
 take arms in the royal cause, with 200 of the militia em-

bodied for the same purpose, gave great satisfaction, and was thought to be an omen of future success. CHAP.
XIV.

Soon after the arrival of General Howe at Staten Island, he was joined by his brother, who had likewise been at Halifax. On the 14th of July, he sent ashore a circular letter to the late governors of the colonies, in which he requested, that they would make as public as possible a declaration which accompanied it. In this he informed the people of the powers with which himself and his brother were invested, of granting general or particular pardons, to all those who, in the general tumult and disorder of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; and of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty; in which case, the penal provisions, of the prohibitory bill were to cease in their favour. Due consideration was also promised to the services of those who should contribute to the restoration of the public tranquillity. These papers being transmitted to congress, were, by them, instantly published in the newspapers, with a resolution of their own, in which they declared, that the intention of publishing them was, that the people of the United States might be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Great-Britain had attempted to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remained suspended by a hope founded on either the justice or moderation of that court, might now at last be convinced, that the valour of their country alone can now save its liberties.

1776.
July 14.

About this time also, lord Howe sent some of his officers, with a letter directed *To George Washington, Esq*; which, however, the provincial general refused to receive, because it was not directed to him with the title and form due to the rank he held under the United States. The congress exceedingly applauded this stateliness of behaviour, and gave directions that, for the future, none of their commanders should receive any letter or message from the enemy, but such as were directed to them in the characters which they respectively sustained.

General Howe, still willing, notwithstanding the refusal of his brother's letter, to have some correspondence with his antagonist, and, at the same time, to save the honour of Britain, by tacitly charging him with being a rebel, sent a letter by adjutant-general Paterfon, addressed *To George Washington, &c. &c. &c.* The adjutant was

CHAP. received by general Washington with great military state ;
 XIV. but, at the same time, with the utmost politeness ; the
 usual ceremony of blindfolding, as he passed through the
 fortifications, being dispensed with. General Paterfon
 regretted, in the name of his principals, the difficulties
 which had arisen with respect to addressing the letters ;
 declared their high esteem for his person and character,
 and that they did not mean to derogate from the respect
 due to his rank ; and that it was hoped the *et cetera's*
 would remove any impediments to their correspondence.
 It was replied, however, that a letter directed to any per-
 son in a public character should have some description or
 indication of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private
 letter : That it was true, the *et cetera's* implied every
 thing ; but it was equally true, that they would imply any
 thing ; and that he should absolutely decline any letter
 directed to him as a private person, while it related to his
 public station. A long conference then ensued on the
 subject of prisoners, and the complaints that had been
 made concerning their treatment by both parties ; after
 which the subject of reconciliation was again taken up.
 General Paterfon observed, that the commissioners were
 invested with great powers ; that they would derive the
 greatest pleasure from effecting an accommodation ; and
 that he himself wished to have this visit considered as an
 advance towards so desirable an object. In his answer,
 however, general Washington, among other things, ob-
 served, that, by what had yet appeared, their powers were
 only to grant pardons : but that those who had commit-
 ted no fault wanted no pardon ; and that they them-
 selves were only demanding what they deemed their in-
 disputable right. This conversation put an end to all
 hopes of a reconciliation for the present ; and both par-
 ties prepared to decide the matter by the sword.

Provincials
 defeated at
 Long-
 Island.

By reason of the delay in collecting the British forces,
 it was not till towards the end of August, that any thing
 of importance could be attempted. Being now, however,
 joined by sir Peter Parker, general Clinton, with the squa-
 dron and forces from Charlestown, as well as some regi-
 ments from Florida and the West-Indies, it was resolved
 to make an attempt on Long-Island, which, by reason of
 its extent, was less strongly fortified than that on which
 New-York is situated. On the 22d of the month, a land-
 ing was effected near Utrecht and Gravesend, on the
 south-west end of the island. General Putnam was at that
 time encamped with a considerable force at Brookland or

Aug. 22.

Brocklyn, at a few miles distance on the north coast. The armies were separated by a range of hills, covered with wood, which intersect the country from east to west, and, in that part, are called the *Heights of Guana*. The direct road lay through a village called *Flat-Bush*, where the hills commence, and near which was one of the most important passes. This, with several others, the provincial generals had ordered to be well guarded; but, whether through their own negligence, or that of the officers to whom the charge had been committed, this one was left open. It was therefore occupied, on the night preceding the battle, by general Clinton, with the whole van of the army, consisting of the light-infantry, grenadiers, light-horse, reserve under earl Cornwallis, and some other troops, with fourteen field-pieces. The engagement was begun early in the morning of the 27th, by the Hessians at Flat-Bush, and by general Grant on the coast, and a brisk cannonade and fire of small arms was kept up on both sides for some hours. The ships, at the same time, made several motions, and attacked a battery on Red Hook, to call off the attention of the enemy as much as possible from the danger which threatened them from general Clinton. Certain and inevitable destruction, however, now approached. The van, consisting of the troops above mentioned, were followed by the main-body under lord Piercy, and having, without the least danger or impediment, got between the provincials and their lines, now advanced to attack them in the rear. The troops who were engaged with the Hessians in the left and centre, first received intelligence of the march of the British army, and of their own danger. On this they instantly began a retreat to their camp; but being intercepted by the king's troops, they were driven back again to the Hessians, and thus alternately backward and forward for several hours. In this desperate situation, some regiments forced their way to their lines, in spite of every difficulty; others perished in the attempt. Some escaped, but many more perished by staying in the woods. Nor was the fate of their right wing, who were engaged with general Grant, much better. So late were they in receiving intelligence of what had passed, that they were also intercepted in their retreat by some British troops, who had traversed the whole extent of country in the rear of the American army: the greater part threw themselves into a marsh with which their flank was covered, where great numbers perished miserably; though some made their way to the lines through a violent fire of the enemy, which greatly thinned their numbers. The whole loss of

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Aug. 27.

CH A P. the provincials in killed, wounded and prisoners, was computed at no less than 3000. Almost a whole regiment,

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consisting of young gentlemen of the best families in Maryland, were entirely cut off. Their disaster was attributed to the bad conduct of lord Stirling, one of their commanding officers, who was himself taken prisoner, along with major-general Sullivan, brigadier-general Udell, and ten other field officers.

On the part of the British, this signal victory was very cheaply gained; their loss in killed and wounded not exceeding 350 men, of whom the former did not amount to a fifth part. The troops, both officers and men, were acknowledged to have behaved with exemplary bravery. A letter from lord Cornwallis, giving an account of this battle, concludes thus: "Such was the extreme judgment, the cool bravery, the recollection, and the humanity* of those gallant brothers (the brave Howes) that if this action were to be repeated, no part of their conduct would admit of emendation, the whole being a master-piece of military greatness."

During the continuance of this unfortunate engagement, general Washington passed over from New-York, and is said to have burst into the most poignant exclamation of grief, when he saw the inevitable destruction which involved some of his best troops. His only care, therefore, now was, to preserve the remainder; and even this seemed to be a matter of no little difficulty, as the victorious enemy had encamped that evening in front of the lines, and the next had broke ground in form, at the distance of only 600 yards from a redoubt which covered the left of the provincials. This arduous task, however, was executed with great ability and success by the provincial general. In the night of the 29th, the troops were withdrawn from their camp, and all the different parts of their works, their baggage, stores, and part of their artillery, conveyed to the water-side, and transported over a broad ferry to New-York, with such surprising order and silence, that the British army had not the least knowledge of what passed, but were surprised to find the lines abandoned in the morning, and seeing the last of the rear-guard,

Aug. 29.

* On this occasion, a body of provincials were put to death after they had thrown down their arms, and asked for quarter. The reason assigned for this piece of severity was, that they had discharged their pieces before they had asked for quarter. They were told, that if they had expected quarter, they ought to have asked it before they fired; but now that they had fired, and done all the mischief they could, they had no mercy to expect.

or a party which had returned to carry off some stores which were left, in their boats and out of danger. CHAP. XIV.

The British generals, now supposing that the news of such a dreadful disaster would intimidate the congress into submission, or, at least, procure some concessions, sent general Sullivan on his parole with a message from lord Howe to the congress. In this he set forth, that though he could not at present treat with that assembly as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of their members, whom he would, for the present, consider only as private gentlemen, and would meet them himself at any place they should appoint. He had full power, in conjunction with the general, to compromise the dispute between Britain and America; to obtain which, his departure had been delayed for two months, and consequently, his arrival, before the declaration of independency, prevented: that he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow had been struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into the agreement. To all his proposals, however, the congress returned for answer—that, being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they could not, with any propriety, send their members to confer with him in their private capacity; but, that a committee of their body should be sent to know whether he was authorised to treat with persons appointed for that purpose by congress, and to hear such propositions as he should think proper to make. This proposition being accepted, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, were appointed a committee on the occasion, and waited on lord Howe at Staten-Island; but finding that his lordship was empowered only to grant pardons when he thought proper, and that his instructions were liable to be altered at the pleasure of parliament, they made their report accordingly, and the negotiation came to nothing.

Both parties now betook themselves again to arms; the British army flushed with success, eager and confident of victory; the Americans severely checked and desponding, but putting the utmost confidence in their general, who, well knowing the enemy he had to encounter, was henceforth resolved never to venture an engagement, except on the most advantageous terms. As the royal army was separated from New-York only by the East river, they became impatient to pass that narrow barrier, and therefore, were posted along the banks, erecting batteries wherever they could front the enemy. It was now found, that all the fortifications which the Americans had raised were not

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Unsuccessful negotiation.

New-York abandoned and afterwards set on fire.

CHAP. able to resist the immense force by which they were af-
 XIV. failed. Their batteries were every where silenced, and such

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of the small islands as answered the purpose of the assailants, reduced; an incessant cannonade was kept up for many days, until at last, every requisite for a descent being gained, several movements were made by the ships in the North river, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that side of the island; while the real object of attack was concealed, by feints made in different places. In this state of uncertainty, the first division of the army, under general Clinton, with earl Cornwallis, major-general Vaughan, brigadier-general Leslie, and the Hessian colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newton-Bay, which runs pretty deep into Long-Island, and entirely out of sight of the enemy. Under cover of five ships of war they entered the river, and proceeded to a place called Kepp's Bay, about three miles from New-York, where, being less expected than in some other places, the fortifications were less strong, though far from being inconsiderable. A vehement fire from the ships, however, soon drove the provincials from their works, and the army landed without opposition. On this the enemy instantly abandoned New-York, retiring towards the north part of the island where their principal force lay. They retreated with such precipitation that they left behind them all their artillery and military stores, which were considerable, except in the article of gun-powder; some were killed, and a number taken prisoners; and it was agreed on all hands, that they behaved ill; owing, as was believed, to their not having yet recovered from the despondency occasioned by their late defeat.

However, though it appeared that the Americans had not courage fairly to defend the town, or even to destroy it while it remained in their own possession, they no sooner saw it in the possession of his majesty's troops, than they formed the atrocious design of setting it on fire.—Whether this was done through the mere malevolence of private incendiaries, or had been projected as a scheme for the good of the country, in order to render the conquest, as far as possible, entirely useless to the victors, cannot now be determined; Be this as it will, a few days after gen. Howe had taken possession of it, the incendiaries, having prepared their combustibles with great art and ingenuity, took advantage of the dry weather, and a brisk wind, to set fire to the city about midnight, in several places at once. The flames raged with such violence, that the utmost efforts of courage and activity, made by the soldiers and sai;

lors, were insufficient to prevent a third part of the town from being reduced to ashes. Some of the incendiaries being detected, it is said, in the commission of the execrable deed, were thrown headlong into the flames, or killed on the spot by the soldiers.

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On the evacuation of New-York, general Washington posted his army at King's bridge, on the northern extremity of the island, and on the continent, in such a manner, that no attack could be made upon him with any probability of success. In a short time, however, general Howe determined on such a plan of operation as would either oblige the provincials to quit their strong situation, or render their keeping it extremely precarious. On the 12th of October, he embarked the greater part of his army on board flat-bottomed boats, and other small vessels proper for the purpose; and having successfully passed a dangerous strait, called *Hell-Gate*, landed them safely on the continent, betwixt the provincial army and Connecticut, leaving lord Piercy encamped at Harlem, with two brigades of British, and one of Hessian troops, to cover New-York.

Oct. 12.

Had general Washington commanded an army whom he could have trusted, this manœuvre would have been extremely dangerous, and the corps under lord Piercy would have run a great risk of being cut off. Much dependence, however, was put by the British on the assistance of the fleet, which, in such a narrow island (only one mile broad, though sixteen in length) would afford the most effectual protection almost in any situation to which the army could be reduced. By reason of the total want of a marine force on the part of the provincials, therefore, as well as their despondency on account of their late misfortune, no attempt was made upon that division of the royal army, so that general Howe, being now reinforced by a regiment of light-horse from Ireland, and the second division of Hessians, under Knyphausen, lately arrived at New-York, had leisure to take proper measures for executing his design, either of forcing the provincial general to a battle, or enclosing him in the strong hold he possessed.

The Jerseys
over-run
by the royal
army.

The provincials lay quiet in their camp till some part of the British general's design was put in execution, and the eastern road to Connecticut entirely shut up. A movement now became absolutely necessary, as well to prevent their being totally inclosed, as on some other accounts. They were much reduced by sickness, had very indifferent quarters, were insufficiently clothed, and destitute of many necessaries, particularly salt, of which their maga-

General
Washington
retreats
to White
Plains.

CHAP. zine had been taken. Perceiving, therefore, that the British troops were advancing up the country to some high grounds called the White-Plains, in order to cut off the upper road to Connecticut, general Washington made a grand movement, by which he altered the position of his army entirely, making it now face the whole line of march of the king's forces at a moderate distance, having the deep river Brunx in their front, and the north river in their rear; the open country betwixt them and the latter affording a secure passage for the baggage and stores to the upper country. A garrison was left for the protection of fort Washington, and the lines they had quitted at Harlem and King's-Bridge.

1776.

Oct. 28.

Oct. 31.

Ever since the evacuation of New-York, frequent skirmishes had taken place betwixt detached parties in both armies, which, though of little moment as to their immediate consequence, had yet been of considerable importance to the provincials, by removing the terror occasioned by the great superiority of the royal army in the late engagement. Considerable parties now had the audacity to cross the river Brunx, which lay in their front, in order to harraßs the royal army in their march; nor could either the caution of the British general, or the almost constant defeats of the provincial parties themselves, put a stop to this practice, as long as the troops continued their march. On the arrival of the army at White-Plains, however, the enemy quitted their detached posts, and took a strong encampment in front of the British. Here general Howe formed a design of attacking them; and, on the 28th of October, began the engagement early in the morning, by driving back the advanced parties of the enemy to their works. The rest of the day was taken up in forcing a strong post, which covered the right flank of the entrenchments, and supporting a scattered fight among hedges and walls. All this being successfully performed, the British troops lay on their arms all night, in full expectation of beginning the attack next morning. During the night, however, it was now discovered, that the enemy had drawn back their encampment, and greatly strengthened their lines by additional works. On this account, it was thought necessary to wait for the arrival of part of the troops which had been left under lord Piercy; after which, proper dispositions were made for an attack on the 31st of October.

The operations were now prevented by a violent rain during that night and morning; and general Washington, having no mind to stand the attack, or, as the provincials

gave out, perceiving that the British army might take possession of some hills which entirely commanded his camp, thought proper to change his position, and occupy a higher ground, first setting fire to the village of White Plains, as well as to all the houses and forage near the lines. The British general, therefore, finding his designs of bringing the provincials to an action, or of forcing their camp, totally frustrated, determined to drive them out of their fastnesses in York-Island, an operation which they could not now prevent. On the approach of the royal army, such of the provincials as had remained at King's Bridge, or other places, retired to Fort-Washington, and at first made a shew of resolute defence. The place, however, was easily taken; and it then appeared, that the quantity of gun-powder which the provincials possessed had been utterly inadequate almost to any defence whatever; and, consequently, that the place was by no means tenable. Near 3000 prisoners were made on this occasion. The garrison of Fort-Lee had a very narrow escape a few days after; having just time to evacuate the place, leaving their artillery, stores, and every thing else behind them; after which, the victorious army entirely over-run the Jerseys, the provincials being no where able to make head against them.

The Americans were not less unfortunate by sea than by land, during this disastrous campaign. At the beginning of the war, they had been totally destitute of any maritime force whatever. The congress, however, desirous of possessing something like a marine force, caused a squadron of five frigates to be equipped in the beginning of March, under the command of one Hopkins. His first expedition was to the Bahama Islands, where he carried off from the island of Providence a considerable quantity of artillery and stores; but was disappointed in his expectations of gun-powder, 150 barrels of which had been sent off in a small vessel the night before his landing. On his return, he fell in with the Glasgow frigate of war, accompanied by a tender; but the former made her escape, notwithstanding the extreme disparity of force by which she was attacked. During the operations at New-York, he had stationed himself at Rhode-Island; but, after the great successes already mentioned, sir Henry Clinton, with some land forces, and a squadron of ships of war, under sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt on the place. They arrived on the 8th of December, and succeeded beyond expectation: the provincials abandoned the place at their approach, and the continental squadron

C H A P.
XIV.

1776.

Dec. 8.

CHAP. was entirely blocked up. The British troops continued here during the winter, where they had better quarters than any of the rest, and were undisturbed by any enemy.

XIV

1776.

Miserable
state of the
affairs of
the colo-
nists.

The continued successes of the royal army afforded the greatest matter of exultation in Britain. The pompous accounts published in the newspapers, excited a general expectation that some of the principal colonies would submit; while yet a number of people, who had originally dissented from the ministerial measures, adhered inflexibly to their first opinion, and treated the successes of the royal army as far more splendid than important. The affairs of the provincials were indeed in a most disagreeable situation. The royal army, unopposed by any enemy, had been at liberty to chuse such a position as the consummate military skill of its general should suggest. Their winter cantonments at length extended from New-Brunswick to the Delaware; and had it been possible to have passed the river at the time of their first arrival, there seems very little doubt that they would have made themselves masters of Philadelphia. The royal army also threatened the northern provinces by the capture of Rhode-Island; a dreadful invasion from Canada was also expected as soon as the season of action should be renewed; while the army under general Washington, besides the losses in the field, was now threatened with total annihilation by the return of the troops, whose appointed time of service was now about to expire. So great was the desertion on this account, that towards the end of the year 1776, it was computed that the whole provincial force under generals Washington and Lee did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men, and even those were kept together chiefly by a personal attachment to the commander in chief, who was held in the greatest estimation by all ranks of men. In this desperate situation, matters were rendered worse, if possible, by the capture of general Lee, who was surprised in his quarters by colonel Harcourt, at the head of a detachment of light horse. This, though in other circumstances it might have been considered as an affair of little consequence, at present threatened to be a very serious matter, not only on account of the raw undisciplined state of the forces, but also of the defect of military skill in their officers, which proved even worse than the former. The capture of this officer was attended with this disagreeable circumstance, that he could not be exchanged according to a cartel that had been established between the generals. It was supposed, that as Lee had been exceedingly obnoxious to government, general Howe was

General
Lee taken
prisoner.

CHAP. XIV.
 tied down by his instructions from parting with him upon any terms, if he should chance to fall into his power. Some animosities had also been supposed to exist between this gentleman and several officers in the British army, as well as some persons in high office at court, all which produced a degree of exultation on the part of the conquerors very unworthy of the character they bore. 1776.

As general Washington had not at this time any prisoner of equal rank with general Lee, he offered six field-officers in exchange, hoping that the number would balance the disparity of rank; or, if this should not be accepted, he required that the general should be treated in a manner suitable to his rank, according to the practice established among civilized nations, and the example already set by the Americans, in treating the British officers who had fallen into their hands. To this, however, it was replied, that Mr. Lee being a deserter from the British service, was not to be considered as a prisoner of war, nor did he come at all within the cartel. A dispute now took place, whether general Lee, who had resigned his half-pay in the beginning of the war, could be considered as a deserter? or, whether he could with justice be excluded from the benefits of a cartel, at the formation of which no exception of persons had been mentioned? The affirmative in these questions, which was taken by the British general, excited not only the highest indignation in the breast of general Washington himself, but produced very disagreeable consequences to the British prisoners; as congress now declared, that the future treatment of these prisoners should depend entirely on that which general Lee experienced.

That unfortunate officer, in the mean time, was confined in the closest manner, and guarded with all that watchful jealousy which attends the greatest state-criminals in the most perilous times. This severity was retaliated on colonel Campbell, who had been taken by a mistake in entering the harbour of Boston after it was in the hands of the provincials, and had till now experienced every kind of humanity at the hands of the captors. No sooner, however, did the news of general Lee's close confinement arrive, than he was thrown into a dungeon, and treated otherwise with the utmost rigour. Those officers also, who had been taken prisoners by the southern colonists, though treated with less severity, were abridged of their parole liberty, and deprived of other comforts which they had hitherto enjoyed.

CHAP. Thus the congress in this instance manifested a spirit as

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Resolute
behaviour
of the con-
gress.

yet undaunted by adversity, and kept up the dignity of the character they had assumed of sovereigns of an independent empire. In other respects, their conduct was equally firm and unshaken; nor did the great body of the people ever manifest any thing like an inclination to yield, or even to acknowledge that the enemy had got any advantage over them. The gasconades of the British soldiers were retorted by others on the part of the provincials, and the prowess and abilities of general Washington extolled beyond measure. Some plots in favour of the royal cause had, indeed, been formed before the arrival of the fleet and navy; but the ease with which they were defeated, manifested at once the extreme weakness of government interest, and the extreme imprudence of the insurgents in attempting schemes so far beyond their power. Some few executions, however, took place on this account; great numbers were confined; and many, through fear, abandoned their houses, and were pursued as outlaws and enemies to their country, and their estates seized and forfeited. The greatest defection happened in Philadelphia itself, where the discontents arose at last to such an height, that general Washington, weak as he was, found it necessary to detach three regiments to quiet them, which, however, perfectly well answered the purpose, and enabled him to direct his whole attention towards the reparation of his affairs.

The congress now, sensible that all was at stake, resolved to use their utmost endeavours in raising a new force capable of opposing the royal army with some effect; and at the same time, perceiving the disadvantages arising from the liberty granted to the soldiers of returning to their families at the end of the year, determined now to cause them to enlist on some other terms. About the middle of September they had issued orders for the raising of eighty-eight battalions, the soldiers to be bound to serve during the continuance of the war. The number of battalions to be thus raised was in proportion to the strength of the province. Massachusetts-Bay and Virginia were to furnish fifteen battalions, Pennsylvania twelve; North-Carolina nine; Connecticut and Maryland eight; and, on account of the situation of New-York and the Jerseys, each of these provinces was rated only at four. A bounty of twenty dollars was offered to each man at the time of enlisting; lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the survivors, and to the representatives of all who were slain in action, in different stated

proportions, from 500 acres, the allotment of a colonel, CHAP. to 150, that of an ensign; the private men, and non-com- XIV. missioned officers, to have 100 acres each; and to prevent these valuable gifts from being squandered through the improvidence of the soldiers, the lands were rendered unalienable during the war; no assignment or transfer being admitted at the conclusion.

The congress had formerly, as an encouragement to their forces, decreed, that all officers, soldiers, and seamen, who were, or might be disabled in action, should receive, during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank at the time they received their misfortune. Notwithstanding all these encouragements, however, the condition of serving for an indefinite term, *during the war*, was so far from being agreeable, that in the month of November it was found necessary to admit another mode of enlistment, by restricting the term to the space of three years; the soldiers receiving the same bounty as in the former case, but being cut out of any allotment in lands.

To give encouragement to the people in general who, however averse to British government, seemed very little inclined to face their forces in the field, a manifesto was published by congress, dated December 10, addressed more particularly to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. In this, every possible argument was used to promote the formation of the new army, on which every thing depended; and to remove that despondency, of which some symptoms seemed already to appear, and which, if once suffered to prevail, must certainly overthrow the cause entirely.

For these purposes, they enumerated the causes of the troubles; the supposed grievances they had endured; the late oppressive laws passed against them; dwelt much on the contempt with which all their petitions and applications had been treated; and, to shew that no alternative but war, or a tame resignation of all that could be dear to mankind, remained, they asserted, that even the boasted commissioners for giving peace to America had not offered, nor yet offer, any terms, but pardon upon absolute submission. From thence they deduced the necessity of the act of independency, asserting, that it would have been impossible for them to have defended their rights against so powerful an aggressor, aided by large armies of foreign mercenaries, or to have obtained that assistance from other states which was absolutely necessary to their preservation, whilst they acknowledged the sovereignty, and confessed

CHAP. themselves the subjects of that power against which they
 XIV. had taken up arms, and were engaged in so cruel a war.

1776.

They boasted of the success that had in general attended their cause and exertions; contending, that the present state of weakness and danger did not proceed from any capital loss, defeat, or from any defect of valour in their troops, but merely from the expiration of the terms of those short enlistments which had in the beginning been adopted from an attention to the ease of the people. They assured them, that foreign states had already rendered them essential services, and had given them the most positive promises of further aid; and they endeavoured to excite the indignation and animosity of the people, by expatiating on the unrelenting, cruel, and inhuman manner in which, they said, the war was carried on, not only by the auxiliaries, but even by the British forces themselves.

Oct. 4.

In the mean time, the congress proceeded to regulate the constitution of their new empire, as if no enemy had been in the country, nor the least misfortune befallen them. New articles of confederation and perpetual union, not greatly differing from those formerly related, were published on the 4th of October, after having been most deliberately considered, line by line, though about the close of the year they were obliged to consult their own safety, by retiring to Baltimore in Maryland, on account of the danger which threatened Philadelphia.

Petition
 from New-
 York and
 Queen's
 county.

The successes, however, which had attended the British arms during this campaign, had not been altogether without some appearance of that submission which was held out as the main end of the warfare. About a month after the taking of New-York, the inhabitants of that city and island presented a petition to lord Howe, and his brother the general, commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, signed by Daniel Horsmanden, Oliver de Lancey, and 946 others, declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgment of the *constitutional supremacy* of Great-Britain over the colonies; and praying that, in consequence of the former declarations by the commissioners, that city and country might be restored to his majesty's peace and protection. Another was presented from the inhabitants of Queen's county in Long-Island, in which they were equally forward to acknowledge what they called the *constitutional authority* of the mother-country; but in neither of them was the least mention made of the authority of parliament, or even of the unconditional submission so much insisted upon. For these reasons, in all

probability, it was, that no notice was taken of these petitions; nor were the inhabitants restored to the rights and privileges they had reason to expect, in consequence of the declarations of the commissioners on their first arrival; even though the inhabitants of Queen's county had raised a considerable body of forces for the king's service, a strong corps of militia for the defence of the country, and given every other testimony of loyalty that could be wished.

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Towards the end of December, matters began to take a new and very unexpected turn in favour of the provincials; the chief reason of which seems to have been, the extreme malignity with which the royal army was regarded in the country where they had taken up their residence. Complaints of the cruelties they exercised were everywhere published, and pamphlets stuffed with nothing else than details of rapes, cruelty, rapine, and murder. That such accounts were greatly exaggerated there can be no reason to doubt; as, on the other hand, it is equally certain, that they must have had some foundation in truth. In such publications, though the British troops were far from escaping censure, the Hessians were principally stigmatized. From the beginning of the campaign, indeed, the most violent antipathy had taken place betwixt the Hessians and Americans. The latter, contending, as they thought, for freedom, and filled with the notions of the natural rights of mankind, beheld, with the utmost abhorrence, a people whom they regarded as the meanest slaves, resigning, for a miserable pittance, all their faculties to the will of a petty despot, and engaging in a domestic quarrel in which they had neither interest nor concern; quitting their own homes; and, not without danger even from the length of the voyage, passing an immense ocean to butcher those who never did them any harm; nay, those who had for a century past afforded an asylum to multitudes of their countrymen, harrassed and oppressed by a tyranny similar to that under which these were now acting, and whom they would not hesitate to treat in the same manner they now did the British Americans. On the other hand, the Hessians, naturally fierce and cruel, and ignorant of any rights but those of despotism, were incapable of distinguishing betwixt the ravaging an enemy's country, and the reduction of a rebellious people to a due obedience to their lawful sovereign. It was even said, that in order to reconcile these barbarians to the undertaking of such a long and dangerous voyage, they had been promised large portions of the lands they

CHAP. should conquer in America; in consequence of which, XIV. they first considered the ancient possessors as their natural enemies; but afterwards, when they found their error, 1776. they claimed a right to the moveable plunder of the country, of which they amassed such quantities as are said to have considerably impeded their military operations.

However disagreeable such conduct might be to the British commanders, it certainly was no easy matter to put a stop to it, considering the evident necessity of keeping friendship with allies nearly as numerous and powerful as themselves. Neither was it possible, that the disorderly conduct of the Hessians, at which the commander in chief would so frequently be obliged to wink, could be prevented from infecting the British troops, and, of consequence, from producing most violent clamours, not only throughout all America, but even in Europe, and that to such a degree, as even in some measure to affect the public character of the British nation. In France, particularly, these accounts were received with the utmost avidity. Particular instances were even condescended upon, such as the destruction of the public library at Trenton, of the college and library at Princetown, together with a celebrated orrery made by Rittenhouse, supposed to be the best in the world; which were said to indicate the Gothic barbarity, and an inclination to make war even with literature and the sciences.

Hessians
surprised at
Trenton.

One of the natural consequences of this hatred to the British army, was a deficiency of proper intelligence on their part, and consequently a continual danger of being surprised, unless guarded by the most unremitting vigilance, which their great success was a continual temptation to relax. To this want of vigilance was owing the first instance of American good fortune. Colonel Ralli, a brave and experienced Hessian officer, was stationed with a body of 14 or 1500 men at Trenton upon the Delaware, being the highest post occupied by the British army. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles down the river; and another was posted at Burlington, still lower down, and within 20 miles of Philadelphia. General Washington having got intelligence that these corps, particularly that at Trenton, lay in a state of perfect security, and despised the enemy, formed a design of surprising and cutting them off. Having, therefore, assembled his forces, consisting chiefly of draughts from the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in three bodies, he appointed each to arrive at its station on the Delaware soon after it was dark, and with as little

noise as possible on the night of Christmas day. Two of CHAP. these were under the generals Erving and Cadwalader; XIV. the former of which was to pass the river at Trenton-ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other still lower, towards Bordentown. The principal body was commanded by general Washington in person, assisted by generals Sullivan and Green, and consisted of about 2500 men, provided with a train of 20 small brass field pieces.

With this body he arrived at a place called M'Kenky's ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, hoping to be able to pass over by midnight, after which it would be no difficult matter to reach that place long before day-light, and effectually to surprise Ralli's brigade. By reason, however, of the impediments, arising from the ice in the river, it was near four in the morning before their passage was completed; and their march being still further delayed by a violent storm of hail and snow, it was eight o'clock before they reached the place of destination. Before the attack, the general animated them by the following speech. "My friends, it is not only the liberty of America that depends on your valour and firmness, but what ought to be much more dear to you than your lives, your honour! Think of the infamy which will attend you through life, not only here, but through the whole world, if the campaign closes without some instance that the courage with which you stand to your arms is equal to the justice of the cause which ought to animate your bosoms. For my own part, I will not survive a defeat, if that defeat arises from any inattention to your safety. Wipe out the stains which have been thrown upon your reputations, by seeking an honourable death; and give credit to me, that it will be the only means of meeting victory, life, and honour."

On this occasion, the behaviour and success of the troops was perfectly consonant to the wishes of their general. They proceeded with such secrecy and silence, that the Hessians had not the least notice of their approach, until an advanced post, at some distance from the town, was attacked by one division, and the out-guards driven in by another. Ralli's regiment having been detached to support the picket first attacked, met the party already retreating, was thrown into disorder by it, and in that state driven back upon the main body. Colonel Ralli, however, still bravely charged the enemy; but being mortally wounded, his troops were routed and driven from their artillery, consisting only of six brass field-pieces. At last, being quite overpowered, and nearly surrounded, the

CHAP. three regiments of Rallis, Losberg, and Knyphausen,

XIV. found themselves obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

1776.

Some made their escape to Bordentown, but the number of prisoners carried off amounted to 918. The killed and wounded did not exceed 30 or 40 in number: the loss on the American side was only four officers and one or two private men wounded. The other two divisions of the provincial army found it impossible to cross the Delaware by reason of the ice, so that general Washington was obliged to content himself with the success he had already obtained, and, without loss of time, crossing the rivers with the prisoners and trophies of victory he had gained, entered the capital in triumph.

This first instance of success wonderfully raised the spirits of the Americans, and contributed much more to the formation of a new provincial army, than the commands or exhortations of the congress. General Washington was speedily reinforced by several regiments from Maryland and Virginia, as well as by fresh bodies of the Pennsylvanian militia, so that finding himself once more in a condition to face the enemy, he again crossed the Delaware, and took up his quarters at Trenton; while the British generals were so much alarmed by this unexpected disaster, that they instantly assembled their forces. General Grant, with the forces at Brunswick and the parts adjacent, advanced to Princetown; and lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New-York in his way to England, now returned to the defence of the Jerseys.

1777.

The British forces almost entirely driven out of the Jerseys.

On the 2d of January, 1777, lord Cornwallis marched to attack the enemy, who were strongly posted at Trenton Creek, having possessed themselves of the bridge and other passages, which they had well covered with artillery. Several skirmishes ensued, and a cannonade was kept up on both sides till night; but general Washington, having no more inclination to come to a general engagement than before, after taking the usual precautions of lighting fires, &c. quitted his camp in the night time, with the greatest silence and secrecy, marching with the utmost expedition towards Princetown. About sunrise, they fell in with a brigade of British troops, consisting of the 17th, 40th, and 45th regiments, under the conduct of colonel Mawhood, who had just begun their march, and were as completely surprised as the Hessians had been at Trenton. They were immediately attacked with great fury by the provincials; but though the three regiments were separated from one another, and the 17th particularly, led on by colonel Mawhood himself, surrounded on all

sides, they maintained the fight with the greatest bravery, and, at last, by means of their bayonets, forced a passage through the thickest ranks of the enemy, and pursued their march undisturbed to Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton. The 55th, finding it impossible to continue their march, made good their retreat to Brunswick; and the 40th retired, by another road, to the same place. In this attack, though the provincials had many more killed and wounded, the British troops suffered severely, having about 200 taken prisoners; and the fortune of the war was immediately reversed in a very strange manner. Lord Cornwallis now found it necessary to return from the Delaware, to the defence of the magazines at Brunswick. The provincials still avoided any decisive action; but, in a few days, over-run both the Jerseys, spreading themselves over the Rariton into Essex county, where, by seizing Newark, Elisabeth-town, and Woodbridge, they became masters of the coast opposite to Staten Island, at the same time that their principal posts were taken with so much judgment, that it never was found practicable to dislodge them. The royal army retained only the two posts of Brunswick and Amboy, both holding a communication by sea with New-York. In these, the army under lord Cornwallis continued, during the whole winter, very much straitened, the troops undergoing the hardships of a severe and incessant duty, while their numbers were thinned by a continued series of skirmishes, productive of little advantage on either side, farther than inuring the Americans to military service, and weakening the royal army, whose numbers could not be replaced with the same ease as the provincials.

The bad effects of the late disorderly conduct of the troops were now most sensibly felt. The whole province joined as one man, to revenge their former injuries. Every load of forage, and every article of provision which did not come from New-York, was purchased at the price of blood. So hostile was the province now become, that such as were incapable of arms acted as spies, and watched continually for those who bore them; so that the smallest motion could not be made without its being discovered and exposed before the intended effect could be produced. Thus was a victorious and far superior army reduced to act on the defensive, and, in a manner, besieged in a country which it had entered with such sanguine hopes and appearances of conquest. The character of general Washington was exalted to the highest pitch among his countrymen; and even in Europe he

CHAP. was held in great estimation, being generally stiled the
 XIV. the American Fabius, from the famous Roman general
 of that name, who opposed Hannibal with success.

1777.
 Causes of
 the decline
 of the Bri-
 tish affairs.

On the part of the British generals, or the troops they commanded, no fault was ever alleged with the smallest shew of reason, except the disorderly conduct of the soldiers already mentioned, and which, from the employment of Hessians in the service originally, seemed to be altogether unavoidable. Many other causes, however, concurred to retard the progress of their arms. Among these, the principal may be supposed to rise from the vast extent of the American Continent, with its uncommon division into large tracts of territory, some cultivated, and others in a state of nature; the great length of sea-coast in its front, and the immense wastes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording shelter in all possible circumstances; the numberless impregnable posts, and natural barriers, formed by the various combinations of woods, mountains, lakes, and marshes. To these, no doubt, must be added, the surprising unanimity of the colonies, and the judicious application of their strength, by suiting the defence of the country to the nature, genius, and ability of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country itself; thereby rendering pitched battles useless, and confining the operations of war entirely to the defence of posts, making surprises, and fighting skirmishes. Add to this also, that the people were unfettered by strong cities; so that the reduction of the capital of a province had little or no effect upon the rest; and the army could retain no more territory than that which it immediately occupied, which was again lost as soon as it departed to another quarter.

Indians stir-
 red up by
 the British
 agents.

During the course of this campaign, attempts had not been wanting to stir up the Indians to make an attack on the back parts of the southern colonies. They were now informed, that a British army was to land in West-Florida; and, after penetrating through the countries of the Creek, Chickesaw, and Cherokee Indians, where they expected to be joined by the warriors of all these nations, were to attack the Carolinas and Virginia; whilst another formidable armament, both of sea and land forces, was to make a powerful impression on the coasts of these provinces. Circular letters to the same purpose were distributed by a Mr. Stewart, principal agent for Indian affairs, among the back settlers, requiring them to repair to the royal standard as soon as it should be erected in the country of the Cherokees, setting forth the plan of operations, and de-

manding subscription to a written declaration of their allegiance, that they might thus be distinguished from the enemies to the royal cause.

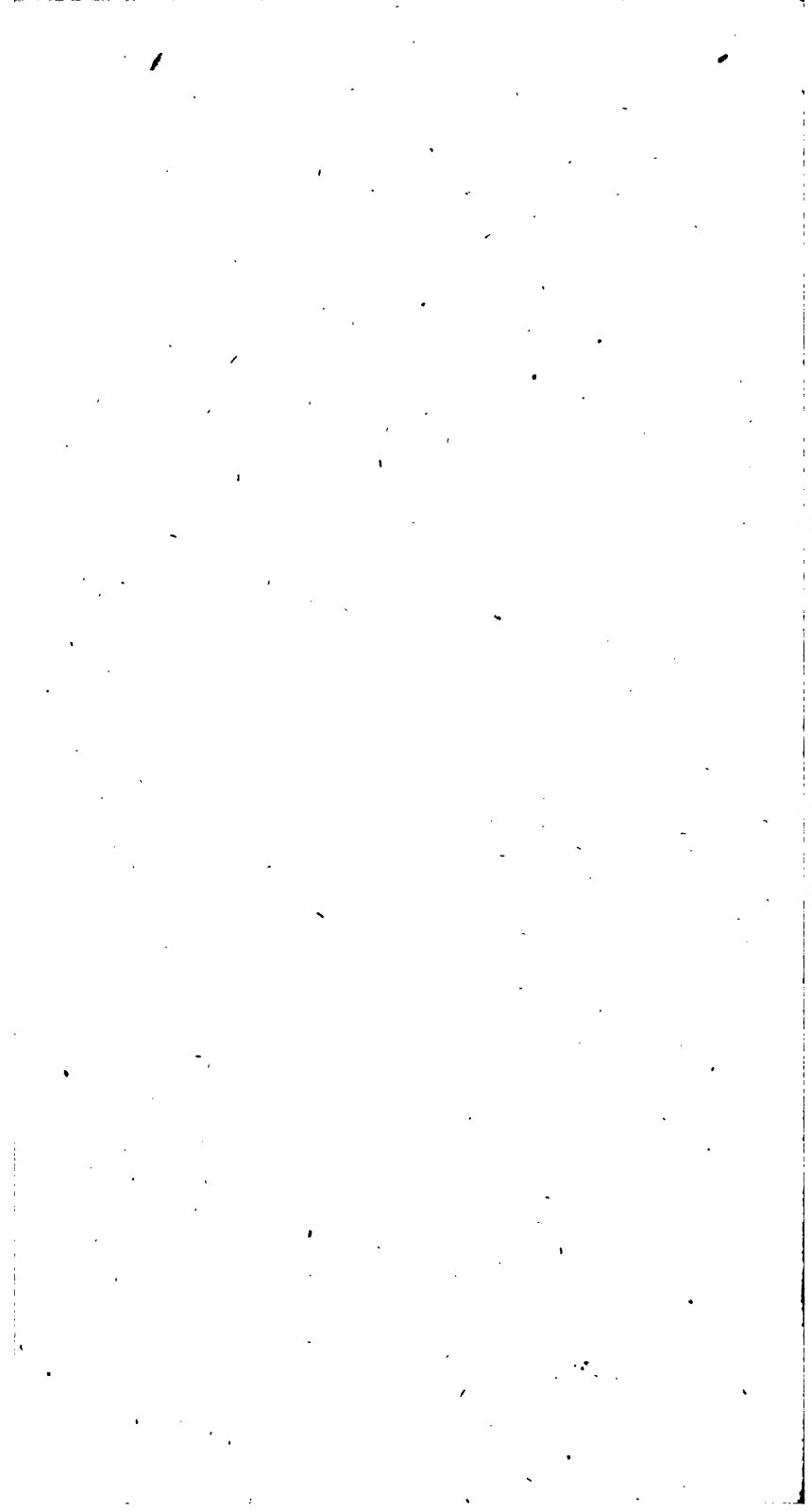
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1777.

With this proposal, the natural avarice, levity of temper, and blood-thirsty disposition of the Indians, induced them readily to comply. Even the Six Nations, who had formerly agreed to the observance of a strict neutrality, now joined the general confederacy, and committed some acts of hostility, which, however, were afterwards disowned by their chiefs. The Creeks began the war in the southern parts with all that violence and barbarity which distinguishes American savages; but finding themselves not supported as had been promised, they suddenly stopped short, excused themselves as well as they could to the congress, and refused to assist the Cherokees who applied to them for that purpose. The latter were thus left to carry on the war by themselves, which they did for a short time with the utmost fury, slaughtering, scalping, and destroying every human creature, and ruining the settlements wherever they came. These cruelties, however, were soon checked, and the perpetrators called to a severe account. The militia of the adjacent provinces assembled, marched into the country of the Cherokees, and not only defeated them in every encounter, but demolished their towns, destroyed their corn, and killed such numbers, that the nation being nearly exterminated, the wretched survivors were glad to accept a peace upon any terms the victors chose to prescribe; none of the neighbouring nations daring to interpose in their behalf.

The Cherokees utterly defeated, and almost exterminated by the Colonists.

Thus ended, at present, all hopes from the assistance of the Indians. The effects of this expedition were exceedingly prejudicial to the royal cause, as it not only excited the utmost rancour of the Americans who had already revolted, but even of the well-affected to government themselves. Such as had on this occasion declared for the cause of Britain, not only to a man expressed their abhorrence of such cruel measures, but some of their chief leaders are said to have avowed a recantation of their principles upon that very account.



CHAPTER XV.

*Affairs in Britain—John the Painter—Fire at Bristol
—Parliament—Address—Minority leave the house
—Treason bill—Payment of crown-debts and aug-
mentation of civil list—Sir Fletcher Norton's speech
—Lord Chatham's conciliatory plan rejected.*

WHILE these transactions were going forward in America, the people of Britain remained in a state of torpid indifference, expecting daily to hear of the submission of the colonies, from the splendid accounts of conquest exhibited in the newspapers, and the idea of the extreme imbecility and cowardice of the Americans, which had been so industriously propagated and kept up. Some misfortunes, indeed, affected a part of the nation; but as these did not in any degree reach the generality, the news of them made no change in the state of public affairs. In the West Indies, several of the most essential necessities of life, particularly those used for feeding the negroes, as well as the poor and labouring white people, had risen to three or four times their usual price. Staves for casks, which were next to food as an object of necessity, could not be procured in sufficient quantity at any price. Other wants were absorbed in the dread of famine, which, had it not been for the number of American prizes taken and disposed of during the war, would undoubtedly have commenced. At the same time, an insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica, though happily discovered in time and crushed, considerably increased the public troubles. The military force in that island had been very much weakened, in order to reinforce the troops in America, and the departure of a fleet of merchantmen, to the number of 120 sail, with

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State of af-
fairs in Bri-
tain.

CHAP. a great part of the small squadron on that station to be
 XV. their convoy, would leave it almost entirely defenceless;
 1776. and it was discovered that the negroes had fixed on this
 time of extreme weakness for the execution of their design. The sailing of the fleet was therefore postponed for a month after the ships were loaded, and just ready to put to sea. Though this proved an immediate loss to the owners, the consequences were much more ruinous. The delay afforded time to the American cruizers to take proper stations; the ships were scattered by bad weather, and fell defenceless into the hands of the enemy; so that though it was late in the season before the Americans began this kind of depredation, the loss to Great Britain, by captures alone, during the year 1776, amounted to more than a million sterling.

Towards the end of this year also, the French and Spaniards began to shew a strong attachment to the Americans. The continental privateers appeared in great numbers in their ports, and the prizes they brought in with them sold openly, and without disguise. Remonstrances from the British court only made the sales less open; and, in the situation of affairs at that time, it was not thought prudent to assert the national dignity, by pushing matters to those extremities which otherwise would have been undoubtedly done. In the West-Indies, however, the depredations were carried to a much greater extent than in Europe, and avowedly patronised by all the French colonies. Even French ships took out American commissions; and, with a few, or sometimes even no American sailors on board, made war on the British trade with impunity. The king's ships, however, took a vast number of prizes on their part, though this number was far from being able to balance the value of those taken by the enemy.

Besides the direct loss by captures, trade suffered otherwise by the prodigious rise of insurance; that upon the West-Indies now amounting to no less than 23 per cent. The prodigious armaments of France and Spain also threatened an approaching war with these powers; so that, towards the end of October, a proclamation was issued, for raising the bounty to seamen who enlisted to 5l. per man. Sixteen additional ships of the line were also suddenly put into commission; and another proclamation was issued, recalling all seamen who were in any foreign service. This was quickly followed by two others; the one laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions from Great-

Britain and Ireland, the other for the observation of a general fast. CHAP. XV.

An opportunity now occurred for renewing the disputes between the city of London and the ministry, whose mutual animosity had not been for many years extinguished. The present contest took place with the lords of the admiralty; and the point in question was the legality of pressing seamen into his majesty's service. The lord mayor claimed an exemption for the watermen of his barge, and the city denied the legality of pressing within their jurisdiction. The matter was brought before the court of king's bench, where the judges gave their opinion, that these claims were not supported by adequate proof. However, though the matter was very hotly disputed for some time, it was at last ended without any proper decision on some very important points of law; though indeed the necessities of the times, seemed now to supersede every other consideration.

The idea of being attacked by the combined powers of France and Spain, while engaged at the same time in a contest, however trifling, with the colonies, began at last to awaken the fears of the people. Suspicions of plots and treasons occurred; and these were increased by the attempts of an enthusiastic miscreant, known by the name of *John the Painter*, but whose real name was *James Aiken*. This man was born at Edinburgh; but being endowed with a strong propensity to rambling, as well as very vicious inclinations, had, in the course of a few years, gone through a number of those adventures in which the most abandoned vagabonds usually employ themselves, and for which his profession as a painter afforded a proper cover.

Account of
John the
Painter.

Among other exploits, our adventurer had passed through several marching regiments of foot, from each of which he had deserted as soon as he could, after receiving the bounty-money. In his various peregrinations through different parts of England, he alternately committed highway robberies, burglaries, petty thefts, rapes, and worked at his trade as occasion offered. At last, he passed over to America, where he remained for two or three years, traversed several of the colonies, and having, in that country, imbibed the most violent sentiments of the people with regard to the mother-country, he returned to England, filled with the most deadly antipathy to Britain; soon after which, he adopted the design of entirely subverting the power of the government and nation, by the sole machinations of his own industry and ingenuity.

CHAP. This arduous task was to be accomplished by setting fire

XV. to the royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns, with their shipping. In the prosecution of this atrocious design, he again traversed the greatest part of the kingdom, in order to observe the state of the several docks, and the manner in which they were guarded, which last he found in general as careless as could be wished. Having procured all the intelligence he desired, his next care was to provide fire-works, machines, and combustibles proper for the execution of his purpose; and, had it not been for his ignorance in the proper mode of applying or constructing these machines, it is probable that the naval power of Britain might have been irretrievably ruined.

One of these machines, which extinguished of its own accord, was found in the hemp-house at Portsmouth, which it had failed to set on fire, though placed in the midst of a vast quantity of such a combustible substance. Dec. 7. He succeeded, however, in his design of setting the rope-house on fire; but the flames were happily subdued without communicating themselves to the other magazines.

His next attempt was at Bristol, where having failed Attempt to set fire to Bristol, January 7, 1777. two or three times in his endeavours to burn the shipping, he at last determined to secure their destruction, by setting on fire the houses next the quay. In this he partly succeeded. Six or seven warehouses were set on fire, and consumed; but still the shipping remained safe. So many attempts, which were abortive, were always discovered; his machines being found, could not but excite the greatest alarm. It could not be imagined that all this should proceed from the mere political enthusiasm of a wretched vagabond. The two great parties into which the nation was divided mutually accused each other. The most bigotted and furious, on the one side attributed them to the disaffection and republican principles of the other; while those of the same denomination on the other side were equally convinced, that they were the mere inventions or malicious acts of the tories for the sole purpose of blackening their adversaries.

Soon after the departure of this miscreant from Bristol, he was taken up on some suspicious circumstances, but behaved with uncommon art and boldness. Though brought before some of the lords and principal officers of the admiralty, by whom he was several times examined, he peremptorily refused to answer such questions as might tend in the remotest degree to criminate him; nor did he appear in any manner of way embarrassed in his defence. At last

he was circumvented by means of another painter, who was also an American. This man, by pretending to sympathize with the misfortunes of John, and to be of the same principles with him, at length obtained his confidence in prison, until being instructed and assisted for the purpose, he fulfilled his intent, by drawing from him the whole history of his crimes. On his trial at Portsmouth, notwithstanding the shock which the appearance and evidence of his pretended friend against him must have given, he behaved with the same boldness and address he had hitherto manifested—made a good defence—shrewd observations on the nature of the evidence, and the baseness of the witness—and received sentence of death with perfect indifference. When at the place of execution, or in his way to it, he sent for one of the principal naval officers at Portsmouth, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and likewise gave some cautions with respect to the future preservation of the royal dock-yards from similar dangers.

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1777.

His execution.

In the mean time, the parliament met on the last day of October, and as the accounts of the success at New-York had already arrived, the speech from the throne expressed not only the utmost indignation against the rebels, but the greatest hopes of subduing them; another campaign, however, would, at any rate, be necessary. Amicable assurances from other powers were still held forth, though, in the present situation of affairs, it was indispensibly necessary, that we should be in a respectable state of defence at home. The expence of this was regretted, but no doubt was entertained, that the important objects under consideration would procure a chearful grant of the necessary supplies. In this arduous contest it was evident, that his majesty could have no other object than the good of his subjects; no people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government than the revolted provinces, of which their boasted improvements in every art, their numbers, wealth, and strength by sea and land, were irrefragable proofs. The speech concluded with a declaration, that his majesty's desire was to restore to them the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they had fatally and desperately thrown away for the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

Parliamentary proceedings, Oct. 31st 1776

The addresses on this occasion were in the ordinary strain, and were, as usual, warmly debated in both houses. In the house of commons, lord John Cavendish moved an amendment longer than the address itself; the purport of which was to throw the blame of the American

CHAP. XV. **revolt on the ministers, on account of their withholding from parliament the necessary information, and misleading the house into false measures, every one of which, instead of procuring either reconciliation or submission on the part of the colonists, had tended to exasperate them more and more.**

1776.

The amendment proposed by the marquis of Rockingham, in the house of lords, criticised the speech as the act of the minister, in a manner still more severe, and openly denied almost every thing asserted in it.

On the other side, the address was defended with equal warmth, and the amendment rejected by the usual majority, the numbers being 242 to 87 in the house of commons, and 91 to 26 in the house of lords.

Several of the minority retire from the house.

The members in opposition, finding themselves on every occasion overpowered by such vast majorities, resolved at length to take no more share in the debates relative to America, but to leave the ministerial party entirely masters of the field. Some of the principal leaders took a formal leave of the speaker, and immediately left the house; a circumstance by no means agreeable to the other party, as the voting immense sums of money without any debate, seemed to lay no unreasonable foundation for demanding another discussion at some future period.

The seceding members justified themselves on several grounds; particularly, that in the present state of things, all opposition to government-measures, particularly in what related to American affairs, was absolutely vain and fruitless. It was even worse; it was frivolous and contemptible; it was too degrading to themselves to be the continual instruments of opposing reason and argument to the deaf insolence of irresistible force, which had long ago determined on its measures without the smallest regard to either. They had, for a number of years, repeatedly warned the nation of the dangers attending those ruinous measures which it was pursuing. The ministry, however, by playing upon the passions of the people, by various allurements, and that unbounded influence of the crown, which now pervaded every department, had brought the great body over to their measures, insomuch that it seemed now impossible to recover them from their delusion.—That, as it was not the part of a wise man to strive with impossibilities, so neither was it consistent for those who regarded their honest fame beyond all other things, except their principles and honour, to draw upon them the hatred of their fellow-citizens, by endeavouring to serve them. They would, therefore, preserving their principles still unshaken,

and reserve their activity for rational endeavours, when the present delirium might be so far allayed, either with the people or their ministers, as to afford some room for its operating with advantage.

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1776.

This secession, however, was not very strictly adhered to, on the part of the minority. In the beginning of February, the minister brought in a bill to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons suspected of, or charged with the crime of high treason, committed in America or on the high seas, or of the crime of piracy. He prefaced the motion by observing, that, during the present war in America, many prisoners had been made, who were in the actual commission of the crime of high treason: that there were others guilty of that crime who might be taken, but who, for want of sufficient evidence, could not at present be securely confined: that it had been customary in cases of rebellion, or danger of invasion from without, to enable the crown to seize suspected persons. He would not, however, be thought to hint at any present necessity of trusting ministers with such a power in general; the times were happily different from those which called for such exertions in their utmost extent, as neither rebellion at home nor foreign war were apprehended.— But, as the law stood at present, it was not possible for government officially to apprehend the most suspected person. The crown had no means of confining rebel prisoners, or those taken in the crime of piracy on the high seas, but in common gaols; a measure not only inconvenient, but impracticable. In the present state of affairs, it was absolutely necessary, that the crown should be enabled to confine prisoners under those descriptions, and to provide for their security in the same manner that was practised with other prisoners of war, until circumstances might make it advisable to proceed criminally against them.

Debates on
the Treason bill,
Feb. 10,
1777.

Such, according to the minister's description, was the purport of this bill; but, when it came to be read, it appeared, that the enacting clause rendered all persons taken in the act of high treason, committed in any of the colonies, or on the high seas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or shall be charged with or suspected of any of those crimes, liable to be committed to any common gaol, or to any other special place of confinement appointed for that purpose, under his majesty's sign manual, within any part of his dominions, there to be detained in safe custody, without bail, mainprise, or trial, during the continuance of the law; with a provision, however, enabling a certain

CHAP. number of the privy council to grant an order for admitting such persons to bail or trial.

1777.

Of the few members in opposition who happened to be present, mr. Dunning animadverted most severely on the bill now proposed by the minister. He expressed the utmost astonishment, that a bill of such magnitude and importance, which struck directly at the great palladium of the British constitution, the *habeas corpus* act, should be brought in without proper notice, at a season when the house was so badly attended, and an attempt made to precipitate its passage in so extraordinary a manner as to propose the second reading within three or four days after its being first heard of. Besides the defect in point of notice, he said it had also been brought in unfairly, and was totally different from what the minister had announced it to be on the preceding day. It was likewise extremely discordant in its parts; neither the title nor preamble giving the smallest idea of the extraordinary matter contained in the enacting clauses. He was equally shocked and alarmed to see a bill, which was to suspend all the functions of the constitution, brought in under such circumstances, and attempted to be smuggled through a thin house under false colours, before the nation could be apprised of its danger, or their constituents have the smallest notice, that they were going to surrender the foundation of all their other rights, and the peculiar characteristic of the British liberty and government.

The alarm excited by this bill recalled a few of the minority gentlemen, who had before refused their attendance, and the disputes were renewed with as great fury as ever. On the present occasion, however, the minister shewed himself much more complaisant than usual. He cheerfully agreed to an amendment proposed by a gentleman in the minority, that nothing should be deemed piracy within the true meaning and legal construction of the act, but acts of felony committed upon the ships or goods of the subject on the high seas. This amendment was the more particularly contended for, as by some of the former statutes of piracy, the trading or corresponding with pirates was deemed to be felony without benefit of clergy; and it was apprehended, that persons who had innocently traded with the Americans, might, by construction of the law, be subjected to the penalties of these statutes.

The apparent flexibility of the minister on the present occasion, gave rise to the proposal of another amendment of greater importance, which was, that no person should be secured or detained under, or by virtue of this act, for

treason, or suspicion of treason, unless such person should have been locally resident in his majesty's colonies and plantations in America, at the time he was charged with, or suspected of committing the crime. This amendment was vigorously opposed by administration; but while his friends were, as they thought, fighting the battle of the minister, he, to their utter astonishment, deserted them, and the amended clause was received without a division. The bill, however, was still contested, though more faintly, and at last carried by 112 to 35. In the house of lords it passed without debate or amendment, the minority having so totally deserted that assembly, that lord Abingdon found himself left alone in a protest against it.

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1777.

In the course of this session, though several of the public accounts underwent a severe animadversion, particularly those for horses and rum for the army, the most disagreeable business that occurred was relative to the civil list, which was again become prodigiously indebted. On the 9th of April, a message from the throne was delivered, in which much concern was expressed by the sovereign at being obliged to acquaint them with the difficulties he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expences of the household, and of the civil government, which, on the 5th of January last, had amounted to more than 600,000*l*.—that he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, of which he had received so many signal proofs, for enabling him to discharge this debt; and that they would, at the same time, make some further provision for the better support of his household, and the honour and dignity of his crown. The message was accompanied with a number of papers, containing various accounts of the expenditure, and a comparative view of the whole amount of the present civil-list establishment from the year 1760, with that of the produce of the former revenues, which had been appropriated to that service during the same period; the former to shew the causes of the increased expence, and the latter, that the crown had been a loser by the bargain made at that time with the parliament.

On the payment of the crown-debts, and augmentation of the civil list.
April 9.

The message being, after some debate, referred to the committee of supply, was taken into consideration on the 16th of the month; when a motion was made by lord John Cavendish, the purport of which was, that it should be determined by a vote, whether the requisition contained in the message should be immediately complied with, or the accompts first taken into consideration. The minority, who were unanimous in support of the motion,

April 16.

CHAP. differed somewhat among themselves as to the method to

XV. be adopted in carrying their plan into execution. Some

were of opinion, that the present debt ought to be discharged, as a matter that could not be avoided, but were

averse to any augmentation of the revenue; while others were decidedly against either, until the accounts should have received a full discussion, when they insisted, that the revenue as it then stood would be sufficient to answer every useful purpose. The motion, however, was rejected

by 281 to 114. On which two resolutions were passed; one, that the sum of 618,340*l.* should be granted to his majesty, in order to pay the debt incurred by his household, &c.; the other, that the sum of 100,000*l.*

October 11

a year, over and above the sum of 800,000*l.* be granted as a further provision for the better support of his majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown.

These propositions called forth the whole strength of opposition. The gentlemen on that side of the house, while they lamented the degrading situation of the sovereign, and the many distresses thereby brought upon individuals, ascribed the debt entirely to the boundless and scandalous profusion of ministers, and insisted that the present revenue was, without any possibility of doubt, not only sufficient to answer all the purposes of government, when under the restriction of a prudent œconomy, but also, fully to support the grandeur, splendour, and magnificence of the crown, in a manner suitable to its own dignity, and the greatness of the nation, even in its happiest era. It was too manifest, however, that the debt had been incurred in supporting and carrying on a system of corruption. There was no man, let his party be what it would, but who had an internal conviction, that the royal revenues were squandered in obtaining that baneful and unbounded influence which swept away every thing before it. Thus the nation was already brought to the brink of ruin; we were in a great measure already deprived of the benefits of a limited government; a great monarch was reduced to straits which would disgrace a private gentleman, and the lustre of the British crown tarnished in a manner never heard of before. The constitution, it was true, was not alarmed by the boisterous voice of prerogative; but the danger was now much greater, as the foe was sly, covert, and insidious; and his operations, though slower, were much more certain. They were therefore called upon by their patriotism, and by every tie of public as well as private duty, to restrain, instead of augmenting the means of corruption, and to prevent ministers, under any

name or pretence whatever, from obtaining the disposal CHAP. of such a permanent revenue as would render them either independent of parliament, or enable them to establish such an influence as might virtually prescribe its duties, or controul its operations. XV.

1777.

The opposition also animadverted on the accompts in the most severe manner. They were fabricated, they said, to perplex, and not to give information; the facts, of which their titles announced the discovery, could not bear the light. A great part of the royal revenue had been squandered in so shameful a manner, that the ministers dared not avow its disposal, nor communicate such a piece of knowledge to the public. They were unaccompanied by any voucher, or by any collateral or explanatory observation, capable of giving them even that colour of authenticity which was necessary for their appearance before parliament, or to render them worthy of its attention. Some accompts had even been fabricated, in order to deceive the people into an opinion, that the crown had been a great loser by the bargain made in 1760. In estimating the amount of what was most improperly called *the hereditary revenues*, or properly, *the appropriated duties* for the last sixteen years, compared with that of the actual civil-list revenue, a great surplussage was stated, and represented as so much loss to the crown, which had resigned the former; although the fact was, that the greater part of this surplus arose from a parliamentary fund that had no existence in the year 1760, and to which, if it had, the crown could not have had the smallest pretension. This fund was created by the post-office act of the 5th of the present reign; and in this estimate, with an evident view of imposition and deception, was brought to account on the side of the crown, under the supposition that the multiplicity and perplexity of figures would, together with the indolence and inattention so prevalent in public affairs, effectually operate in preventing detection. It was observed, that the large sums of 171,000*l.* and 114,000*l.* were charged in two lines for *secret service*, under the disposal of the two secretaries of the treasury, which could not but seem very dangerous, as well as mysterious. It was allowed to be right and necessary, that the secretaries of state should be allowed money for the purpose of procuring foreign intelligence; but that the officers of the treasury, who can have no public connection beyond their own office, much less any intercourse with foreign states, should be the agents for disposing of the public money in secret service, was a most alarming affair, and had in itself suffi-

CHAP. XV. cient evidence to put an end at once to all doubts as to its design or application. The expense charged under the heads of *Cofferer's office, board of works, and foreign ministers*, was said to be enormous beyond measure. It now appeared, that an attempt was made to realize the wretched policy of James VII. viz. the maintaining an army of ambassadors, at the same time that every transaction, either with regard to foreign or domestic affairs, proclaimed aloud the imbecility of ministers, and the folly of their negotiations. Above half a million was stated under the article of the *board of works*, without the least *item* to shew to whom, or for what purpose it was disposed, or on what palace, house, park, or royal garden, it had been expended.

1777.

On the part of the ministry, this deficiency in their accounts was attributed to their predecessors in office, who had carried away from their respective departments those papers and documents which would have been necessary to afford that unusual degree of accuracy and specification now demanded. It was also maintained, that, far from treating parliament with contempt, or designing to mislead, or keep them in ignorance, they had much exceeded their predecessors in exactness. Upon similar occasions it had been customary, either to give no accounts at all, or only such gross and loose estimates as were now become so much the objects of censure. Such had been the case in the year 1710, under queen Anne, and in that of George I. when two such applications were made. The same had been done at the accession of the late king, when the annual augmentation of 100,000*l.* was made to the civil-list revenue; in the year 1747, under the same reign, when parliament granted 450,000*l.* to discharge that monarch's debts; and such they observed, finally, was the case in the year 1769, upon the former application by his present majesty to parliament.

It was likewise contended, particularly in the house of lords, that the crown had a just and equitable claim to the provision now demanded, in consequence of that most generous and liberal act of his majesty in the beginning of his reign, when, from a truly paternal feeling for the burdens of his people, and a most princely desire of contributing to their ease, he surrendered the civil-list revenue of the former reign, which was fully competent to all the expences of his household and civil government, and accepted of the present income, without any experience to decide upon it, although it was then hoped it would have been sufficient to answer every purpose. During the six-

teen years of the present reign, they also said, that the revenues above mentioned had exceeded the annual amount of the royal income by considerably more than two millions, and about doubled the aggregate sum granted by parliament in the year 1769, and that required for the discharge of the present debt. From these they contended, that the discharge of the present incumbrances, as well as the future augmentation, were evidently matters of justice and right, though applied for, and wished to be received, as favours; and that, in such circumstances, the scrutinizing of accompts, and entering into minute inquiries, was equally absurd and petulant.

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In the house of commons, the application was supported by other arguments. The revenue, it was affirmed, was really and truly insufficient for the purposes it had to answer. It was impossible, nor would it be proper, even though the case were otherwise, to restrain the expences of a great sovereign, and those in the numerous departments of his household and civil government, within the limits of an exact œconomy. The parsimony which would be highly commendable in a private gentleman, would be meanness in a monarch. They observed the prodigious rise in all the necessaries of life, and increase in every article of expense and mode of living, which had taken place during the last fifty years, being the period since certain funds were assigned to the civil-list establishment, which were intended to produce at least 800,000*l. per annum*. They dwelt also upon the numerous increase of the royal family; but, however great the satisfaction arising from this circumstance might be, it must naturally and inevitably be productive of great additional expense. Other occasional or extraordinary expenses had also occurred. The revenues of the crown had been considerably diminished in consequence of the public calamities. By these the American quit-rents, at least for the present, were lost; and, by judgments of law-courts, the West-India revenue had been greatly diminished. A great clamour was made about the increase of pensions, and they were talked of in general as means of corruption; but, would they cut off the rewards for officers of the law, to whom an honourable repose, after the toils they had endured, was as necessary as equitable? Must ministers in foreign courts, who had spent their youth, and certainly not increased their fortunes in that service, retire to spend their last years in discontent and misery?

By these arguments, however, the minority were far from being silenced. They laughed at the idea of consider-

CHAP. ing the duties appropriated by the parliament to the sup-
 XV. port of the civil-list, as an hereditary property, and the re-
 ~~~~~ venue of the crown as the entailed estate of a private gen-  
 1777. tleman. These duties, they said, belonged at no time to  
 the crown, but were always under the disposal of parlia-  
 ment. It was, therefore, to the last degree absurd, pre-  
 posterous, and fallacious, to represent the agreement en-  
 tered into by his present majesty with the public, as any  
 act of *concession* in him. Nobody, they said, would pretend  
 to make it a doubt, that the ministers, who were in office  
 at the commencement of the present reign, under all the  
 particular circumstances of glory and affection, which so  
 happily distinguished that æra, would advise his majesty  
 in an application to a parliament and people, who could  
 refuse him nothing, to demand such an income as would  
 be fully adequate to the maintenance and support of the  
 crown with dignity and splendour. It must have been then  
 in the king's contemplation to marry; and he must him-  
 self, as well as his ministers, of course look forward to the  
 expenses consequent to such a state, attended with the  
 probability of a numerous issue. This was undoubtedly  
 done; and these contingencies were then supposed on all  
 sides to be amply provided for, by the bounty granted in  
 parliament. The proposal not only originated from the  
 throne, but the acceptance of it by parliament was grate-  
 fully acknowledged. The grant was made in the very way  
 proposed by Mr. Legge, who was then chancellor of the  
 exchequer, and who, in the king's name, gave the most  
 explicit assurances, that no more should be asked. The civil-  
 list act expressly declares in its preamble, that 800,000*l.*  
 was a certain competent revenue for defraying the ex-  
 penses of his majesty's civil government, and supporting  
 the dignity of the crown of Great-Britain.

The arguments adduced, and the right claimed, from  
 the supposed practice of parliament, in constantly dis-  
 charging, without account or inquiry, the incumbrances  
 of the crown upon former applications, were said to be  
 equally unfounded, and to have been overthrown by facts  
 already stated. Queen Anne generously bestowed 100,000*l.*  
 annually of her private revenue, in supporting a most ex-  
 tensive, dangerous, and important war; and she expen-  
 ded vast sums of money upon a public object, in the erec-  
 tion of Blenheim Palace. Her claim upon the public was  
 not, however, founded upon her generosity, munificence,  
 or prodigality. Parliament, during the pressing exigencies  
 of the nation, had very considerably broken in upon sever-  
 al branches of the civil-list revenue, which were diverted



from their proper channel, to answer the immediate and important demands of the war. This abstraction of the revenue must, of course, have affected the private economy of the sovereign, and occasioned her to run in debt, for the discharge of which she had an equitable and legal claim on the public. It was no wonder, therefore, that she was not pressed to shew how the debt had been incurred, when the sum required was less than the demand which a fair creditor might have made. Neither did George II. apply to parliament for any benevolence, nor did he require any increase of revenue. He did not desire to have his debts paid, merely because he was in debt; he only demanded the payment of money to which he was legally entitled, and which the nation was bound by act of parliament to make good.

But, quitting inquiries into past transactions, and deductions drawn from them, it was maintained by several members in both houses, that if the revenues proceeding from Wales, Cornwall, the duchy of Lancaster, Ireland, West-India Islands, American quit-rents, and other sources of smaller consequence, were taken into consideration, and added to the civil-list establishment, the crown would be found to have possessed, for several years, a revenue of more than a million sterling: That if the American quit-rents had not been lost, or could be recovered, this revenue solely in the crown, independent of account, and free from inquiry, would, in a few years, increase in such a degree, as to afford a greater fund of treasure for private disposal than the most powerful and arbitrary sovereign in Christendom could boast of. Though the revenues of Hanover and Osnaburgh did not come within the cognizance of parliament, they were, however, to be considered as objects of attention in all questions relative to the excessive growing power, and dangerous influence of the crown. With such vast funds in its possession, that poverty which was now so strongly urged, and so grievously pleaded, and which, indeed, was too shamefully apparent in all the economy of the court, instead of answering the purposes proposed by the ministers in their representations, should have a very different effect, and in reality afforded room for the most serious and alarming reflections and apprehensions. It was likewise said to be a matter of the utmost impropriety and indecency, to bring in such a demand, in a season of public calamity and danger, like the present. Ministers had already plunged the nation in a civil war, which had cost upwards of twenty millions; they had severed the empire, destroyed

CHAP. our commerce, and given a mortal blow to public credit.

XV. Thirteen growing and flourishing provinces were lost, some of which were already, in point of importance, if not of power, nearly equal to ancient kingdoms; and the nation was now engaged in a destructive and hopeless attempt to recover by force, what had been lost by folly and violence. Was this, then, a time to seek for new funds in order to support or increase the splendor of the crown? or, Would the real splendour which it had lost, be supplied by the false glare of ostentatious profusion? or, Were the ostensible expenses of government to increase in proportion to its real poverty and weakness?

Augmenta-  
tion, &c.  
carried.

Notwithstanding these arguments, and the detestable light in which the ministry were placed by opposition on the present occasion, the grant of 618,340l. was carried without a division; and soon after that of 100,000l. additional revenue, by a great majority.

In the house of lords, the debates were not less vehement. The duke of Grafton conjured their lordships, as the best proof of their loyalty and affection to his majesty, that they would consent to have the motion postponed, and agree to appoint a committee to inquire into the expenditure, particularly into those departments which would best admit of reduction. His grace pledged himself to the house, that if they would go into this proposal, he would demonstrate from the most clear, authentic, and incontestible documents, that 800,000l. a-year would answer every end of private ease, personal dignity, and royal splendour; in a word, that it would furnish every appendage to royalty, excepting only that which ministers unhappily thought necessary, *viz.* the obtaining by means of corrupt influence, an unbounded controul over the will and resolutions of parliament. This proposal was rejected by 90 to 26. A protest\* was entered, in which, after

\* It concluded in the following words:—"With regard to any further increase of your majesty's civil-list revenue, we must decline any concurrence therein, not solely from motives of economy, though at no time more strictly required; but from a dread also of the effect of such an augmentation on the honour and integrity of parliament, by vesting such large sums, without accompt, in the hands of ministers. When an opinion is known to prevail, and which we have no means of contradicting, that your majesty's civil-list revenues are employed in creating an undue influence in parliament, it would be extremely unbecoming of us to vote, without manifest reason, great sums of money out of the property of your majesty's subjects, which are supposed to be applied to our private emolument. It is our duty to attend to the reputation of parliament; and we beg leave to recommend to your majesty, that a further increase of the overgrown influence of the crown, would be a treacherous gift from parliament even to the crown itself, as it will enable the ministers to carry on those delusive systems

George III

stating the necessity of œconomy from the vast increase of public debt, and the decrease of the empire, the utmost indignation and astonishment was expressed at a profusion in ministers, which the greatest prosperity could scarcely excuse.

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Though this important affair was thus carried in a triumphant manner by the ministry, they underwent a considerable mortification in the sequel. On presenting the augmentation bill to receive the royal assent, the speaker took occasion to address the throne in a very remarkable speech, for which he instantly received the thanks of the whole house, attended with a compliment, desiring that it might be printed. These thanks, as well as the motion for printing it, were prepared by some members of the minority, and the vote passed before ministry had time to recollect themselves. The speech itself, however, was far from having given that satisfaction at court which was expressed by the vote of parliament. The speaker, after having expatiated on the zeal and affection shewn by the commons, observed, that "their gift was in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, when their constituents were labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne. Notwithstanding which, your faithful commons," says he, "have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue; great *beyond example*—great beyond your majesty's *highest expense*.—But all this, sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply *wisely*, what they have granted *liberally*."

Thus, notwithstanding the little check they had now met with, administration had hitherto carried every thing before them. The plan of operations with regard to America, was so well established, that no further opposition on that head was expected, at least during the present session. The earl of Chatham, however, ever watchful for promoting what he supposed would be conducive to the national interests, resolved, notwithstanding his bodily infirmities, and the bad success which had hitherto attended every endeavour of that kind, to make one attempt more in favour of America. The 30th of May was the day appointed for hearing his proposal; and, the lords being summoned for the purpose, he moved for an address to the Throne, representing—that "they were

Lord Chatham's conciliatory plan rejected.

May 30.

which have been fatally adopted, and which, if pursued, must lead to the ruin, as they have already produced the distractions of this once great empire."

CHAP. deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the  
 XV. kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war  
 against the British colonies in America; and advising,  
 1777. that the most speedy and effectual measures should be  
 taken for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the  
 only just and solid foundation, namely, the redress of ac-  
 cumulated grievances; with an assurance, that the house  
 would enter upon that great and necessary work with  
 cheerfulness and dispatch, in order to open to his majesty  
 the only means of regaining the affection of his colonies,  
 and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages  
 of those valuable possessions; fully persuaded, that  
 to heal and to redress would be more agreeable to the  
 goodness and magnanimity of his majesty, and more pre-  
 valent over the hearts of generous and free-born subjects,  
 than the rigour of chastisement, and the horrors of civil  
 war, which had hitherto served only to heighten the re-  
 sentments, and consolidate the union of the Americans,  
 and, if continued, must end in a total dissolution of the  
 ties betwixt Great Britain and her colonies."

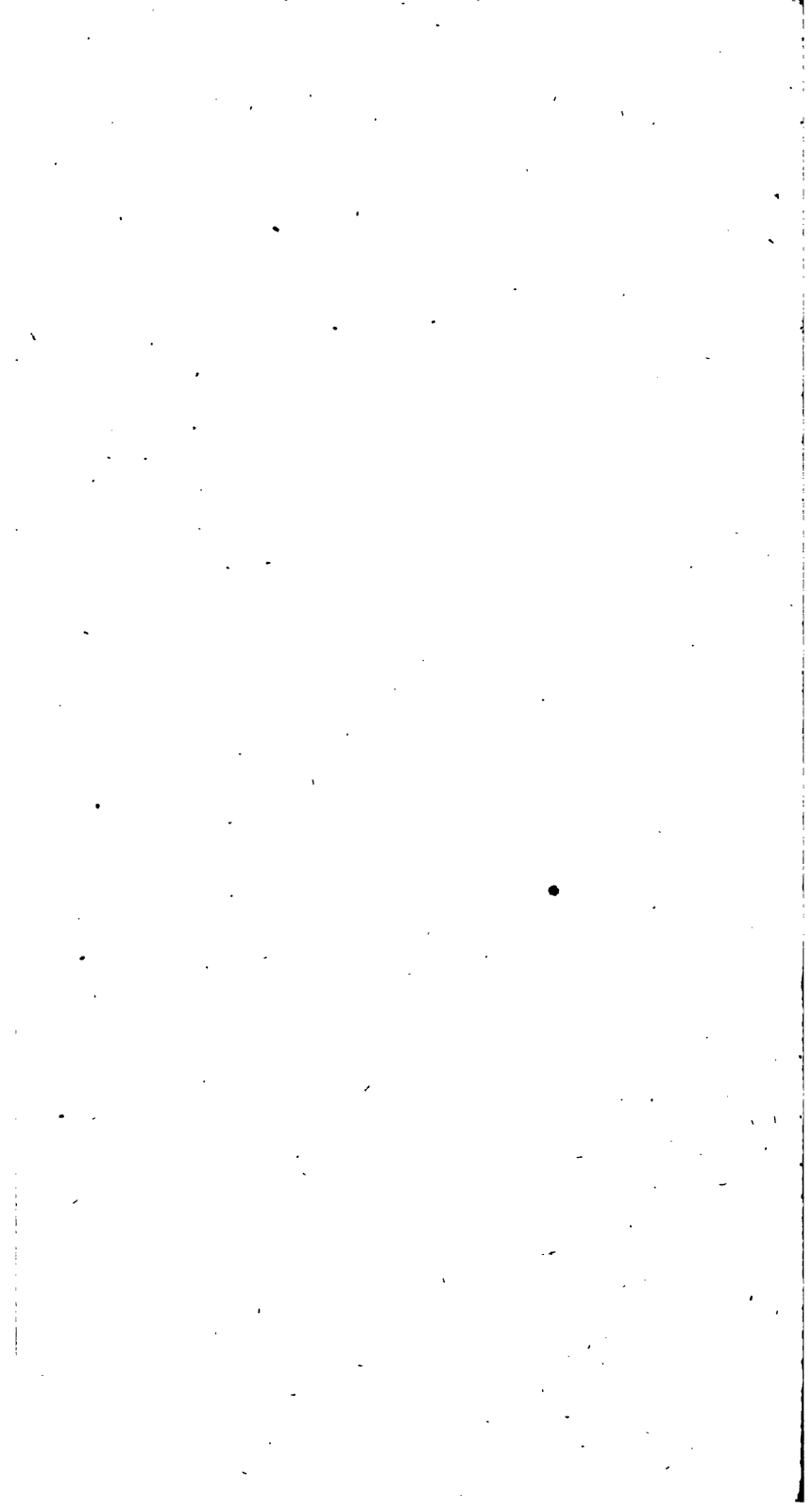
His lordship then entered into a particular explanation  
 of the design and purpose of his motion. Under the words  
*accumulated grievances*, he meant to convey the idea of  
 every thing which had passed in parliament relative to  
 America, since the year 1763. By the redress of these,  
 he meant the redressing of all the American grievances,  
 particularly including the right of disposing of their own  
 money. This would open the way for treaty; and,  
 though much must still be left to be settled, this, by af-  
 fording a proof of the sincerity and amicable disposition  
 of parliament, would remove the present insurmountable  
 impediments to an accommodation, when every thing  
 else would follow of course. He particularly insisted up-  
 on the immediate necessity of adopting the proposed  
 measure, from the imminent danger to which in our pre-  
 sent situation, we were exposed from the house of Bour-  
 bon. "A few weeks," he said, "might decide our fate  
 as a nation. A treaty between France and the Americans  
 would be that final decision. We should then not only  
 lose the immense advantages which we had derived from  
 the vast and increasing commerce of our colonies, but that  
 commerce, and all those advantages, would be thrown  
 into the hands of our natural and hereditary enemies.  
 He said, that our acts of navigation were already virtually  
 repealed, in consequence of this unhappy contest; and  
 that, however grievous it was to repeat, and fatal in the  
 fact, the trade of England was now carried on in French

and other foreign bottoms. He stated the impracticability of conquering America, and the ruinous consequences if it had been practicable; and he declared, in the strong and emphatic language which so peculiarly distinguished this great statesman and orator, that America was contending with Great Britain under a masked battery of France, which would open upon this country as soon as she perceived that we were sufficiently weakened for her purpose, and found herself sufficiently prepared for war."

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Besides the powerful support of lord Chatham himself, the motion was seconded with great eloquence and ability; most of the powerful speakers on the side of opposition in the house of lords, having entered warmly and deeply into the debate. On the other side, the lords in administration opposed it principally upon the supposition or assertion, that independency was the primary object with the Americans, and that their present opposition was merely the effect of a premeditated design of several years standing. In such a disposition and determination on their side, all concession on ours would be not only fruitless, but ridiculous, degrading, and highly encouraging to their rebellious designs. That such an instance of meanness, and acknowledgment of weakness, would equally draw upon us the contempt of our friends, and excite into action the design or malice of our enemies. They denied any danger from France, and that the assistance given to the Americans proceeded from the court or ministers. The supplies of arms and military stores which the Americans received, and the numbers of French officers which served in their armies, were attributed to the spirit of enterprise in soldiers, and of avarice in merchants. They said, the motion held out nothing new, and was no more than a repetition of what had been proposed by the noble earl himself, as well as by two noble dukes, at different times in that house. The question being at length put, lord Chatham's motion was rejected by 99 to 28; and this, with the money bills, vote of credit, and speech in the usual style from the throne, put an end to the session.



## CHAPTER XVI.

*America—Refugees enlisted—Magazines destroyed—General Wooster killed—Provincials invade Long-Island—Operations of generals Howe and Washington—General Burgoyne's expedition from Canada—Treaty with the Indians—Ticonderoga taken—The Americans defeated—General Prescott taken prisoner—General Howe's expedition against Philadelphia—Americans defeated at Brandy wine and Germantown—Progress of general Burgoyne—Fort Edward abandoned—Cruelties of the Indians—Fort Stanwix besieged—Colonels Baume and Breyman defeated—Indians desert—General Burgoyne is pursued, defeated, and surrenders at Saratoga—Sir Henry Clinton's expedition.*

**W**E must now take a view of the transactions in America, where last year we found the colonists depressed with misfortunes and defeat; though, by the conduct and skill of their general, the royal army had been prevented from pursuing their victory, or even from retaining the conquests they had made. As the British general (Howe) now perceived, that the army he commanded, however powerful in the field, was far from being sufficient to effect the conquest of such an extensive and difficult country, he resolved to strengthen it by every possible method. For this purpose, he collected as many of the refugees as could be persuaded to enlist into a body, which by degrees were augmented to several thousands. Over these he appointed officers, chosen from among those gentlemen, who, for their attachment to the royal cause, had been obliged to abandon their properties, or who lived

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American refugees enlisted in the royal army.

CHAP. under his protection in New-York islands; governor  
 XVI. Tryon being chosen commander in chief. These new  
 forces were stationed in New-York and the adjacent  
 islands, in order to give a free scope of operation to the  
 grand army, and allow it to exert its whole strength for  
 the purpose to which it was originally destined; while  
 the vast number of large rivers, which everywhere inter-  
 sected the country, laid it open to the naval power to  
 which the Americans had nothing to oppose, and by which  
 they were, of consequence, exceedingly distressed.

With all these advantages, however, it was yet found  
 impossible to effect any great or permanent conquest.—  
 The causes formerly mentioned still continued to operate,  
 and to militate effectually against the royal army, and,  
 indeed, to appearance, must have been too powerful for  
 any number of men which Britain could be supposed  
 able to bring into the field. The utmost that now could  
 be done, therefore, was to carry on a kind of predatory  
 war; and this, however it might distress particular places,  
 or amuse the people of Britain with ideas of conquest,  
 could never contribute any thing effectual to the subju-  
 gation of the country.

American  
 magazines  
 destroyed.

The late successes of general Washington, together  
 with the great natural strength of the country, had en-  
 couraged the Americans to erect mills, and establish their  
 principal magazines in a mountainous district, called the  
 Manor of Courtland; to which a place, otherwise of no  
 importance, called Peek's Kill, about fifty miles up the  
 North River, served as a kind of port, by which it both  
 received provisions and dispensed supplies. Against this  
 place, general Howe directed his first operations for the  
 year 1777; being well apprised, that any attempt on  
 the Manor of Courtland itself, must necessarily be ren-  
 dered abortive, from the great strength and inland situ-  
 ation of the country; but the port, being within reach  
 of the naval power, promised an easy conquest. On this  
 service, colonel Bird was sent, March 23d, with a detach-  
 ment of 500 men, under the conduct of a frigate of war,  
 and some other armed vessels. The enemy, supposing them-  
 selves unable to resist, set fire to the stores, and the con-  
 flagration was completed by the British soldiers, who im-  
 mediately returned, after destroying some small craft  
 laden with provisions.

March 23.

The stores destroyed at Peek's Kill being found great-  
 ly inferior in magnitude and importance to what the ge-  
 neral had been led to expect, another expedition was un-  
 dertaken against a place called Danbury, on the borders of



Connecticut, and contiguous to Courtland Manor, where it was said immense stores had been collected. In this service, a body of 2000 men were employed, who were conveyed by sea to a place called Norwalk, about twenty miles to the southward of Danbury; and, as the country was in no state of defence, nor under any apprehension of the design, the troops arrived at Danbury the following day. Perceiving, however, that the country was rising to intercept their return, and, at any rate, being destitute of carriages to carry off the stores, they instantly proceeded to destroy them; in the execution of which the town itself was unavoidably consumed. On their return, they were harrassed by the militia under the generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan, who used their utmost endeavours to retard their march, until a greater force could be assembled to effect the design of cutting off their retreat. Wooster hung upon the rear of the detachment, while Arnold, by crossing the country, gained their front, in order to dispute their passage through a place called Ridgefield; nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the British forces, who had large covering parties, well furnished with field-pieces on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which the American militia, not very numerous, had assembled, prevent them from taking advantage of every situation in order to interrupt the progress of the king's army.

In one of these skirmishes, general Wooster, an old experienced officer, was killed, at an age approaching to seventy, and in the active exertion of a valour favouring more of rashness than the temperance and discretion to be expected at such a time of life. General Arnold next opposed them in the village of Ridgefield, but the force he possessed was by no means sufficient to cope with so formidable a power. He displayed, however, his usual intrepidity. His horse being shot under him within a few yards of the foremost ranks of the British troops, a soldier ran up to stab him with his bayonet; but Arnold, disengaging himself with great agility, suddenly drew a pistol, and shot his enemy dead as he approached.

General Wooster killed, and Arnold in great danger.

Next day, the Americans having procured some reinforcements with cannon, the British army was exceedingly harrassed; every advantageous post was seized and disputed, whilst hovering parties on the flanks and rear, continually endeavoured to disturb the order of the march, and to profit by every difficulty of ground. At last, after having expended all their ammunition, said to have amounted to 60 rounds a man, they reached an hill called Campo,

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1777.

**CHAP. XVI.** within cannon shot of the ships. The troops immediately formed themselves on the high ground, where the enemy seemed more determined and resolute in their attack than they had hitherto been. In this situation the general ordered the troops to advance, and to charge with their bayonets; which was executed with such impetuosity, that the enemy were instantly broken, and the troops continued their passage without further molestation. The whole loss on this occasion did not exceed 172 men killed and wounded, of whom the latter were more than two-thirds. That of the Americans was more than double, and the number of killed about five to one. On the British side no officer of distinction was lost; but on that of the Americans, besides general Wooster, three colonels, and Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of some consequence in that country, were killed. Indeed, the number of officers, who assembled on this occasion, was out of all proportion to that of the private men; whilst the raw and undisciplined state of the militia, together with their weakness in point of number, obliged the former, as well as those volunteer gentlemen who joined them, to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner; and even after all, the reports of the stores collected at Danbury were found to be so much exaggerated, that it became doubtful whether the mischief done to the enemy was equivalent even to the trouble and loss of the expedition.

Successful  
incurſion of  
the provin-  
cials into  
Long-Iſland

In return for this incurſion, the provincials undertook a ſimilar one againſt Long-Iſland, where they were informed that commiſſaries had for ſome time been employed in procuring forage, grain, and other neceſſaries for the Britiſh forces. Theſe articles were depoſited for embarkation at a little port called Sagg Harbour, the diſtance of which place from New-York, and the weakness of the protection, which conſiſted only in a company of foot and an armed ſchooner, ſeemed to inſure a certainty of ſucceſs; the principal difficulty lying in their paſſage acroſs the ſound, which was continually infeſted by the Britiſh cruizers.

May 23.

This expedition was conducted by colonel Meigs, a brave and enterpriſing officer, who had attended Arnold in his expedition to Quebec, and had been taken priſoner in the attempt to ſtorm that place. On the 23d of May, he paſſed his detachment in whale boats through the ſound, and landed on the north ſide of the iſland; but having a narrow bay to croſs before they could reach the place of their deſtination, they were now obliged to carry their boats acroſs a neck of land before they could reach

it. Having surmounted this difficulty, however, colonel **CHAP. Meigs**, with about 150 men, landed on the south branch **XVI.** of the island, within about four miles of Sagg Harbour. They arrived at the place before day, and speedily accomplished their purpose, notwithstanding the resistance of the soldiers, and the crews of the vessels, together with the vigorous efforts of the schooner, which kept up a continual fire of round and grape shot at not more than 150 yards distance. Twelve brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf were burnt, and every thing on shore entirely destroyed. Ninety prisoners were brought off, consisting of the officer who commanded the men, with most of the masters and crews of the vessels which they had destroyed; and, according to the American account, the party returned to Guildford, in Connecticut, in no longer space than 25 hours after they had departed from it, having in that short time traversed 90 miles by land and water, besides destroying the sloops, as already mentioned.

The season for action was now far advanced; but, through some unaccountable negligence on this side of the water, the army was prevented from taking the field for want of tents and field equipage; a delay which could not but prove of the utmost service to the Americans. The fine weather brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys; upon which increase of strength, general Washington quitted his strong position in the neighbourhood of Morris-town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, took possession of the strong country along Middle Brook. Lord Cornwallis, however, made a shift, with the old tents, to encamp the British forces at Brunswick, on the hills that commanded the Rariton, and along the communications upon that river to Amboy; his example being followed at that place by general Vaughan. The great object of the campaign on the side of New-York, seems to have been, that sir William Howe should penetrate through the Jerseys to the Delaware, drive Washington before him, so as to clear those provinces of the enemy, and reduce the inhabitants to such an effectual state of subjection, that a safe and open communication betwixt the army and the city of New-York might be established. The single movement which the provincial general had now made, however, effectually prevented the accomplishment of this design, or indeed of any thing else of consequence. His camp, winding along the course of the hills, was strongly entrenched, fortified, and well covered with artillery; nor was it better secured by its immediate artificial or natural defences,

CHAP. than by the difficulty of its approach. He commanded a

XVI. view of the British encampment on the hills of Brunswick, and a great part of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy. His army also increased daily in

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number. Several bodies of the New-England troops under generals Gates, Parsons and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North-River, where they were ready to pass over to the Jerseys, whenever there was occasion; while, at the same time, the Jersey militia assembled with the greatest alacrity; so that whatever position the royal army could take, it was still watched on all sides by its enemies. General Howe left no means untried to induce his rival to quit the strong position he had taken. He pushed on detachments, and made feints as if he intended to pass him, and cross the Delaware. This manoeuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of general Washington's lines, where he continued four days exploring the approaches to his camp, and accurately examining the situation of his posts; hoping to find some weak and unguarded place upon which an attack might be made with some probability of success; or that chance, inadvertence, impatience, or error, might occasion some movement, or be productive of some circumstance, which might lead to a general engagement. All these hopes, however, were frustrated. Washington knew the value of his situation; and as he could neither be provoked, nor surprised in such a manner as to oblige him to quit the advantages he derived from it, so he had too much penetration and foresight to lose them by circumvention or sleight; and he had too long profited by this cautious conduct, of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a single battle, to depart from it on this occasion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent necessity.

June 19. General Howe now found it necessary to change his measures. On the 19th of June, he suddenly retreated with some apparent marks of precipitation, and withdrawing his troops from Brunswick, took the road with his whole army towards Amboy. The bridge, which had been intended for the Delaware, was here thrown over the channel which separates the continent from Staten-Island; the heavy baggage, with all the incumbrances of the army, were passed over; some of the troops followed, and every thing was in immediate preparation for the passage of the rest of the army. In his retreat he was eagerly pursued by large detachments of the Americans, commanded by generals Maxwell, lord Stirling, and Conway, who gained some trifling advantages; while some

excesses, committed by the soldiers during their retreat, inflamed the enemy still more with a desire of retaliation and revenge. At last, general Washington himself, with the whole army, left his strong camp on the hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble-town, which was no sooner perceived by the British commander, than he marched back from Amboy with the utmost expedition, hoping either to cut off some of the enemy's large detached parties, or to bring them to a general engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibble-town; or, if neither of these could be accomplished, it was intended, that lord Cornwallis, with his division, should take a considerable circuit, and thus gain possession of some strong passes, which would oblige the American general to quit the very advantageous ground he had taken. In all this, however, he was frustrated through the skill and vigilance of his enemy. General Washington no sooner perceived the real intent of the enemy, than he withdrew his army from the plains, and with the utmost expedition regained his strong camp, securing the passes, at the same time, so effectually, that nothing could be attempted against them. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, fell in with Lord Stirling, who had posted himself in a strong situation, in a woody country, with about 3000 troops, and who seemed inclined to dispute his passage. These were broken, however, in a very short time, with considerable loss of men, and three brass field-pieces; but the neighbourhood of the woods, and the intense heat of the weather, prevented the pursuit from being continued with any effect.

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General Howe, now convinced that it would be impossible to induce general Washington to quit his strong position, and hazard a general engagement; and, at the same time, perceiving that nothing farther remained to be done in the Jerseys, determined to undertake an expedition by sea, which must be attended by these manifest advantages, that it would be impossible for general Washington to know where the storm was to fall. He must, therefore, keep his post, and the king's army would make a considerable progress, before he could be in a condition to oppose them; and such a progress would not leave him that choice of posts from which he had hitherto derived such advantages. Before we relate the events of this expedition, however, it will be necessary to take notice of the particulars relating to the invasion from Canada, which was now conducted by general Burgoyne.

Expedition  
against Philadelphia.

Though the ability of this officer was unquestioned, and his thirst for military glory, however rivalled, could

CHAP. not be exceeded, his appointment to this command could  
 XVI. not but, in some measure, be disagreeable to general Carleton, to whom it seemed naturally to belong. Of the latter it was said, that his powers had been diminished in proportion to the greatness of his services. His power formerly extended to every part of America, to which he might think proper to send the army under his direction ; but now it was suddenly restrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had unquestionably saved Canada in the manner already related, and was only prevented, by the lateness of the season, from making an attack on Ticonderoga, and immediately prosecuting the war to the southward. During the winter, he had exerted his usual skill and industry in forwarding every preparation which might conduce to the success of the ensuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, however, instead of the reinforcement he had demanded for the completion of his purpose, he received an arrangement totally new, which, as it had been formed without any reference to his judgement, left nothing to his discretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in which the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular service of each corps, with its subdivisions, and the smallest detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and precisely stated by the minister. He was not even consulted as to the number and nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the security and defence of Canada. In short, the army which he had lately commanded, was taken entirely out of his hands, and put into those of other people. The officers who lately acted under his direction were virtually placed in independent commands. They had received orders, indeed, to put themselves under the command of sir William Howe ; but these seemed little better than a mockery, as that general had informed sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign on his side, would lead him to such a distance as to render any communication of that nature altogether impracticable. On this account, in all probability, he now resigned his government, though the length of time which must necessarily elapse before a successor could be appointed, and arrive at the place of his destination, obliged him still to remain in the disagreeable place he occupied.

1777.  
 General  
 Burgoyne  
 sets out on  
 the expedi-  
 tion from  
 Canada.

Notwithstanding this disgust, however, general Carleton shewed that no resentment could warp him from his duty ; and he applied himself with the same diligence to

forward every part of the expedition, as if the arrangement had been all his own. The ministers, indeed, particularly the lord at the head of the American department, were very much interested in the event, and had founded the most sanguine hopes on the success of the expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their side, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be spared for that particular service, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. It was hoped also, that Canada would furnish a numerous and warlike militia, well calculated for and adapted to the peculiar nature of the service. Arms and accoutrements were, therefore, provided in abundance, for the supposed numbers who were to arrive; and the train of brass artillery sent out on this expedition was perhaps the finest and best supplied, as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army not far exceeding this in number.

Besides the forces already mentioned, several nations of Indians had been induced to take up arms in the royal cause. The measure was defended on the plea of necessity; and, if it should be thought disgraceful to the British arms, that they could not prove successful without the assistance of cruel savages, it was said, that the character of the Indians was such as could not admit of neutrality. If they were not employed in the king's service, they would undoubtedly join the Americans. Whatever were the advantages to be derived from them, however, it is certain, that general Carleton did not, during the former year, make much use of these allies, but civilly dismissed them at the close of the campaign, on a promise of their appearing next year, if required. The friends of ministry said, that he had recommended and forwarded the measure. Others said, that, partly from motives of humanity, and partly from his forming a just estimate of their services, he was unwilling to use them, knowing that they were capricious, inconstant, and untractable; that, as their ideas of war and courage totally differed from those of civilized nations; so, notwithstanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible efforts of passive valour which they occasionally manifested, they not only abhorred, but dreaded whatever is considered as fair and generous service among the Europeans. Their object and design in all their wars was not conquest, but murder. In a word, their service was uncertain, their rapacity insatiate, their faith ever doubtful, their actions cruel and barbarous.

CHAP. But, whatever might be the reasons for not employing  
 XVI. the Indians as effectually as it was supposed he might have  
 1777. done, they were far from being generally approved at home. The zeal of many against the colonies seemed entirely to swallow up their mercy and humanity. They insisted, that every instance of lenity in such circumstances was actual cruelty in the effect, by inciting to disobedience, and augmenting the number of delinquents. On the contrary, partial severity was general mercy; as timely exertions of justice, and strict inflictions of punishment, were at all times the surest means of preventing crimes. The only method of speedily crushing the rebellion, was to render the situation of the actors in it so intolerable, that a cessation from danger, and the blessings of repose, should become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. The means were but little attended to, when they led to so great and happy a purpose as the destruction of rebellion, and the restoration of order and legal government. No doubt, in all convulsions of states, the innocent were too often involved in the calamities of the guilty: but such was the lot and condition of mankind; and this evil, however deplorable, could not, in numberless instances, be avoided or prevented. In the present arrangement, therefore, the assistance of the savages was considered as a principal affair in the conducting of the war; and general Carleton was now enjoined to use his utmost endeavours to procure it.

In this service, whatever aversion the general might have had to it formerly, he was now sufficiently active; nor was his success less remarkable than his zeal for the cause. Whether it proceeded from the governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to seize the presents which were now so liberally distributed among them; from their innate thirst for war and plunder; or, more probably, from the joint operation of all these causes; their warriors poured forth in such abundance, that he became at last apprehensive of being more incumbered by their numbers than aided by their valour.

The regular force allotted to this expedition amounted to 7173 men, British and Germans, exclusive of the corps of artillery; and of these the Germans, consisting mostly of Brunswickers, amounted to 3217. They were commanded by excellent officers. General Burgoyne himself, as commander in chief, yielded to none in courage and military skill. Major-general Philips of the artillery, had gained immortal honour in that service during the German war. The commander in chief was likewise al-



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 fitted by generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton; all distinguished officers; together with the Brunswick major-general baron Reidesel, and brigadier-general Speecht. The army was in every respect in the best condition that could possibly be expected or wished; the troops being in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy. A detachment of 700 or 800 men was sent on an expedition to the Mohawk river, under Colonel St. Leger, who was joined by a large body of Indians, partly conducted by a number of British and American officers. The regular force left in Canada amounted to about 3700 men.

The operations commenced in the beginning of June. The army being assembled on the banks of the river Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain, and at no great distance from Crown-Point, a congress was held with the Indians, and they were entertained by the general with a war-feast, in compliance with the customs of these people. In his speech on this occasion, he laid down several injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they should only kill those who opposed them in arms: That old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the hatchet, even in the time of battle: That they should only scalp those who were fairly killed in battle; but that under no pretence, or colour of provocation, they should scalp the wounded or even dying, much less kill persons in that condition by way of evading the injunction. They were promised a compensation for their prisoners, but threatened with being called to an account for their scalps. Soon after, the general dispersed a manifesto, calculated to spread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impression of fear, derived from knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the savages, whose numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose against their prey, described with great energy; after which he proceeded to the operations of the campaign with all possible expedition.

The army having made a short stay at Crown-Point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessities, proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. This fortress lies on the western shore, and a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet by which Lake George discharges the water into Lake Champlain. It stands on a point of land surrounded on three parts by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth was covered by a morass, and where

CHAP. that failed, the old French lines still remained, and af-  
XVI. forded a considerable defence. The Americans had

1777.

strengthened those lines with additional works and a blockhouse. Other works and blockhouses were placed on the left towards Lake George; and to the right of the French lines, they had also two new blockhouses, and some other works. On the eastern shore of the inlet, and opposite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken still more pains in fortifying a high circular hill, to which they had given the name of Mount Independence; and on the summit of it, which is Table-land, they had erected a star fort, inclosing a large square of barracks, well fortified and supplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the west side projected into the water, was strongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchments well lined with artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, sustained and covered these lower works. With their usual industry, the Americans had also joined these two posts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This bridge was supported by 22 sunk piers of very large timber, placed nearly at equal distances; the spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about 50 feet long and 12 wide, strongly fastened together with chains and rivets, and as strongly attached to the sunk pillars. The side of the bridge next to Lake Champlain, was defended by a boom composed of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch an half square; so that, by this work, a communication was not only maintained between the two posts, but all access by water was totally cut off from the northern side.

Notwithstanding the apparent strength of Ticonderoga, however, it is effectually overlooked and commanded by a neighbouring eminence called Sugar Hill. A consultation of the American officers was therefore held on the fortifying of this mount, when it was carried in the negative, on account of the great extent of the works already, and the incapacity of the garrison to defend them; and it was hoped, that the difficult access of the eminence itself, would prevent the enemy from taking advantage of this post. In this, however, they were deceived.—The royal army advanced with the utmost celerity, and at the same time with such circumspection, that they made themselves masters of several advantageous posts, without the loss of a man, or even without returning a single gun in answer to the ineffectual roar of artillery, which was kept

up by the Americans, while at too great a distance to do **CHAP.**  
any execution. **XVI.**

By the 5th of July, the royal army had almost finished their approaches; so that little more time was requisite for completely investing the posts on both sides of the lake. Sugar Hill was accurately examined, and the advantages it presented were found to be so important, though attended with vast labour and difficulty, that a road was instantly set about, and through the judgment and activity of general Philips, soon made passable to the very top. The American general (St. Clair) had, in the mean time, determined the part he was to act. Having hastily called a council of war, he represented, that their whole effective numbers were not sufficient to man one-half of the works; of consequence, as the whole must be upon constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the necessary fatigues for any length of time; and that, as the enemies' batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely invested in twenty-four hours, nothing could save the troops but an immediate evacuation of both posts; which opinion being unanimously held just by the council, the place was evacuated that very night. The baggage of the army, with such artillery, stores, and provisions, as the necessity of the time would permit, were embarked, with a strong detachment, on board 200 batteaux, and dispatched under convoy of five armed galleys, up the South River, in their way to Skenesborough, the main army taking its route by Castletown to reach the same place by land. 1777.  
July 5.

The flight of the enemy was no sooner perceived, than brigadier-general Frazer began an eager pursuit with his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some others. Major-general Reidesel was also commanded to join in the pursuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, either to support the brigadier, or to act separately, as occasion might require, or circumstances direct. The enemy left a vast quantity of artillery behind them, which, with those afterwards taken or destroyed in the armed vessels at Skenesborough, amounted to no less than 128 pieces. Some military stores, of different kinds, were also left, as well as a considerable quantity of provision in the forts.

The Americans pursued and utterly destroyed.

The retreat of the Americans now proved more ruinous than a surrender upon any terms; and the destruction which ensued was little less than if the place had been taken by storm. General Burgoyne conducted the pursuit by water in person. The bridge and other works, which

**CHAP.** had cost ten months hard labour to the Americans, were  
**XVI.** ruined in less than as many hours. The Royal George  
 and Inflexible frigates had passed through the bridge by  
 1777. nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked  
 on board the vessels, and the pursuit up the river was supported with such vigour, that, by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremost brigade of the gun-boats was closely engaged with the enemy's galleys near Skenesborough falls. In the mean time, three regiments, which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. This design, however, was prevented by the speedy flight of the provincials. On the approach of the frigates, those who managed the galleys, finding themselves already overborne by the gun-boats, lost all spirit; two of these vessels were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The provincials then, giving way to despair, set fire to their works, stockaded fort, mills, and batteaux; after which they made their escape as well as they could up Wood Creek. This stroke seemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army; for the batteaux were deeply laden, besides their baggage, with ammunition, stores, and provisions; so that they were now left naked in the woods, destitute of provisions, and without any other means of defence than what they derived from the arms in their hands.—Confusion and dismay equally attended their main body on the left. The soldiers had lost all confidence in their commanders, and, of consequence, all respect for them. General Frazer continued the pursuit, though a vehemently hot day, with his usual activity. On the 7th of July, about five in the morning, he came up with the enemy's rear, under the command of colonel Francis, one of their best and bravest officers. They were strongly posted, in an advantageous ground, and greatly superior in number to the corps he commanded; which circumstances, joined to that of their having a skilful and expert commander, enabled them to make a much better stand than could have been expected from men in their circumstances.—The engagement continued undecided, and even threatened to prove destructive to the British corps, when the coming up of general Reidesel quickly turned the scale of fortune. The Americans were now totally defeated, with the loss of their brave commander, a great number of officers, and 200 private men dead on the field of battle, with about as many taken prisoners. Above 600 were supposed to be wounded, many of whom perished miser-

July 7.

ably in the woods. The principal loss on the part of the royal army was that of major Grant, a brave officer, who was killed.

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Mean time, St. Clair, with the van of the American army, was at Castletown, about six miles farther on; but, upon hearing of the successes of the royal army, for fear of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he struck into the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he should direct his course towards the New-England provinces, or to Fort Edward. Colonel Hill, in the mean time, was detached with the 9th regiment, from Skenesborough, towards Fort Anne, with a view to intercept the fugitives, who had fled along Wood Creek; whilst another part of the army were employed in carrying the batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movements in dislodging the enemy from that post. In this expedition, he was attacked by a large body of Americans, consisting, as he imagined, of about six times the number of his regiment. The efforts they made on this occasion, laid him under the necessity of changing his ground in the heat of action, which, however, was accomplished with so much judgment, steadiness, and effect, that, after a combat of three hours, the enemy were totally repulsed with such loss, that after setting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmost precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon Hudson's river.


The loss on the part of the British, employed in these successful services, was excessively trifling, scarce exceeding 200 men in killed and wounded. The spirits of the troops were raised so high, that Albany seemed to be already in their own hands, the northern provinces subjugated, and the war almost at an end. At home, the joy and exultation was extreme. All the contemptuous and degrading charges which had formerly been made by the friends of administration against the Americans, were now repeated and believed, partly even by those who had been esteemed their friends. All future resistance was now thought to be vain, and what would only serve to render their terms of submission worse. The conduct of the provincial general, indeed, seems altogether indefensible. In his exculpatory letter to the congress, he stated that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, amounted to no more than 3000 men; that these were ill equipped, and worse armed; particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm so essential in sieges, that they had not one to ten in their number. In a detail of the transactions of the campaign, transmitted by the war-office in Massachusetts-Bay to the American

Conduct of  
the American  
generals  
censured.

**CHAP.** deputies of France, the force at Ticonderoga was stated  
**XVI.** at 5000 men, well equipped and armed; but, whatever  
 { may be in this, one capital error on the part of the com-  
 \*777. manders cannot escape the notice of every common ob-  
 server. If their force was not sufficient for the defence of  
 their works, Why did they not in time adopt the resolu-  
 tion of leaving them? Why did they not withdraw the  
 troops, artillery and stores, and demolish the works before  
 the arrival of the enemy? Or, why did they wait till they  
 were almost surrounded, and could not retreat without  
 being in a manner totally destroyed? The congress were  
 so sensible of this defect of military skill, and even com-  
 mon prudence, in their commander, that they immediate-  
 ly issued orders for a recall to head-quarters, and an in-  
 quiry into the conduct of the general officers who had  
 commanded in Ticonderoga. General Washington was  
 directed to appoint other commanders, and likewise to  
 summon such numbers of militia from the eastern and  
 central provinces, as should be deemed sufficient for re-  
 straining the enemy in the north. A kind of cessation of  
 arms, however, now took place both in the north and  
 south; in the former, occasioned by the total defeat and  
 dispersion of the American army, so that the British com-  
 manders found no enemy to oppose them in the field;  
 and in the latter, by the preparations made on the part  
 of general Howe for an expedition, of which the destina-  
 tion was yet unknown.

General  
 Prescott  
 taken pri-  
 soner.  
 July 19.

During this interval, a spirited adventure took place  
 in Rhode-Island, by which the capture of general Lee  
 was retaliated, and his person seemingly indemnified, on  
 the part of the Americans. On the 10th of July, colonel  
 Barton, a provincial officer, with several others, and some  
 volunteers, passed by night from Providence to Rhode-  
 Island; and, though they had a long passage by water,  
 eluded the vigilance of the ships of war and guard-boats  
 which surrounded the island, conducting their enterprise  
 with such secrecy and dexterity, that they surprised gene-  
 ral Prescott, who commanded in chief, in his quarters,  
 and brought him, with his aid-de-camp, through all  
 these dangers, safe to the continent. This produced no  
 little joy on the one side, and more regret on the other  
 than the importance of the affair seemed to deserve;  
 chiefly, as was supposed, on account of general Lee,  
 whose fate was now determined, and against whom it  
 would be impossible to execute the vengeance which had  
 been denounced. It was peculiarly galling to the general  
 himself, however, that he had carried matters to such a

length, as to set a price on the head of Arnold, and offer **CHAP.**  
a reward for seizing his person, as if he had been a com- **XVI.**  
mon outlaw or robber, which was immediately returned   
by Arnold's setting an inferior price on general Prescott. 1777.

The operations of war in the southern department were **General**  
intermitted no longer than was found necessary for the **Howe sets**  
preparations requisite in such an extensive undertaking. **sail for Phi-**  
On the 23d of July, the fleet and army departed from **ladelphia.**  
Sandy-Hook; and, a little before their departure, the ge- **July 23.**  
neral, in order to deceive the enemy more completely, or-  
dered a ship which had been cut down to act as a floating  
battery, with some transports, to sail up the North River;  
a feint, which succeeded so far, as to induce general  
Washington to detach part of his army across it.

The voyage was far from being favourable to the Bri-  
tish. It cost them a week to reach the Capes of the Dela-  
ware, in their way to Philadelphia, the place of their de-  
stination. Here they received information that the Ame-  
ricans had thrown such obstacles in the way of their navi-  
gation up that river, that they were constrained to abandon  
the design as impracticable, and seek for a passage by  
Chesapeak-Bay to that part of Maryland which lies to the  
south-west, and at no great distance from Philadelphia.  
The winds, however, now proved so unfavourable, that  
the middle of August was past before they could reach **August.**  
the Chesapeak, during all which time the confinement of  
so many men and horses, in a very hot season, could not  
but have been attended with very fatal consequences, had  
not the most ample provision been made in every respect;  
as the failure of any one article, even that of water, could  
not, in all probability, have been remedied.

The winds fortunately proved favourable after the fleet  
entered Chesapeak-Bay, so that they gained the mouth of  
the river Elk, after a very dangerous navigation, as soon as  
could, in such circumstances, be expected. By the 25th **Aug. 25.**  
of the month, the troops were landed, without any oppo-  
sition, at Elk Ferry, a considerable way up the river. One  
part advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at  
the landing-place, to protect and forward the artillery,  
stores, and necessary provisions; the general not permit-  
ting any great incumbrance of baggage, and even the ar-  
ticle of tents being considerably abridged on account of  
the scarcity of carriages.

The troops were no sooner landed, than general Howe,  
in order to quiet the minds of the people, and to prevent  
a total desolation and desertion of the country in the front  
of the army, published a declaration, promising that the

**CHAP. XVI.** strictest regularity, good order and discipline, should be observed by the army, and the most effectual security and protection afforded to all his majesty's peaceable and well-disposed subjects; extending, at the same time, this security and protection to such persons as not having been guilty of assuming legislative or judicial authority, might otherwise have acted illegally in subordinate stations, upon the provision of their immediate return to their habitations, and peaceable demeanour for the future. He likewise offered a free and general pardon to all officers and soldiers in arms, who should surrender themselves to the royal army.

1777.

Americans  
defeated at  
Brandy-  
wine.  
Sept. 11.

In the beginning of September the royal army left the head of the Elk, and pursued its march to Philadelphia.

General Washington, in the mean time, with his army, (consisting of about 15,000 men, nearly the number of the royal army that could be brought into action) had returned from the Jerseys to the defence of the capital; and by the time general Howe left the head of the Elk, had advanced from Brandywine Creek to Red-Clay Creek; from whence they pushed detachments forward, to occupy difficult posts in the woods, and to interrupt the march of the British by continual skirmishes. This obliged general Howe to proceed with the utmost caution, as every man lost on his part, was an irreparable misfortune to the army, for the present year at least; while, on the other hand, the enemy not only repaired every loss with the greatest celerity, but the military ability of the survivors was augmented by the destruction of their fellows.

This caution, however, could not prevent some skirmishes, in which the royal army were almost always victorious, and who continued their course with less interruption than might reasonably have been expected from the nature of the country. After several movements, the enemy retreated beyond Brandywine Creek, where they took possession of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of disputing the passage.

On the 11th of September, at day-break, the British army advanced in two columns. The right, under general Knyphausen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the centre of the enemy's line, where they expected the principal attack, their right and left covering some less practicable fords, for several miles on either hand. A heavy cannonade commenced about ten o'clock, and repeated dispositions for passing the ford were made by the British general, in order to deceive the enemy. This feint had the desired effect. The American generals, sup-



posing the whole force of the royal army to be in his front, detached large parties across the river to impede or frustrate this design, and kept up a continued series of skirmishes with the British troops, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retreat, until at last they were driven over the river with considerable loss. In the mean time, lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a large circuit to the left, until he gained the forks of the Brandywine, where, from the division of the river, it could be more easily forded. Having accordingly passed both branches about two in the afternoon, he took the shortest road down the river, in order to fall upon the right flank of the enemy.

General Washington, however, having been apprised of this movement about two hours before, dispatched general Sullivan, with as many troops as he could spare, to oppose Cornwallis. This task was executed by the provincial commander in such a manner as shewed a considerable degree of military skill. He posted his troops in a strong ground, his flanks being covered with very thick woods, and his front with artillery advantageously disposed. The ardour of the British and Hessian troops, however, overthrew every obstacle. The Americans, after a spirited opposition, were driven from their posts, and pursued into the woods on their rear. Some resistance was made by a part of the enemy's right, which had not been broken. These took another strong position in a wood, and were not dislodged till after some considerable time.

As the main and collected body of the British army continued to advance, they fell in with a strong party of the enemy which had not yet been engaged. These had posted themselves advantageously, in order to cover that wing of the army which had been defeated, and maintained their ground so vigorously, that they could not be driven from it before the night was considerably advanced, when the darkness prevented the conquerors from reaping any benefit from their victory.

General Knyphausen, at last, after having amused the enemy all day, made good his passage in the evening, when he found that they were already deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon which defended Chad's Ford; and at the same instant, some British troops who had been entangled in the woods, and at last made shift to penetrate through them, happening to make their appearance, the Americans were thrown into such consternation, that they

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CHAP. fled on all sides, and were only saved by the darkness of  
XVI. the night from a total and ruinous defeat.

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Though on this occasion the victory undoubtedly belonged to the British, it was far from being of that final and decisive kind which people had been led to expect in the event of a meeting between the British and American armies, on nearly equal terms, both as to numbers and the nature of the ground. Such had been the case at present; and though the engagement began at day-break, the night was pretty far advanced before victory was obtained. Some of the American regiments, particularly those of Virginia, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved extremely well; others altogether as ill. Their loss was never particularly specified in their own accounts of this affair. In a letter to the congress, however, general Washington fairly owned his being defeated, though he did not seem to think it a matter of any great consequence. The gazette account estimated their loss at 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken prisoners. They also lost ten small field-pieces, and one howitzer, all of which but one were of brass. The loss of the royal army was by no means in proportion, being something under 500, of which the slain did not amount to one-fifth. Several officers, but none above the rank of captain, were killed, and many more wounded. The Americans retreated first to Chester, and then to Philadelphia, where general Washington used the utmost diligence to repair his loss. But he did not remain long in this place, having advanced a few miles towards Lancaster, where general Howe took effectual measures for bringing him to a second engagement. A violent fall of rain, however, put an end to this design, so that the American army for the present escaped the danger; and, though every possible manœuvre was used to involve them in similar circumstances, it was constantly found to be impossible; but a corps of 1500 lying in ambush in the woods, were completely surprised by Major-general Grey, and 300 of them killed or wounded by the bayonet, no other weapon being made use of. A number of prisoners, with the greater part of their baggage, arms, and stores were taken, while the victors lost only a captain of light infantry and three private men, with about the same number wounded. The remainder of the Americans were saved only by the darkness of the night, and some prudent dispositions made by the commanding officer, general Wayne.

General Howe, now finding his antagonist determined not to risk a battle, even for the sake of saving the capital

determined to take possession of it. Having, therefore, nothing to impede his progress, the army advanced to Germantown, and on the 26th of September, lord Cornwallis quietly entered Philadelphia. This circumstance was more fortunate than could have been expected. For it was generally apprehended, and had even been spoken of by themselves, as a settled determination to destroy the city, whenever it was found that it could be no longer protected, rather than suffer it to become a place of arms, and the centre of operation for the British fleets and armies. A number of the Quakers, and some of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, to the amount of more than twenty, who had been justly considered as attached to the Royal cause, and violently inimical to the present ruling powers, had been taken into custody upon the immediate danger of an invasion. These gentlemen positively refused to give any security in writing, or even any verbal attestation of attachment, submission, or allegiance to the present government, or of not holding a correspondence with the enemy. They even refused to confine themselves to their dwelling houses; and being found unconquerable in their resolution, were sent to Staunton in Virginia on the approach of the royal army.

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1777. The British army takes possession of Philadelphia, Sept. 26.

Lord Howe was no sooner acquainted with the success of his brother, than he took the most speedy and effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round to the Delaware, not only that he might be at hand to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to supply the army with those necessaries which he knew must have been at that time very much wanted. The voyage was intricate, tedious, and dangerous; and nothing less than the superior skill and ability which was exerted in the conduct and management of so great a number of ships, could have prevented the loss from being considerable; but, as the passage to Philadelphia was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the shore of Pennsylvania from Reedy Island to Newcastle.

The navigation of the Delaware cleared, and all the American fortifications taken.

The first object of the British troops, after taking possession of the city, was to erect batteries for the command of the river; the necessity of which measure became obvious as soon as it was determined upon. The very day after the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries; and being seconded by another frigate, with some small vessels, began a heavy fire, both on the batteries and town. In this attack, however, they discovered much less judgment than might have been expected

CHAP. from their knowledge of the river. On the falling of the  
 XVI. tide, the Delaware grounded so effectually, that she could  
 not be got off; which being perceived by the grenadiers,  
 1777. they brought their battalion field-pieces to play upon her  
 with so much effect, that she was soon obliged to strike  
 her colours. Brigadier General Cleveland immediately  
 profited by the effect of the battalion guns, and directed  
 the whole fire of the batteries to the other vessels, which  
 were soon compelled to retire, with the loss of a schooner,  
 which was driven ashore.

In order to impede the navigation of the Delaware in  
 the most effectual manner, the Americans had erected  
 works upon a low, flat, and marshy island, or rather bank  
 of mud and sand, which had been accumulated in the De-  
 laware, near the junction with the Schuylkill, and which  
 retained, from its original, the name of *Mud-Island*. On  
 the opposite shore of New Jersey, they had also construc-  
 ted a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery.  
 In the deep navigable channel, between or under the co-  
 ver of these batteries, they had sunk several ranges of ma-  
 chines, to which, from their resemblance to *chevaux de*  
*frize*, they had given the name. They were composed of  
 transverse beams firmly united, pointing in various direc-  
 tions, and strongly headed with iron. These were of  
 such a weight and strength, and sunk in such a depth of  
 water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or  
 cut through, and destructive to any vessel which had the  
 misfortune to strike against them. About three miles  
 lower down the river, they had sunk other ranges of these  
 machines, and were constructing some considerable and  
 extensive works for their protection, which, though not  
 yet finished, were in such forwardness as to be provided  
 with artillery, and to command their object at a place on  
 the Jersey side, called Billing's Point. These works and  
 machines were further supported by several galleys, moun-  
 ting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries,  
 a number of armed vessels and small craft of various  
 kinds, with some fire-ships.

As no attempt to raise these machines, or to clear the  
 channel in any manner, could be made, unless the com-  
 mand of the shores on both sides was fully obtained, it  
 was resolved first to dislodge the enemy from Billing's-fort.  
 For this purpose two regiments were detached under co-  
 lonel Stirling; but the provincials, not daring to wait  
 their arrival, spiked up their cannon, set fire to the bar-  
 racks, and abandoned the place with the greatest precipi-  
 tation; after which the detachment either destroyed or

rendered unserviceable those parts of the works which fronted the river. This success was followed by the cutting of a passage, narrow and difficult indeed, for ships through this lower barrier.

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On the return of the detachment from Jersey, another regiment was sent to meet them at Chester, in order to form a sufficient escort for a large convoy of provisions to the camp. The army still lay at Germantown, a very long and considerable village, about six miles from Philadelphia, stretching, on both sides of the road, to the northward, forming a continued street of two miles in length. The line of encampment crossed Germantown at right angles about the centre extending on the west from the town to the Schuylkill. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia; with four battalions of grenadiers; and the army was further weakened by the three detachments left at Chester.

In these circumstances, a design was formed by the Provincials, no less than that of surprising the whole royal army in their camp. For this purpose, they quitted their strong post at Skippach Creek, about 16 miles distance, at six in the evening, and marching all night, approached the place of their destination about three next morning. They were discovered by the patrols, however, sooner than they intended, and the British troops immediately summoned to arms. They began their attack on the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry which accompanied it. These corps, after a vigorous resistance, were overpowered by numbers, and pursued into the village.

The Provincials attack the royal army at Germantown, but are defeated. Oct. 4.

The ardour of the pursuit, however, was stopped by lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, who with six companies of the 40th regiment, threw himself into a large and strong house lying full in the front of the enemy, where he defended himself with such bravery, that he could not be dislodged until further assistance arrived. The fortune of the day was not now long in being decided. The rest of the army being assembled, and coming quickly to the assistance of their companions, the enemy were driven out of the town with considerable loss, and the pursuit continued for some miles, but to little purpose, the provincials being enabled to carry off all their cannon. The loss of the royal army on this occasion, amounted to about 535 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the Americans was estimated in the gazette at between 200 and 300 killed, 600 wounded, and above 400 prisoners. Among the number of slain was general Nash, and several

CHAP. officers of inferior rank; 54 other officers were taken prisoner.  
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According to the account given by general Washington, the morning proved extremely foggy, so that it was impossible for the Americans to pursue the advantages they had originally gained. This fog not only prevented them from observing the true number and situation of the British, but occasioned some of their own parties to mistake each other for the enemy, and fire upon their friends under that mistake. After all, however, their behaviour on this occasion shewed that the Americans were by no means the contemptible enemy they had been imagined; and the hopes of gaining a decisive victory over them, even supposing that they could be brought to a pitched battle upon equal terms, was very much abated. The taking of Philadelphia was not attended with all the advantages that had been expected; the provincial army still kept the field; and until the navigation of the Delaware could be cleared, it was obvious, that the army could not subsist in the city one single winter. The troops; therefore, removed from Germantown, and took up their quarters in Philadelphia, as being a more convenient situation for reducing Mud-Island, and for co-operating with the fleet in restoring the navigation of the river.

Measures being now concerted betwixt the general and admiral for removing the obstructions of the river, the former erected batteries along the western shore, or Pennsylvania side, in hopes of assisting to dislodge the enemy from Mud-Island, the difficult access of which required a more tedious operation than had been at first judged necessary. He also detached a strong body of Hessians across the river, to attack the redoubt at Red-Bank, while the ships and batteries on the other side were to carry on their attacks on Mud-Island and the armed ships of the enemy. colonel Donop attacked the enemy's intrenchments with great resolution; and, after a sharp action, succeeded in carrying an extensive outwork. The defence of the body of the redoubt, however, was much more vigorous than he had expected; the colonel himself was taken prisoner, after being mortally wounded in the attack. Colonel Mingerode, the next in command, was likewise dangerously wounded; several of the best officers killed or disabled; and the Hessians repulsed; after a desperate engagement, with great loss, which, however, was never properly authenticated.

Oct. 22.

The attack by sea was not more favourable than by land. The men of war and frigates having made their

way, with difficulty, through the lower barrier, took every possible disposition that the nature and situation of the river would admit, for the destruction of the upper works and defences; when they commenced their assault at the same time that colonel Donop was engaged at Red-Bank. The ships, however, could not bring their fire to bear upon the works with any great effect. The extraordinary obstructions with which the enemy had interrupted the free course of the river, had even affected its bed, and made some alteration in its known and ordinary channel. Thus, the Augusta man of war and Merlin sloop were grounded so fast at some distance from the *chevaux de frise*, that they could not be got off. In this situation, though the skill and courage of the officers and crews of the several vessels prevented the effect of four fire-ships which the enemy had sent down to destroy the Augusta, she unfortunately took fire during the engagement, which laid the others under a necessity of retiring with the utmost expedition, to get beyond the reach of the explosion. In these urgent circumstances, the Merlin was also destroyed, to prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy. The greater part of the officers and crew of the Augusta were saved, though no inconsiderable number unhappily perished.

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The British commanders were not at all dispirited by this ill success. Fresh preparations were made, and every measure adopted that could tend to insure success; while the enemy were no less active on their part to strengthen their works. The officers and seamen of the fleet were incessantly employed in conveying heavy artillery, provisions, and stores up the river, by a difficult channel on the west, to a small morassy island, where they erected batteries, which greatly annoyed the enemy's works on Mud-Island. By the 15th of November, every thing was prepared for an attack: the Isis and Somerset men of war passed up the east channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; several frigates drew up against a fort newly erected on the Jersey side, near Manto Creek, which was so situated as to flank the men of war; and two armed vessels, mounted with 24 pounders, made their way through a narrow channel at the back of Hogg Island, posting themselves in such a manner as to enfilade the principal works on Mud-Island. A heavy fire now commenced on both sides; but the prodigious force with which the provincials were every where attacked, and the judicious dispositions which had been made, so totally overpowered them, that they were constrained to abandon

Nov. 15.

**CHAP.** the place that, very night, leaving their artillery and some  
**XVI.** stores behind them. Red-Bank was abandoned next day,  
 with considerable loss of artillery and military stores.

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Thus the shipping of the enemy were left entirely destitute of protection, and threatened with instant destruction. Several galleys, and armed vessels, however, taking the advantages of a dark night, passed the batteries at Philadelphia, and escaped to places of security farther up; but 17 others, which could not set sail at that time, were set on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the British. The campaign on the Delaware concluded with opening a channel large enough for the passage of transports and small vessels, laden with provisions; up to Philadelphia; the advanced season of the year admitting of no farther progress being made in the clearing of the river.

Conclusion  
of the cam-  
paign on  
the Dela-  
ware.

General Washington, in the mean time, having received a reinforcement of 4000 men from the northern army, advanced within 14 miles of Philadelphia, where he encamped in a very strong situation at a place called *White-Marsh*. The British general conceiving, from the disposition of his army, that he might perhaps incline to venture an engagement, marched out of Philadelphia on the 4th of December, at night, and next morning took post in front of the right wing of the enemy. Besides the hopes of finding the American general inclined to risk a battle, it was not without reason supposed that some part of his camp might be found liable to an attack. For this purpose, he explored the right wing with all possible accuracy; but finding no opening there, he changed his ground on the 7th, and explored the left with equal attention. Every part, however, was found equally inaccessible; and, though several skirmishes ensued, and the royal army advanced within a mile of the enemy's lines, nothing could provoke or entice him to an engagement. General Howe, therefore, after remaining three days constantly in their neighbourhood, his officers and soldiers suffering the most grievous severities of weather, from the want of tents, and other field equipage, gave up the thoughts of any further attempt for the season. On the 8th of December, therefore, he began his march for Philadelphia, in full view of the enemy, without being pursued, or in the least incommoded on his return. General Washington, in the mean time, removed his camp from *White-Marsh* to *Valley Forge* on the *Schuylkill*, about 15 or 16 miles from Philadelphia, in a very strong and secure situation, where he huddled it for the winter.

Dec. 4.

Dec. 7.

Dec. 8.



1777.  
General  
Burgoyne  
undergoes  
great diffi-  
culties.

While the southern army, under gen. Howe, was thus gaining equivocal and unimportant victories, that commanded by general Burgoyne, in the north, had experienced the most mortifying consequences of misfortune and defeat; the more grievous, without doubt, in proportion to the expectations that had been raised of their success, and the achievements they had already accomplished. We left this commander at Skenesborough, in the full career of victory, his enemies flying every where before him, or rather already fled and dispersed, so that they could not be found. He continued for some days with the army, partly at Skenesborough, and partly in the adjacent country. They were under the necessity of waiting the arrival of tents, baggage, and provisions. No labour was spared in opening roads, by the way of Fort-Anne, for advancing against the enemy. Equal industry was used in clearing the Wood Creek from fallen trees, sunk stones, and other impediments, thrown in the way by the enemy, in order to open a passage for batteaux, the conveyance of artillery, stores, provisions, and camp-equipage. Nor was less diligence used at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, provision-vessels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. The direct distance from Fort-Anne, where the batteaux navigation ended, or even from Skenesborough to Fort-Edward, was no more than what in this country would be termed a moderate ride for exercise; yet such is the savage state of that country, and such were the difficulties thrown in the way by the enemy, that the progress of the army thither was rendered very tedious and laborious; scarcely, indeed, exceeding one mile per day; a circumstance, to after ages, and in a cultivated state of the country, perhaps hardly credible. Almost every part of the passage was a wilderness. The enemy had cut large trees on both sides of the road, in such a manner, as to fall across and lengthways, with their branches interwoven; so that the troops had several layers of these frequently to remove, in places where they could not possibly take another direction. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that, in this short space, they had no fewer than 40 bridges to construct, besides others to repair; one of which was of log-work, two miles in length.

All these difficulties were cheerfully encountered and overcome by the army, whose high spirits rendered them at present superior to every thing. The enemy, besides, were too much dispirited and weak to make any attempt

CHAP. for some time. General Schuyler, indeed, was endeavoring to collect the militia at Fort-Edward, and had

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Miserable  
situation of  
the American  
troops.

been joined by the wretched fugitives under St. Clair. These, having taken a circuitous march through the woods, suffered extreme misery from the badness of the weather, their want of covering, provisions, and every necessary. Others had also arrived, but so totally broken down, that they were almost as destitute of vigour and spirit, as of arms and implements of war. General Burgoyne, therefore, was allowed to complete the great works we have just mentioned, in quiet; excepting only a few slight skirmishes with flying parties of the enemy, in which they were constantly repulsed with loss.

They abandon  
Fort  
Edward.

At the approach of the royal army to Fort-Edward, the news of an army which general Schuyler had been able to collect, abandoned the place, and retired towards Saratoga. The joy of the British troops on their arrival at Hudson's River, which they imagined was to terminate all their hardships, was inexpressible. As the enemy, by previously abandoning Fort-George, and burning their vessels, had left the lake entirely open, a great embarkation of provisions, stores, and necessaries, had arrived at that post from Ticonderoga; so that the army was fully and immediately employed in transporting those articles, with artillery, batteaux, and such other matters as were judged necessary for the prosecution of their operations from Lake George to Hudson's River. The general, indeed, might have another road towards that river, by which most of the difficulties he had now encountered would have been avoided. By returning down the South River to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to that fort which lies at its head, from which it takes its name; and from whence there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. To this, however, it was objected, that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed, and that this must even affect the ardour of the troops themselves, not to mention the delay which must be occasioned by the resistance expected at Fort George. How far considerations of this kind ought to have prevailed with a general to waste the strength of his troops by encountering natural difficulties almost insurmountable, and which, when surmounted, could contribute nothing towards the success of their cause, we must leave to military men to determine.

It was not till the end of July, that the British com-

ander reached Fort-Edward. The Americans, though still overwhelmed with terror and dismay, shewed no inclination to submit. The terror of the savages seemed to inspire them with that desperate resolution of which the human heart is capable, and which renders conquest by any power whatever absolutely impossible. Destruction in such cases may be indeed effected; but the example of the ancient town of Numantia shews, that submission will be expected in vain, let the force employed be what it will. The New-England provinces, who were most threatened, took every method to avoid the impending danger. General Washington, who, as we have already seen, was empowered by congress to appoint new commanders to the northern army, immediately dispatched General Arnold, with a train of artillery, to the assistance of Schuyler. By him the army, which now was enabled to make some appearance of force, was drawn back from Saratoga to a place called Still-water, nearly in the middle between that and the mouth of Mohawk river, where it falls into the Hudson's. This movement was undertaken in order to check the progress of colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing on the Mohawk river. Arnold's forces were greatly increased by the outrages of the savages in the royal army, whom no power was sufficient to restrain from giving dreadful instances of their sanguinary disposition, and involving in one common destruction, both friends and foes to the royal cause. Among the many instances of this nature, the fate of a young lady, miss M'Ray, was particularly remarkable, and occasioned the most violent animosity against the royal army. The father of this unhappy young woman was said to have been deeply interested in the British cause. She herself was to have been married, that very day on which she was killed, to an officer in general Burgoyne's army, and was murdered by two Indians, while on her way to meet her lover. A deed so atrocious could not fail to call forth the utmost indignation of every inhabitant of America. When a correspondence betwixt the British and American generals took place, the former was reproached with this murder. The excuse he made, was, that the two Indian chiefs, who were sent for her protection, not to do violence to her person, having disputed who should be her guard, one of them, from whose hands she was snatched, in a fit of savage passion, killed her. It is, however, remarkable, that the murderer was not put to death; a circumstance which at any rate shewed these allies, that they were either too powerful, or their services too much valued, to run the

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1777.  
Royal army  
advances to  
fort Ed-  
ward.

Cruelties of  
the Indians  
prejudicial  
to the royal  
cause.

CHAP. risk of giving them offence, let their behaviour be what it  
XVI. would.

1777.

The Americans highly exasperated, assemble in great numbers.

To the accounts of these cruelties, however, published throughout America, we may with great probability ascribe the disasters that followed. Every occasion was taken to exasperate the people and blacken the royal party and army. The cruelties of the barbarians were not more execrated than the cause in which they were employed. While they abhorred and detested that army which condescended to accept of such allies, they loudly condemned and reprobated the government which could call them forth in a civil contest, thereby endeavouring, as they said, not to subdue, but exterminate, a people whom they affected to consider, and attempted to reclaim as subjects. The inhabitants of the open country had now no means of security left but by betaking themselves to arms. An army was therefore instantly poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this place were thickly sown with plantations and villages; and the destruction of their regular army was quickly followed by the appearance of one much more numerous and formidable.

Fort Stanwix unsuccessfully besieged.

August.

The first military operation on the part of the royal army, was the siege of fort Stanwix by colonel St. Leger. This was no sooner begun, than general Burgoyne exerted his utmost endeavours to effect a junction with him by making a rapid movement forwards; the good effects of which were too obvious to admit of any dispute. The difficulties, however, which he had now to encounter, were by far too great to be overcome by human art or industry. From the 30th of July to the 15th of August the army was continually employed in bringing forward batteaux, provisions, and ammunition from fort George, to the first navigable port of Hudson's river, a distance of about 18 miles. In this service the toil was excessive; and the success in no degree equivalent to the expense of labour and time. The roads in some parts were steep, and in others required great repairs. One third of the horses were scarce arrived from Canada that had been contracted for, and the industry of the general had been able to collect no more than 50 team of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched. These difficulties were increased by exceeding heavy rains, and such effect had the various impediments on the main purpose of the general, the establishment of a magazine to enable him to carry on the operations of the campaign, that after the utmost exertions for

fifteen days, there was not above four days provisions in store, nor above ten batteaux in Hudson's river. CHAP. XVI.

In such circumstances, it being evidently impossible to procure sufficient supplies of provisions by the way of fort George, the British commander determined to supply his own magazines at the expense of those of the enemy. Having received information, therefore, that a large quantity of stores were laid up at Bennington, a place about 20 miles to the eastward of Hudson's river, he detached colonel Baum, a German officer, with a select body of troops, to surprize the place. His force consisted of about 500 regular troops, 100 Indians, with two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate their operation, and to be ready to take advantage of the success of this detachment, the army moved up the east shore of Hudson's river, where it encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga, having at the same time thrown a bridge of rafts over, by which the army passed to that place. At the same time lieutenant colonel Breyman's corps was posted at a place called Batten-Kill, with a view to support Baum, if necessary. The latter at first met with some appearance of success, by falling in with a party of the enemy escorting some cattle and provisions, both of which he took with little difficulty, and sent back to the camp. His future operations, however, were now retarded by the same fatal obstacles which had impeded those of the whole army, viz. the want of horses and carriages, and the badness of the roads, so that the enemy had time to prepare for his reception. On his arrival at Bennington, he found the place by far too strong to be attempted by his party with any probability of success; for which reason he fortified himself as well as he could in a post about four miles from Bennington, dispatching at the same time an account of his situation to general Burgoyne. On the receipt of this news, colonel Breyman was dispatched from Batten-Kill with his reinforcement; but his difficulties in advancing were so great, by reason of a continual rain, that it took up from eight in the morning on the 15th, to four in the afternoon of the 17th of August, before he could arrive at Bennington, though only 24 miles distant.

In the mean time, however, the American commander, (a general Starke) justly suspecting that colonel Baum would speedily be reinforced, determined not to wait the arrival of any more enemies. On the morning of the 16th, Aug. 16, therefore, while Breyman was still struggling with the difficulties of his march, he quitted his entrenchments at Bennington, and attacked the post which colonel Baum had

1777.  
Colonels  
Baum and  
Breyman  
defeated at  
Benning-  
ton.

CHAP. fortified, and rendered as defensible as time and the nature  
 XVI. of the place would admit. The loyal provincials who were  
 along with him, were so eager to realize their hopes, that  
 1777. when the enemy were surrounding his post on all sides,  
 they for some time persuaded him, that they were bodies  
 of friends coming to his assistance. The colonel soon discovered their error, and made a brave defence; but his works being at last carried on all sides, and his two pieces of cannon taken, most of the Indians, together with the provincials, Canadians, and British marksmen, made their escape into the woods. The German dragoons still kept together; and when their ammunition was totally expended, they were led on to the charge by their brave commander with their swords. In this attack the colonel himself was mortally wounded and taken prisoner; his men were all either killed or taken.

Aug. 17. Breymen, who had the hard fortune not to receive the smallest intelligence of this engagement, arrived near the place of action about four in the afternoon, where, instead of meeting with his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all sides by the enemy. Notwithstanding the severe fatigue they had undergone, his troops behaved with great vigour and resolution, driving the Americans in the beginning from two or three different hills on which they were posted. At length, however, they were overpowered; and their ammunition being expended, though they had brought out 40 rounds *per* man, they were obliged to abandon two other pieces of cannon they had brought along with them, and retreat in the best manner they could, to which indeed the lateness and darkness of the evening was extremely favourable. The loss of men in these two engagements was not less than 500 or 600, the greater part of whom were taken prisoners.

American militia defeated.

This misfortune at Bennington decided the fate of the royal army, which was now obliged to remain quiet in the camp, nearly opposite to Saratoga, where the general employed himself in the most unremitting industry and perseverance in bringing forward stores and provisions from Fort-George. The reputation of the British arms, however, was soon retrieved by an exploit of the corps under St. Leger. That commander having received intelligence that general Harkimer, with 800 or 900 of the militia of Tryon county, was marching to the relief of the fort, escorting at the same time a large quantity of provisions, dispatched sir John Johnson with some regulars, the whole, or part of his own regiment, and all the Indians, to intercept them. General Harkimer being totally igno-

of every military duty, or stratagem of war, suffered his men to plunge blindly into an ambuscade prepared for them, the consequence of which was, that two-thirds of them were either killed or taken. Dreadful destruction was on this occasion made by the Indians with their spears and hatchets, while the hellish nature of these savages manifested itself by the butchery of all the prisoners they took, in revenge of their own loss, which consisted of 33 warriors killed and 29 wounded.

On this trifling advantage, the royal party exulted as usual, and plumed themselves on the thought of having no more disturbance from the militia of these parts. St. Leger sent gasconading messages to the governor of Fort Stanwix, with a view to intimidate him into a surrender. In this, however, he was disappointed. The governor, colonel Ganiswart, behaved with great firmness. He replied, that having been entrusted with the charge of that garrison by the United States, he would defend the trust committed to his charge at every hazard, and to the utmost extremity. He had, indeed, already put the British strength to a trial. On the very day, and probably during the time of the late engagement, the provincial troops in the fort having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, made a vigorous sally under colonel Willet, the second in command. This officer executed his design with great spirit and bravery. After doing considerable mischief in the camp, and bringing off some standards, a considerable quantity of spoil, consisting of some articles greatly wanted in the fort, and a few prisoners, he returned with little or no loss to his own party. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous expedition. They passed by night through the besiegers works, and, in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the savages, made their way through pathless woods and morasses, in order to raise the country, and bring relief to the fort. In short, after all his endeavours, the British commander found it impossible to make any considerable progress in the reduction of the place. His artillery was deficient, being too light to make any considerable impression, so that he was obliged to bring his approaches as near as possible, in order to produce any effect. The Indians, chagrined at their late losses, continued sullen and intractable. They were besides enraged at having received no plunder, the chief incentive to all their wars, and the prospect of getting any seemed to grow every day more faint. Soon after a report was spread among them, that Arnold, now raised by the

CHAP. congress to the rank of general, was coming to the relief

XVI. of the fort with 1000 men. St. Leger then promised to  
 ~~~~~ lead them on himself, to bring all his best troops into ac-  
 1777. tion, and by carrying their leaders to mark out a field of
 battle, and flattering them by consultations on his intended
 plans of operation, endeavoured to soothe them into
 good humour. But while he employed himself in this
 manner, other intelligence arrived, which first doubled
 and then trebled the numbers of the enemy, with the ad-
 dition, that General Burgoyne's army had been entirely
 defeated and cut to pieces. On this they lost all patience,
 and while the British commander still endeavoured to
 soothe them by calling a council of their chiefs, part of
 them decamped, and the remainder threatened to abandon
 him if he did not instantly retreat.

The In-
 dians de-
 sert from
 Colonel
 St. Leger.

St. Leger now finding it impossible to deal with these
 intractable allies, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat,
 or rather flight, leaving most of the artillery and stores
 to fall into the hands of the garrison. From his own ac-
 count, it appears, that he was as apprehensive of danger
 from the fury of the savages as he could be from that of
 his American enemies; and, indeed, not without reason,
 since the boats belonging to the army were not only plun-
 dered by them, but the officers robbed of their baggage,
 and many of the men murdered, who through fatigue or
 weakness had not been able to keep up with the rest.

In the mean time, general Arnold was actually advanc-
 ing up the Mohawk river with 2000 men; and for the
 greater expedition, had quitted the main body, and arrived
 by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment
 of 900, two days after the siege had been raised; so that
 it appeared by the event, that the discontents and deser-
 tion of the Indians had saved them from a most severe
 chastisement, if not absolute destruction. The spirits of
 the Americans were now raised to such a degree, that
 general Burgoyne and his army, once so much the objects
 of terror, became not only contemptible, but their fate was
 publicly prognosticated, and means taken to cut off their
 retreat. For this purpose, the militia from the upper parts
 of New-Hampshire, and the head of Connecticut, under-
 took an expedition against the forts of Ticonderoga,
 Mount Independence, and the posts on lake George. The
 conduct of it was committed to general Lincoln, and the
 immediate execution to colonels Brown, Johnston, and
 Woodbury, with detachments of about 500 men each.
 They carried on their operations with such secrecy and
 address, that by the 17th of September, they had effectual-

Sept. 17.

ly surprised all the out-posts between the landing place at the north end of lake George and the body of the fortress of Ticonderoga. Mount Desiance, Mount-Hope, the French lines, and a blockhouse, with 200 batteaux, an armed sloop, and several gun-boats, were almost instantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the vessels, were made prisoners; at the same time, they set at liberty a number of their own people, who had been confined in some of these works. Flushed with this success, they brought the cannon out of the armed vessels they had taken, and after repeatedly summoning governor Powell, who commanded in Ticonderoga, they for four days attacked the fort and Mount Independence; until, by their continual repulses, they found themselves totally unequal to the task, and at last abandoned the design.

All this time the British commander was obliged to remain inactive in his camp. A swell of the water, occasioned by great rains, carried away his bridge of rafts, on which he threw over another of boats; and having at length procured about 30 days provisions, with other necessary stores, he took a resolution of passing Hudson's river with the army. This design was carried into execution towards the middle of September, when he encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga, the enemy then being in the neighbourhood of Still-Water. By this time, however, it appears, that he himself had little hopes of being able either to advance or retreat. In his letter to the American minister, he said, that as a duty of justice, he took upon himself the measure of passing Hudson's river, in order to force a passage to Albany. He did not think himself authorised to call any men into council, when the peremptory tenor of his orders, and the season of the year, admitted of no alternative. In a subsequent part of the same letter, he reasoned in the following manner, when the unavoidable destruction of his army seemed to present itself to his mind.—“The expedition I commanded, says he, “was evidently meant to be hazarded. Circumstances might require it should be devoted. A critical junction of Mr. Gates's force with Mr. Washington, might possibly decide the fate of the war; the failure of my junction with Sir Harry Clinton, or the loss of my retreat to Canada, could only be a partial misfortune.”

As the army advanced along the river towards the enemy, they found the country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and a continual repair of bridges necessary. Being at length arrived in the front of the enemy,

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General
Burgoyne
pursued
and ha-
rassed by
the enemy.

September.

CHAP. some woods only of no great extent intervening, the gene-
 XVI. ral put himself at the head of the British line which covered
 the right wing. That wing was covered by general Frazer and colonel Breymen, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along some high grounds which commanded its right flank, being themselves covered by the Indians, provincials, and Canadians in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under generals Reidesel and Philips, kept along the great road and meadows by the river side. They now began to encounter such enemies as they had never before experienced in America, and such as they had been too apt to imagine it could not produce. The Provincials being unable, from the nature of the country, to perceive the different combinations of the march, issued from their camp in great force, with a design of turning the right wing, and flanking the British line. But, finding themselves disappointed in the design by the strong position of general Frazer, they now began a counter-march, and being favoured by the same peculiarity of the country, they made a furious attack on the left. Arnold led them on, and fought with the greatest intrepidity, distinguishing himself in a very eminent manner. The British, though surprised at the boldness and obstinacy of the Americans, behaved with their usual valour, but were unable to gain their wonted superiority; so that after a very warm engagement of several hours, they were barely enabled to keep the field, and the Americans only returned to their camp on account of the approach of darkness.

Sept. 19.

In this conflict, many brave men perished on the British side; and it was no great comfort that the Americans had lost a greater number. The army lay all night on their arms on the field of battle, and in the morning took possession of a post nearly within cannon-shot of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left in such a manner as to cover the meadows through which the river runs, and where their batteaux and hospitals were placed. The enemy's camp was every where either inaccessible or impregnable. The Indians now finding the hopes of plunder entirely gone, disliking the hard and dangerous service in which they were employed, and having received some checks on account of the murder of Miss M^rRae, and some other inhumanities, deserted at once, and that at a time when their service was most required, and would have been particularly useful. A great desertion also prevailed among the Canadians and loyal Americans; nor does it appear, that any confidence was or could now be placed in those who remain,


ad. The general had, from the beginning, a strong hope of being powerfully succoured, if such assistance should be required, or at least of being met at Albany by a large detachment from the army at New-York. He now received a letter from sir Henry Clinton, informing him of his intention of making a diversion on the North River by attacking Fort Montgomery, and some others newly erected in the Highlands, in order to guard the passage up the river to Albany. This diversion indeed fell far short of the aid he had expected; but it gave considerable hopes that general Gates might thus be obliged to divide his army. He therefore sent back the messenger, afterwards dispatching two officers in disguise, and other persons in whom he could confide, by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact situation, and to press him to the immediate accomplishment of his purpose; and to inform him, that he was enabled in point of provision, and fixed in his determination to hold his present position, in hopes of favourable events, till the 12th of October.

In the mean time, every method was used to fortify the camp. Strong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hospitals, not only to guard against any sudden attack, but for their security in any future movement which the army might make in order to turn the enemy's flank. The strictest watch on the motions of the enemy, and attention on every quarter to their own security, became every day more indispensable, as the army under general Gates continually increased by the accession of fresh bodies of militia.


In the beginning of October, general Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the uncertainty of his situation, to lessen the soldiers' rations of provisions; a measure, which, however disagreeable to an army, was now extremely necessary. Things continued in this situation until the 7th of October, when there being no appearance or intelligence of the expected co-operation, and the time limited for the stay of the army in its present camp within four or five days of being expired, it was judged advisable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to discover whether there were any means of forcing a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or of dislodging them for the convenience of retreat, but also to cover a forage of the army, which was exceedingly distressed by the present scarcity.

A detachment of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders, were ordered to move, being commanded by the general in per-

CHAP. son, who was seconded by majors general Philips and
XVI. Reidefel, with brigadier general Frazer. No equal num-

 **1777.** ber of men was ever better commanded, and it would have been difficult to have matched the men with any equal number. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds was committed to the brigadiers general Hamilton and Spight; that of the redoubts, and the plain near the river, to brigadier Goll. The force of the enemy immediately in front of the lines, was so much superior, that it was not thought safe to augment the detachment beyond the number we have stated.

The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were pushed on through bye-ways, to appear as a check on their rear. But the further operations of the detachment were prevented by a very sudden and most rapid attack of the enemy upon the British grenadiers, who were posted to support the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, sustained this fierce attack with great resolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend the attack along the whole front line of the Germans, who were posted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, it became impracticable to move any part of that body for the purpose of forming a second line to support the flank, where the great weight of the fire fell. The right were still unengaged; but it was soon perceived that the enemy were marching a strong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, who were joined with them at that post, were thrown into a second line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. In the mean time, however, the enemy pushed a fresh and strong reinforcement to decide the action on the left, which being totally overpowered by so great a superiority, was compelled to give way; upon which the light infantry and 24th regiment were obliged, by a very quick movement, to endeavour to save that wing from being totally routed. In this movement, the brave brigadier general Frazer was mortally wounded: the situation of the detachment became exceedingly critical; and the danger to which the lines were exposed, still more alarming and serious. Philips and Reidefel were ordered to cover the retreat, and those troops which were nearest, or most disengaged, returned as fast as they could for their defence. They were obliged however to abandon six pieces of cannon,



most of the artillery men being killed, and the horses entirely destroyed. CHAP. XVI.

The troops in general retreated in good order, though very hard pressed; but they had scarcely entered their camp, when the Americans stormed it with great fury, rushing through a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms with the most desperate valour. Arnold led on the attack with his usual impetuosity, but met with a brave resistance from the light infantry under lord Balcarras, who had been ordered to defend that part of the line. The engagement continued with the utmost obstinacy on both sides, until Arnold was severely wounded, and forced to retire. His party, though somewhat disheartened by this accident, continued the attack for sometime longer, but, after many brave efforts, were finally repulsed. In another quarter, where the Germans were posted, the Americans carried the entrenchments sword in hand, totally routing the enemy with the loss of their baggage, tents, and artillery; nor could the post afterwards be regained, though general Burgoyne sent orders for that purpose. In this attack, colonel Breymen, who commanded the Germans, was killed, with a great number of his men. Several officers of distinction, besides brigadier-general Frazer, were also killed and taken; though the list of killed, wounded and prisoners sent to this country were avowedly imperfect.

1777.

By means of the advantages the Americans had gained in this engagement, a dangerous opening was now made on the right flank and rear of the royal army, which rendered a change of position absolutely necessary to prevent a total destruction. This was accordingly executed that very night with the greatest silence, order, and intrepidity; the whole army moving to the heights adjacent, where they could no longer be attacked with advantage.

Next day, October 8th, being sensible that nothing less than a successful and decisive action could relieve him from his difficulties, general Burgoyne continued repeatedly to offer battle to the enemy, though without success; as they were now preparing to surround him in such a manner as should preclude every possibility of escape. For this purpose, a strong body was pushed forward to turn the right flank of the royal army, which, if once accomplished, would have completely inclosed it on every side. To prevent this disaster, an immediate retreat to Saragota was determined, and executed that very night without loss. The hospital with the sick and wounded now fell into the hands of the enemy, but they were treated with great humanity by the victors; and, indeed, general Gates behaved

Oct. 8.

CHAP. on all occasions to those whom the fortune of war put in
XVI. his power, with such tenderness and humanity as did
 honour to his character.

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On the arrival of the troops at Saratoga in the morning of October 10th, they found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them. These retired on their approach over a ford in Hudson's river, and joined a greater force which had been stationed to prevent the passage of the royal army. Every hope, therefore, was now cut off, except that of making a retreat to Fort George. For this purpose, a detachment of artificers, under a strong escort, was sent to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward. They had not, however, been long departed from the camp, when the sudden appearance of the enemy in great force obliged the general to recal the escort sent along with them; and soon after, on a very slight attack of a small party of the enemy, the provincial guard abandoned their post, and left the workmen to shift for themselves, who thereupon were obliged to desist from their operations, having only begun to repair the first bridge.

The enemy now proceeded to execute the last operation necessary for the complete reduction of the British army, viz. the cutting off their only resource for provisions, which had hitherto been brought to the camp by Hudson's river. The farther shore of the river was therefore lined with strong detachments of the enemy, and the batteaux, loaded with provisions and necessaries, were of consequence exposed to continual attacks, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken. Many of them fell into the hands of the enemy, and a number of men were lost in the skirmishes fought on these occasions. At last it was found that the provisions could only be preserved by landing and bringing them up the hill to the camp; and this could not be accomplished without the utmost difficulty and danger.

The army
 sur-
 rounded,
 and
 obliged
 to
 capitulate.

In these deplorable circumstances, councils of war were held, in order to consider of the possibility of a retreat. The only measure that carried even the appearance of possibility was, to gain Fort Edward by a night march, the troops carrying their provisions on their backs. The impossibility of repairing the roads and bridges, and of conveying, in their present situation, the artillery and carriages, were too evident to admit of a question, and it was proposed to force the fords at or near Fort Edward. But whilst preparations were making for carrying into execution this forlorn and desperate resolve, news were

brought that the enemy had already taken measures for preventing every possibility of escape, and that even this last resource was cut off. Besides, being strongly entrenched opposite to the fords which the British intended to pass, they had a camp well guarded with artillery on the high grounds between fort Edward and fort George; whilst their parties were every where spread over the opposite shore of the river, to watch or intercept the motions of the army; and, on their own, the enemy's posts were so close, that they could scarcely make the smallest movement without discovery. In this situation, they remained for some time, lying constantly on their arms, whilst a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape shot fell in every part of the lines. Their numbers were now reduced to 3500 effective fighting men, of which scarce 2000 were British; so much had the army been reduced by the desertion of the Canadians, and the many heavy losses they had sustained in an almost continual series of action for two months past. Some hope, however, they still entertained of being relieved by their friends from New-York; or, by an attack from the enemy, to have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating themselves with honour. Neither of these desirable events, however, took place; the enemy shewed now no disposition to attack, though their force continually increased by the pouring in of such numbers of militia, as must have rendered them superior to a much greater force than the poor remains to which the British army was now reduced. In this deplorable extremity, therefore, general Burgoyne caused an exact account to be taken, on the evening of the 13th of October, of the whole stock of provisions then remaining in the camp, which being found sufficient for no more than three days, it became absolutely necessary to capitulate with the enemy. Before this was done, however, a council was called, to which the general invited, besides the superior officers, all those who commanded corps or divisions. The result was, an unanimous determination to enter into a convention with the American general. The treaty was then quickly concluded; no difficulty occurring throughout the whole, excepting what was occasioned by a point of military honour, and which was yielded by general Gates. The behaviour of this gentleman was such as did him honour. The terms granted were moderate; the army was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and its camp artillery, to a certain place, where they were to deposit their arms. They were to be allowed a free passage from Boston to Europe, on condition of their

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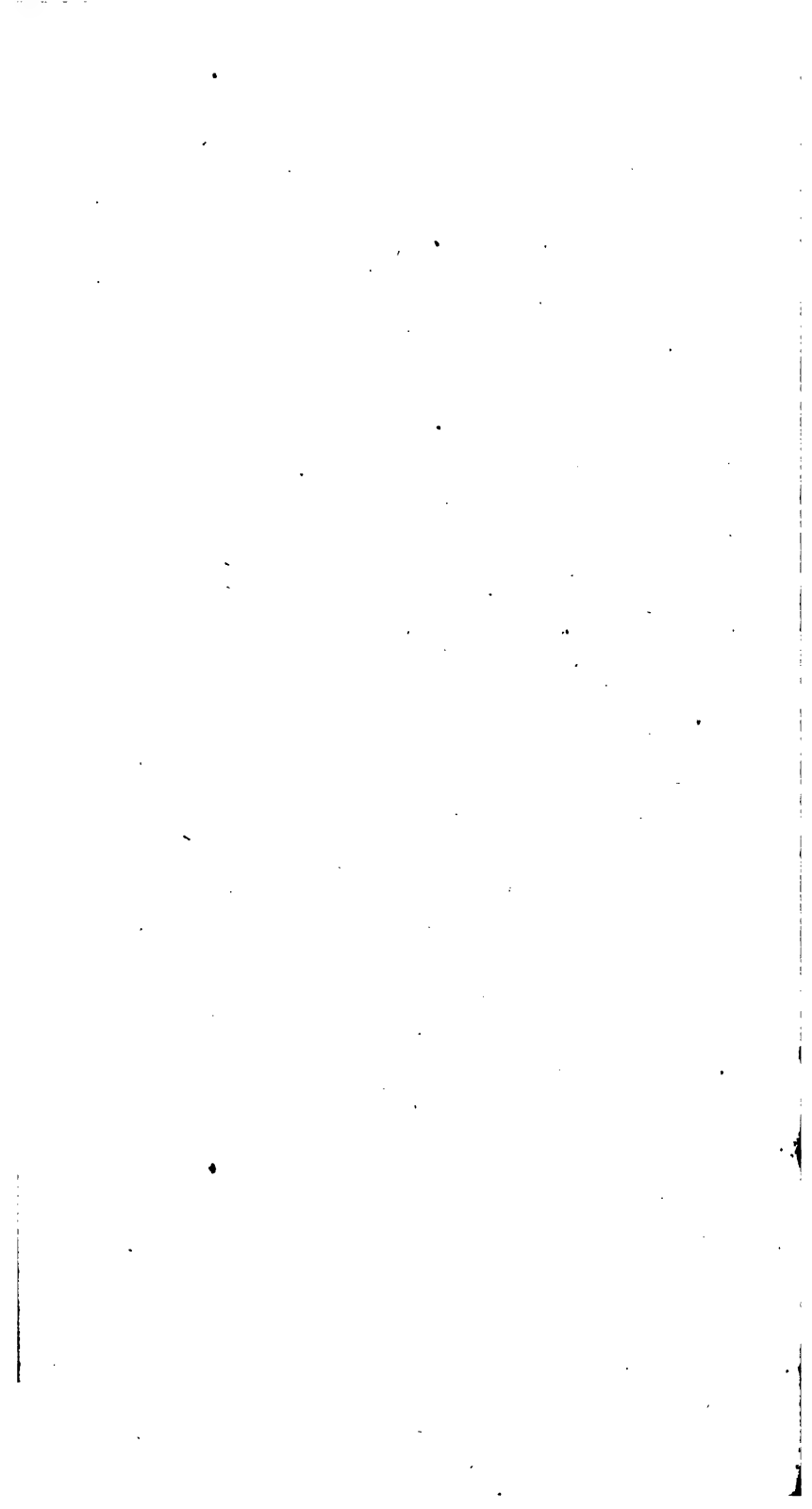
CHAP. not serving again in North-America during the war. The
 XVI. army were not to be separated, particularly the men from
 the officers ; roll calling, and other duties of regularity to
 be admitted ; the officers on parole to be allowed to wear
 their side arms ; all private property to be held sacred, and
 the public delivered upon honour ; no baggage to be searched
 or molested ; all persons, of whatever country, ap-
 pertaining to, or following the camp, to be fully compre-
 hended in the capitulation ; and the Canadians to be re-
 turned to their own country, liable to its conditions. All
 these, as far as general Gates was or could be concerned,
 were executed with the utmost punctuality. Nay, so much
 attention was paid to the nice delicacy of military honour,
 that when the British soldiers went to the place appointed
 to lay down their arms, the provincials were strictly kept
 within their lines, and not allowed to be spectators of so
 great humiliation on the part of Britain. Such conduct
 was the more praise-worthy, as the royal army, in some
 of its last movements, had destroyed many fine buildings,
 some of them exceedingly valuable. At the same time, the
severity, to call it by no worse a name, exercised in the ex-
 pedition we are now going to relate, would have given but
 too good a colour to very different proceedings on the part
 of the Americans. The number of troops who, on this oc-
 casion, laid down their arms, were computed by the Ame-
 ricans at 5752, in which, though not specified, they un-
 doubtedly included all the artificers, labourers, and follow-
 ers of the camp. The sick and wounded left in the hos-
 pital were stated at 528 ; and the loss in battle or by de-
 sertion, at 2933 men, since the 6th of July : the whole
 amount of these numbers being 9213 ; though, by another
 account, the loss in this unfortunate expedition was com-
 puted to be more than 10,000. A fine train of brass ar-
 tillery, amounting to thirty-five pieces of different sorts and
 sizes, also fell into the hands of the enemy.

Successful
 expedition
 up the
 North-Ri-
 ver.

During these unfortunate transactions, Sir Henry Clin-
 ton embarked with 3000 men, accompanied by a suitable
 naval force, consisting of ships of war, armed galleys, and
 smaller vessels, under the command of commodore Ho-
 tham. Their first object was the reduction of the forts
 Montgomery and Clinton, which though, of considerable
 strength, were, at that time, in a very unguarded state ; so
 that it was resolved to attempt them by assault. They
 were situated on either side of a creek, descending from
 the mountains to the North-River, and their communica-
 tion preserved by a bridge. Several necessary motions be-
 ing made to cover the real design, the troops were landed

in two divisions, at such a distance from their object, as CHAP. occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the XVI. mountains; which, however, was calculated with such precision, that the two detachments arrived on the opposite sides of the creek on the 6th of October, and began a separate attack upon each of the forts at the same time. The surprise and terror of the garrisons were increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the galleys, who approached so close as to touch the walls with their oars. The assault on both sides of the creek was very vigorous, and the impetuosity of the troops so great, that, notwithstanding a very resolute defence, both places were carried by storm, and very little mercy shown to the defendants. On the loss of the forts, the enemy set fire to two fine new frigates and some other vessels, which, with their artillery and stores, were all consumed. Another fort, named *Constitution*, was soon after abandoned, and set on fire. A fine thriving settlement called *Continental Village*, and containing barracks for 1500 men, with considerable stores, was also destroyed: a large boom and chain, said to have cost 70,000*l.* and which was looked upon as an extraordinary instance of American labour and industry, was in part destroyed, and in part carried away; a great quantity of stores, provisions, and artillery were taken; so that, on the whole, the loss of the Americans on this occasion was greater than on any other since the commencement of the war. The expedition, however, did not end here. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of frigates, and general Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, continued, for several days, their excursion up the river, spreading terror and destruction wherever they went. The extraordinary desolation attending this expedition, the necessity of which was never made evident, produced a very severe letter from general Gates to general Vaughan, to which the latter did not think proper to give an answer. On the approach of that commander, however, the British troops retired to New-York, having undoubtedly hurt their own cause more by the proofs of inhumanity they had given, than it had been forwarded by the loss the Americans sustained.

1777-
Oct. 6.



CHAPTER XVII.

Affairs in Britain—Parliament—Debates on the address—General Burgoyne's misfortune—Ordnance expense—Project to raise a new army—Lord Chatham's motions—State of the nation—Employing the Indians—Mr. Fox's speech—Duke of Richmond's motions—Lord North's conciliatory plan—Motion to repeal Massachusetts charter-act—Ways and Means—Mr. Luttrell's motion—General Gates's letter read—Duke of Richmond on the state of the nation—Conciliatory bills passed—Lord Chatham's speech against granting independence to the colonies—His death and funeral honours.

THE fatal termination of the northern expedition, from which so much had been expected, produced the utmost consternation in Great-Britain. No change of any sort had taken place in the ministerial departments. Good and bad success seemed equally to secure them in their places. In the former case, who could be so fit to conclude the business as those who had begun it so happily? And, in the latter, who could be found so hardy as to complete the ruinous system, which, besides its original failure, was, from its very nature, clogged with immense difficulty and danger? The success at Ticonderoga seemed to crown the hopes of administration and their friends; and, as this had been planned by the lord at the head of the American department, (lord George Germaine) he and his friends plumed themselves not a little on the wisdom of the contrivance. But, the succeeding dispatches from

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State of
affairs in
Great-Bri-
tain.

CHAP. that commander, however, did not long continue to sup-
 XVII. port these sanguine hopes. The delays and advancing from
 1777. Skenesborough to the southward were, however, counter-
 balanced, in the opinion of ministry, by the arrival of the
 army on Hudson's River, the retreat of the enemy from
 fort Edward, their abandoning fort George and the lake,
 and St. Leger's success in defeating the militia near fort
 Stanwix.

In expectation of some great and glorious event, it is
 probable that the meeting of Parliament was this year
 held back longer than usual. Instead of this, however,
 ministers were made acquainted with the double defeat of
 colonels Baume and Breyman,—the intolerable difficulties
 under which the army laboured—the despondency of the
 general himself—the failure of St. Leger's attempt on
 fort Stanwix—and lastly, the success of the provincials
 near Ticonderoga, and the desperate and doubtful engage-
 ment with Arnold on the 19th of September. Yet still it
 was hoped, that some assistance might be derived from
 general Clinton, or if that could not be effected, the worst
 that could be supposed to happen to general Burgoyne
 was, his being obliged to retreat to Canada, though some
 apprehended the fatal consequences which actually took
 place. Accounts at this time were only received of gene-
 ral Howe's success in reaching the head of the Elk.

Parliamen-
 tary pre-
 ceedings,
 Nov. 20.
 king's
 speech.

The parliament at length met on the 20th of Novem-
 ber. The speech from the throne expressed great satisfac-
 tion, in having recourse to the wisdom and support of par-
 liament in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the
 rebellion in America demanded their most serious atten-
 tion. The powers with which parliament had entrusted
 the crown for the suppression of the revolt were declared
 to have been faithfully exerted; and a just confidence
 was expressed, that the courage and conduct of the officers,
 with the spirit and intrepidity of the forces, would be at-
 tended with important success; but, under a persuasion
 that both houses would see the necessity of preparing for
 such further operations as the contingencies of the war
 and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient,
 his Majesty was for this purpose pursuing the proper
 measures for keeping the land-forces to their proper
 establishment; and, if he should have occasion to increase
 them by contracting any new engagements, a reliance
 was placed on their zeal to enable him to fulfil them. Re-
 peated assurances were received of the pacific intentions
 of foreign powers; notwithstanding which, the arma-
 ments in the ports of France and Spain rendered it advise-

ble to augment our naval force considerably. The commons were informed, that the various services which had been mentioned would unavoidably require large supplies; and a profession was made, that nothing could relieve the royal mind from the concern which it felt for the heavy charge they must bring on the people, but a conviction of their being necessary for the welfare and interests of the nation. The speech concluded with a resolution steadily to pursue the measures in which they were engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which his majesty was determined to maintain through the several parts of his dominions, accompanied with a profession of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of his subjects; he also continued to hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance on a recollection of the blessings of their former happy government, when compared with the miseries of their present situation; and concluded with a declaration that the restoring of peace, order, and confidence to his American colonies, would be considered as the greatest happiness of his majesty's life, and glory of his reign.

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In answer to this speech, addresses were moved, as usual, full of panegyrics on the speech, and the profound wisdom of the ministry. Sir Gilbert Elliot, who seconded this motion for the address, declared himself so fully satisfied with the wisdom and rectitude of those in office, and the extreme utility of their measures, that he could not refrain from being lost in astonishment, if it should happen that any man who was a native of this country, and bred up in due allegiance to the throne, could, under any impulse of faction, venture to stand up in that house, and so far to abet the American rebels, as to express a sentiment contrary to the spirit of the measures which were adopted by government, and which were now so graciously communicated from the throne.

So vehement a declamation in favour of ministerial measures, hitherto attended with such uninterrupted misfortune and disappointment, might well have been supposed ironical, had it not become the subject of serious debate in parliament. The state of the nation was indeed very far from being flourishing. Our foreign commerce was considerably embarrassed, and loaded with extraordinary charges; in some branches, it was reduced; and in others, such as the African, nearly annihilated. That commerce, indeed, so long the object of envy to other nations, was so immense in its extent, and involved such a multitude of great and

CHAP. material objects, that it was not to be shaken, without some
 XVII. very extraordinary convulsion or uncommon accident,
 and therefore bore many prodigious shocks before they
 1777. were capable of apparently affecting its general system.

In other respects, the aspect of public affairs was sufficient to enable the most superficial observer to refuse the speech of the member above mentioned. The coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland were insulted by the American privateers, in a manner which our hardiest foreign enemies had never ventured in any contest. Thus, even our domestic trade was rendered insecure. The ships from Dublin and Newry were, for the first time, attended by a convoy. The Thames also presented the unusual and melancholy spectacle of numbers of foreign ships, particularly French, taking in cargoes of English commodities for various parts of Europe, the property of British merchants, who were thus reduced to seek that protection from other nations, which the British flag had hitherto been accustomed to afford to all the world.

The conduct of France, during the whole of this year, had been so unequivocal, that we can scarce help admiring the effrontery with which ministry had hitherto insisted, and still continued to insist, that her intentions were really pacific. She was not indeed yet arrived at that state of preparation, which would have enabled her to commence hostilities immediately. She occasionally relaxed in certain articles, where the British ministry found themselves obliged to push with more than usual vigour. Thus, when one Cunningham, a bold American adventurer, had taken, and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out from that port, the English packet from Holland, and sent the mail to the American ministers at Paris, it then became necessary, to save appearances, to imprison Cunningham and all his crew. To prevent this from giving any offence to the Americans, however, his imprisonment was represented as occasioned by some informality in his commission, which brought him very near, if not within the verge, of piracy. Even this was very soon passed over. The American adventurer and his crew were released from their mock confinement, and he was permitted to purchase a much stronger vessel and better sailer than before, avowedly to infest the British commerce as usual. At another time, when the French Newfoundland fishery would have been totally intercepted and destroyed in case of an immediate rupture, and the capture of their seamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable than the loss even of the ships and cargoes, lord Stormont obtained an order

from the French ministers, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, should immediately depart the kingdom. Expedients, however, were practised on this occasion with such success, that the order was not obeyed in any one instance, though it effectually answered the end held in view by the French Court, viz. that of protracting time, by opening a subject of tedious and indecisive controversy, until their ships were safe in port. With regard to the Americans, they had the fullest assurance from M. de Sartine, the French minister, that the king would protect his subjects in trading with them; and for this purpose, a public instrument was sent to the several Chambers of Commerce, assuring them of what we have just now related.

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Considering all these circumstances, it is no wonder that the speech of that member of the house, which we have just now related, should have met with the most severe animadversion. It was answered by the young Marquis of Granby, who, from his first coming into parliament, had uniformly opposed the whole system of American measures. After stating and lamenting, in a pathetic manner, the ruinous effects of the war, he declared himself filled with the most ardent desire for grasping at the present moment of time, and of having the happiness even to lay the ground-work of an accommodation. He, therefore, moved an amendment to the address, the substance of which was, "To request of his majesty to adopt some measures for accommodating the differences with America; and recommending a cessation of all hostilities, as necessary for the effectuating so desirable a purpose; with an assurance, that the commons were determined to co-operate with him in every measure that could contribute to the re-establishment of peace, and the drawing such lines as should afford sufficient security to the terms of pacification."

This motion was seconded with additional arguments by lord John Cavendish, and supported by the opposition in general. On the other hand, the minister insisted, that no person in the nation desired peace more ardently than himself. The happy moment for attempting an accommodation, however, was not yet arrived. This was to be found only in the season of victory; at any other time, it would not only be futile, but attended with disgrace and contempt. He seemed tacitly to give up the idea of taxation, by not considering it as a bar in the way of accommodation; but objected to a cessation of arms, as it would seem a direct admission of the American claim of independency.

CHAP. The commissioners, however, he said, were empowered
 XVII. to grant a cessation of arms, whenever they thought proper, and when such overtures had been made or accepted on the other side, as afforded any reasonable ground for beginning a negotiation. To remove the impression which had been visibly made by the language of opposition concerning an European war, he said, that from the best intelligence he could collect, there was no reason to apprehend such an event. France and Spain held out the language of friendship, and he believed them sincere. It was not their interest to quarrel with us, and he could not believe it was their intention.

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Some other gentlemen were of opinion, that to grant independence to America, would be the subjugation of Great-Britain. Both could not exist in an independent state; for, such were the sources of wealth and power in that vast continent, from its extent, products, seas, rivers, immense increase in population, and, above all, its prodigious fund of naval treasures, that this small island, which had hitherto supported its greatness by commerce and naval superiority, would now be so cramped in its own peculiar resources, and overlaid upon its natural element, that it must in a few years sink to nothing, and perhaps be reduced to that most degrading and calamitous of all situations, the becoming a vassal to her own rebellious colonies, if they were once permitted to establish their independence, and of consequence their power.

The whole weight of this debate fell upon the ministers themselves, or a very few official men. The country gentlemen were unusually blank. They saw not only an end to all their hopes of obtaining a revenue from America, but found themselves involved in a war, which, in point of expense proportionable to the force and service employed, was infinitely more ruinous than any other that had ever been undertaken by the nation; and this without the smallest prospect of its being brought by any means to a conclusion. They, however, gave their votes, silently indeed, with the minister; so that the amendment was rejected by a majority as great as usual, the number being 243 to 86.

In the house of lords, the address was no less vehemently debated. An amendment similar to that proposed in the house of commons, was moved for by the earl of Chatham. In stating his arguments for the amendment, he asserted some facts, and foretold the same consequences which had been foreseen in the house of commons. He declared, that the house of Bourbon would break with

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us; that he knew their intention to be hostile; and that the present was the only time in which the parliament or the nation would have it in their power to treat with America. France and Spain had done a great deal, but they had not done all that America desired. The Americans were therefore in an ill humour at present, and might be detached from their connections with those powers, if reasonable terms of accommodation were held out to them; but if not, the opportunity would be lost, an opportunity which he foretold we never could regain. He dwelt also long, and with much severe animadversion, on the war and its consequences, as well as the mode of carrying it on, by which, he said, all remains of brotherly love must be extinguished in the bosoms of our countrymen in America. The tomahawk and scalping-knife were disgraceful weapons for the enforcement of British authority. The calling on savages, whose way of making war is to murder women and children, and to burn their prisoners alive by slow fires, and then to eat their flesh, was a scandalous proceeding in a Christian and civilized nation. The right Reverend Bench were called upon to assist in the Christian purpose, of stopping the effusion of Christian Protestant blood; they were reminded that their temporal concerns were only a secondary object of their sitting there; their first duty was, by example, mildness, and persuasion, to soften the public deliberations, particularly in cases which so materially affected the object of all religion as the morality of actions, and were of such extent as that now under consideration. It became a mere jest to retire from the house when a poor criminal was at the bar, because they could not bring themselves to vote in a case of blood, and yet to advise the most sanguinary measures, in which the lives of thousands were involved.

To all this the ministry replied, That a state of war was as little desired by them as by the lords in opposition; but that when they were at war, they must use the instruments of war. Much declamation, they said, had been poured forth, and much artifice used to soften us into a false tenderness, by dwelling on the use of the tomahawk and scalping-knife; but the musquet and bayonet were far more terrible weapons. If the savages destroyed more than they were wished to destroy, and if women and children fell (contrary to the wishes and endeavours of those who employed the savages) in the common havoc, they alone were to be blamed, who, by their unprovoked rebellion, first brought on the necessity of arms, and then, by tampering with the Indians, had set the example from which

CHAP. XVII. they suffered. One of the ministers concluded with saying, that he thought the measure perfectly just and wise, and that the administration would be highly censurable, if, entrusted as they were with the suppression of so unnatural a rebellion, they had not used all the means which God and nature had put in their hands.

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The whole of these arguments, but particularly the last expression, called forth the wrath of lord Chatham, who animadverted most severely on the hypothesis, that the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, and the torturing and devouring of captives, were the means of war furnished by God and nature; which notions, he said, standing so near the throne, must pollute the ear of majesty.

In order to prevent any impression being made by the appearance of an European war, the first lord of the Admiralty (Lord Sandwich) drew a most flattering representation of the state of our naval strength and preparation. That minister is said to have declared, that we had, at that instant, a naval force in readiness superior to any thing the house of Bourbon could oppose to it: That we were so forward in preparation as to ensure to a certainty a continuance of that superiority; That he should be wanting in his duty if it were otherwise; and that, happy in giving the present information, he wished it to be known, that we had nothing to fear from France and Spain, but should be at full liberty to prosecute this war to a fair, honourable, and happy issue. The question being at length put, the amendment was rejected by 97 to 28, after which the address was carried without a division. A short protest was entered by the duke of Richmond and earl of Effingham, contained in these words:—"Because this address is a repetition of, or rather an improvement on, that fulsome adulation offered, and the blind engagements entered into, on former occasions by the house, relative to this unhappy civil war."

Gen. Burgoyne's
misfortune
announced
to parliament.
Dec.

From this time to the recess, and indeed during the greater part of the session, the inquiry into the state of public affairs became the great object of opposition in both houses. In this, however, they had very little success, though a continual wrangling was kept up on the continuance of the treason bill, and the probability of a French war, till the beginning of December, when the attention of the house was called to the disaster of General Burgoyne at Saratoga. The lord at the head of the American department, (lord George Germaine) was the unwilling narrator of this misfortune in the house of commons. His

relation instantly brought forth all the asperity, all the charges that ever had been, or that could be made, whether relative to the principle or policy of the contest, the conduct of the war, or the general incapacity of the minister. Ignorance, they said, had stamped every step taken during the expedition; but it was the ignorance of the minister, not of the general; a minister who would venture, sitting in his closet, to direct not only the general operations, but all the particular movements of a war carried on in the interior deserts of America, at a distance of 3000 miles. A junction between Howe and Burgoyne was the object of this expedition, a measure which might have been accomplished without difficulty by sea in less than a month; but the minister chuses it should be done by land. And what means does he use for the accomplishment of this purpose? Why, truly, said they, as it was necessary for the armies to meet, it might have been reasonably imagined, that the northern army would have advanced southward, or the southern to the northward; or if it were intended that they should meet somewhere about the centre, that they should both have sat out about the same time; but the minister, despising such simple and natural means of effecting a junction, dispatches one army from New-York still farther south, and sends the other to follow it from Canada in the same direction; so that, if they both continued their course till doom's-day, it would be impossible for them to meet.

The ministers were now so thoroughly humbled, that no room was left for the high and lofty language which they had been so long accustomed to utter in that house. The lord at the head of affairs (lord North) owned he was unfortunate, at the same time justified his intentions, and offered to submit his conduct to the judgment of the house. He observed, however, that whatever should be their determination, whether peace or war, they should grant the supplies just now demanded; as if even a cessation of arms were to take place, the expenses must still continue until the armies were brought home and discharged or reduced. Lord George Germaine declared that he was ready to submit his judgment in planning the late expedition to the sense of the house; but having used some expressions which were thought to criminate the conduct of the general, they were highly resented by the opposite side, and produced the most violent censures against himself.

In the course of business, the enormity of the sum proposed for the ordnance service, occasioned much serious animadversion; The opposition said, that it exceeded the

Ordnance
Dec. 4

CHAP.
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CHAP. ordinaries and extraordinaries of the year 1759, by no less
XVII. than 140,000*l.* at a time when we had 250,000 men in
 arms, and made war in Europe, Asia, Africa, the West-
 Indies, and North-America. Yet in the year for which
 this vast sum is demanded, we employ but 80,000 men,
 and these engaged only in a petty contest with our own
 people. To this the gentlemen of the board of ordnance
 and the minister made a short reply. After which the re-
 port of the committee of supply was agreed to without a
 division.

Ministerial
 project to
 raise a new
 army dur-
 ing the
 recess.

Thus far the ministers had gained their point; but the great difficulty was how to raise a sufficient number of forces to replace immediately the army lost under general Burgoyne. To propose this openly in parliament, while the house was in such a temper, appeared by no means eligible. That they might therefore have an opportunity of trying the disposition of the people at large, and glad at any rate to get clear of the incessant clamours of opposition, an adjournment was proposed from the 10th of December to the 20th of January. The minister supported this motion on the following grounds: that the supplies at present necessary were voted, the usual business before the Christmas recess gone through, and nothing farther could be done until the event of the campaign in America should be known: that if it were even otherwise, the house was never attended at that season: that no new events were likely to happen which could render the advice or assistance of parliament necessary within that time: that however eager some persons were to enhance or expatiate upon the Canada misfortune, nothing could be done in that business until the arrival of information, and of the necessary documents from America; and that, as a general inquiry was appointed, it was equally fair and necessary to allow the servants of the crown time for preparation. This measure was reprobated by opposition with all the powers which language can afford; but, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the adjournment was carried by 155 to 68.

House of
 lords.

In the house of lords, affairs had been conducted in a manner pretty similar to that already mentioned in the house of commons. The ministry in both houses had been obliged to submit to an enquiry into the state of the nation, to commence the 2d of February. A motion was made by the earl of Chatham, for copies of all the orders and instructions of general Burgoyne, relative to the northern expedition, to be laid before the house. In his speech, he censured without reserve some parts of that from the throne, and at last collected all his powers of eloquence to

Lord
 Chatham's
 motions.

censure and condemn the ministers and their conduct. CHAP.
Among other causes to which he attributed the unhappy XVII.
change which had taken place in public affairs, he particularly reprobated, in terms of the greatest bitterness, a court-system, which, he said, had been introduced, and persevered in for the last fifteen years, loosening and breaking all connection, destroying all faith and confidence, and extinguishing all principle in different orders of the community. A few men, he said, had got an ascendancy, where no man should have a personal ascendancy. By having the executive powers of the state at their command, they had been furnished with the means of creating divisions, and familiarizing treachery. Thus were obscure and unknown men, men totally unacquainted with business, pliable, not capable men, and the dregs or renegadoes of parties, brought into the highest and most responsible stations; and by such men was this once glorious empire reduced to its present state of danger and disgrace. The spirit of delusion, he said, had gone forth. The ministers had imposed upon the people. Parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition. False lights had been held out to the country gentlemen: they had been seduced into the support of a most destructive war, under the impression that the land-tax would have been diminished by the means of an American revenue. But the visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes, that of deception, was now about to vanish.

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On the other hand, the ministers, though somewhat disconcerted, maintained their ground with great resolution. They knew nothing of the private influence that had been talked of. It was a topic taken up or laid down by men as it suited their views. They had never imposed on the people, or on parliament; but communicated such information as was true, provided it was safe. They never had laid any thing false before them. But let the event be what it would, they never would repent the vigorous steps they had taken for asserting the rights of parliament and the dignity of their country.—The motion was rejected by 40 to 19.

Immediately after this rejection, lord Chatham moved for an address, to lay before them copies of all the orders or treaties relative to the employment of the savages in North America, with a copy of the instructions given by general Burgoyne to colonel St. Leger. The ministry could not conceal their indignation at being so frequently attacked on the head of employing the savages; and, therefore, besides their usual defences of wisdom, justice, and mercy in em-

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employing the most cruel miscreants on earth, they now retorted on their accuser, affirming, that the earl of Chatham himself had set them the example. As this nobleman had asserted, that when he was minister, he had always declined to make use of such an odious instrument even in a foreign war, the assertion was flatly contradicted by the king's servants, who said they were able to lay before the house a proof from the records of office, of his having given orders to treat with the savages for their assistance. Appeals were then made to the noble lord who commanded in America, and had taken his instructions from Mr. Pitt, at that time secretary of state, whether he had not such in his army, and whether he was not authorised to use them. As this could not be denied, the minority found themselves at a loss, and were obliged to enter into distinctions between a foreign and domestic war; and that the behaviour of the French, who had first employed them, justified a retaliation. The debate was carried on with great acrimony, and appearance of personal animosity; after which, the motion was at last rejected by a majority of two to one.—The motion for adjournment was likewise violently debated, but at last carried by a majority of 47 to 17.

During this early and long recess, the ministers had time to consult on the state of their affairs, and to plan such measures as to them might appear most proper for retrieving the misfortunes that had happened. The loss of the northern army seemed a fatal check to that favourite system of conquest and unconditional submission which had been so long and steadily persevered in by the court. The successes in Pennsylvania had by no means answered the hopes that had been formed on that expedition; nor did the present state of affairs in that country indicate any such future advantage as might counterbalance the loss in the other. The resources in Germany were nearly exhausted. Men were procured with difficulty, and the measure itself seemed to be extremely disagreeable to the German powers. The king of Prussia refused a passage, through a skirt of his dominions, to a part of the German troops already in the British service; and though this difficulty was overcome by a long and circuitous march, and much loss of time, it became evident, from that and other circumstances, that the utmost which could be expected from Germany in time to come, would be to recruit the German forces already in America.

Besides these disagreeable appearances in the west, the aspect of affairs in Europe became every day more lowering.

and dangerous; and the conduct of the house of Bourbon, in particular, became daily more and more unequivocal. In the face, however, of all these dangers, difficulties, and losses, the idea of compelling the Americans by force of arms to return to their duty was so strongly supported, and so firmly adhered to, that it seems to have been still determined, in spite of loss and misfortune, to persevere in it to the last; and even, though it should be thought expedient to offer terms of peace, on which there seemed to be some difference among ministers, yet all agreed, that whatever terms might be held out with the one hand, should be enforced with the sword in the other.

But though it was evident, that a considerable body of new forces would by this policy be required, the means of accomplishing that purpose were by no means so plain. An experiment, however, was determined to be made on the zeal of those persons and parties, who had all along shown the greatest eagerness in the prosecution of the American war; an experiment which would afford them also an opportunity of testifying their particular attachment and loyalty to the crown, beyond the measure of parliamentary supply. By this means, it was hoped, that such a body of troops might be raised, without any previous application to parliament, and with such flattering appearance of saving expense in the first instance to the public, as would answer the desired purpose. As this experiment, however, had an unconstitutional appearance, and would have met with the whole weight of opposition had it been made while the parliament was actually sitting, it was thought proper by the minister to make it only during the recess, which being lengthened for the purpose, might probably afford time enough for the accomplishment of all that was desired, after which the efforts of opposition would prove of little consequence.

This ministerial experiment was considerably forwarded by the general consternation into which the nation was thrown, and which indeed was much greater than the misfortune ought to have produced. The affair was, besides, considered as a national disgrace, and every one was forward to retrieve it. From these motives, therefore, most probably, rather than any attachment to ministry, some people of rank and influence engaged to promote it to the utmost of their power, in such places as they had the greatest influence. The towns of Manchester and Liverpool took the lead in the business, in which they engaged with the utmost ardour, and instantly offered to raise each

Regiments
raised by
voluntary
subscription.

CHAP. an army of 1000 men. In other places public meetings
 XVII. were called, and every encouragement given to go on with
 this ministerial scheme; and resolutions were proposed
 1777. for the general levying of men for his Majesty's service.

Had it been possible to procure the countenance of the city of London on this occasion, it would have been of the utmost importance, not only on account of the importance of the city itself, but the example it would have set to others, and the sanction it would have afforded to ministerial measures, both such as were already past, and those which were likely to be adopted. This idea was even entertained by ministers, notwithstanding the almost continual course of altercation which had for so long subsisted between them and that city. Several of the popular leaders in it had, from various causes, lost much of their former weight and influence. Patronage and influence had also shifted much in the city since the commencement of the troubles. The great commercial orders for the foreign markets, which used to render the inferior citizens in a great measure dependent on the capital wholesale dealers, and long established mercantile houses, were either now no more, or they were come into the possession of the contractors for carrying on the war, or centered in the monopoly lately set up under colour of licenses. Thus, all business being in the hands of people necessarily devoted to government, the elections went of course that way; and though the acclamations of the electors at all times, and the shew of hands, generally announced a great majority in favour of the popular candidates, yet when it came to that serious point where the elector's vote was to be recorded, and to rise in judgment against him, if it went contrary to the will of his employer, it was not so much to be depended upon as in former times, when the employment of tradesmen was more at large.

The more to confirm and secure their power, a numerous society was formed, under the influence of the court party, by themselves called *The Associated Livery*, but by others, *The White Hart Association*, from the tavern where the principal leaders held their great meetings, and which was generally considered as the head quarters of the party. This society soon became extremely powerful, notwithstanding the daily reproaches of the other members of the livery, who stigmatized those deserters as betrayers of the rights of the city, and of that independency which they had sworn to maintain to the utmost. For some time, therefore, they had taken an avowed and active part in the city elections. For, by advertising in the public papers

those candidates whom they determined to support, such CHAP.
 notices became mandates in effect to that great part of the XVII.
 livery who were in some degree within the reach or in-
 fluence of their leaders, or who, from moderation of tem- 1778.
 per, prudence, or timidity, did not choose to expose them-
 selves to the enmity of so numerous and powerful a party :
 and such a compact collective body acting under order,
 in strict union and concert, and enabled to bear any ex-
 pense by a large common stock-purse, proved more than
 a balance to the popular societies, which, from their dis-
 union and other causes, daily wasted away, and at length
 seem to have quite expired. The chief magistrate of the
 city also belonged to this society, and was closely connec-
 ted in dealing with Government.—Notwithstanding these
 favourable circumstances, however, the ministry found
 themselves at last disappointed. At a public meeting cal-
 led for the purpose, they were deserted by most of those
 who had hitherto implicitly obeyed their mandates with
 regard to city elections: and such was the unpromising
 appearance in general, that the leaders did not think pro-
 per to propose the question at all; so that the assembly
 broke up without entering upon any business whatever.

This disappointment did not damp the spirit of the lord
 Mayor, and others of the court party, who exerted them-
 selves to the utmost, in order to favour the wishes of mi-
 nistry. They were at last, however, finally defeated, and Jan. 16.
 the motion thrown out in a common council called on the
 occasion. The disappointed party said, that the deficiency
 of loyalty in the corporation should not damp its spirit in
 individuals; and that at a time when subscriptions were
 publicly opened and quickly filled for American rebels,
 it was surely the least that could be done by the well-af-
 fected, and friends to royalty, to subscribe liberally to the
 support of the King and government. A subscription
 was accordingly opened, and a committee appointed at
 the London tavern to conduct the business, where twen-
 ty-thousand pounds were soon subscribed. The adver-
 tisements issued on this occasion became the subjects of
 much discussion, both within and without the parliament-
 house. One, which gave particular offence, was worded
 in the following manner:—" At a meeting of several
 merchants and others, friends to their king and country,
 in order to support the constitutional authority of Great-
 Britain over her rebellious colonies in America, it was
 unanimously resolved and agreed, that a voluntary sub-
 scription be opened for the above purpose; and that the
 money arising therefrom be applied, under the direction

CHAP. of a committee of the subscribers, in raising men for his
 XVII. majesty's service in such a manner as his majesty in his
 wisdom shall think fit."

1778.

A similar attempt was made in Bristol, which in like manner failed with regard to the corporation; but a large subscription, rivalling that of London, soon made its appearance. Neither of these, however, were productive of any considerable effect. Nor did the scheme meet with greater encouragement in many of the English counties; though in Scotland it was adopted with great avidity. The cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow subscribed liberally; raised a regiment of 1000 men each; and like Manchester and Liverpool, were indulged with the nomination of officers. Considerable numbers of troops were also raised by individuals, and about a regiment raised in Wales; but the battalions, excepting those of Manchester and Liverpool, were all formed in Scotland.

The ministerial scheme of raising forces in this manner, having succeeded so happily, afforded no inconsiderable argument of the general approbation of their measures; and they were now enabled, not only to meet Parliament, after the recess, with confidence, but also to brave all inquiries which might be made into their past conduct, as well as into the state and condition of the nation. They were still, however, far from being at ease. Majorities and acts of parliament were incapable of either reclaiming the revolted colonies, or of preventing the designs of foreign enemies. It afterwards appeared, that they had been possessed of information from the British minister at Paris, not only of a negotiation for the commercial treaty with the Americans, but of another, by which their independency was fully acknowledged, and which afterwards occasioned a war with that power. But this information was as yet carefully concealed, and denied even till the very day that the French minister at London formally notified it to the king.

Debates on
 the new le-
 vies, Jan.
 22.

The first business entered into by opposition was an inquiry into the measure of raising the new levies. An address was moved for, "That an account of the number of troops ordered to be raised, during the late adjournment, with a specification of the different corps, the names of the officers appointed to command them, and likewise of all the officers appointed to serve in each rank in the different corps, with the time of their former service and rank in the army, should be laid before them." This being readily agreed to, the minister took the opportunity of congratulating himself on what had happened. A sub-

scription, he said, had lately been set on foot in several parts of the kingdom, which not only gave the most valid indications of patriotic zeal, but afforded the most flattering testimony of the public satisfaction in the conduct of administration. CHAP. XVII.
1778.

This self-approbation did not at all conciliate the members in opposition. They charged the measure with being unconstitutional, illegal, extravagant, and dangerous. They asked, Why parliament was not informed of the design? Why so long a recess was made at the time that so important and dangerous a measure as the raising an army within the kingdom was in contemplation? If the raising of one regiment in so unconstitutional a manner was to be maintained or justified, the same arguments would reach to 20, 50, or any given number; and if this doctrine was admitted, what protection could the laws or constitution give against arbitrary power?

The minister defended the measure on the ground of necessity, and maintained, that it was in itself perfectly innocent both with respect to the constitution and the law. The necessity, he presumed, was obvious; and, with regard to his not advising parliament of the measure, he observed, that it was not in the power of administration, before the recess, to bring the matter as a measure before parliament; because, in fact, excepting in very few instances, they were totally ignorant of what afterwards happened. And, as to the charges thrown out with so much acrimony, of illegality, breach of constitution, and contempt of parliament, he denied that they were in any degree founded. The legality, he said, was founded in precedent drawn from the time of the rebellion in 1745, and the beginning of the late war. In the former, several of the nobility and gentry raised regiments at their own expense; and subscriptions were not only opened and received, but persons went about from house to house, to collect money for the common defence. In the latter instance, ten new regiments had been raised by the crown; and the city of London had subscribed a large sum of money (which example was followed by other corporations and public bodies) for the raising of men for the public service. The first of these measures, they said, having been cavilled at by the disaffected of that time, as well as by some others, the late lord Chancellor Hardwicke, whose principles with respect to the constitution, and to the rights and security of the subject, can admit of no doubt, publicly undertook its support and defence; and, while he asserted its propriety and legality, repre-

CHAP. hended, in very severe terms, the censure thrown upon it.
XVII. With respect to the second, so far from its being objected
 1778. to, Mr. Secretary Pitt wrote a very florid letter to the corporation, full of acknowledgments, in the king's name, for their zeal and immediate service, as well as the laudable example they had set to others.

To this, a long and spirited reply was made by the members in opposition, in which they strenuously contended, that those precedents which had been quoted, did not in any degree come up to the question, or anywise justify the present measure. The question, however, being at last put, whether 286,602l. 14s. 6d. should be granted for cloathing the new troops, it was carried, upon a division, by 223 to 130.

Debates on
the state of
the nation.

As the time of inquiring into the state of the nation approached, several motions were made by the leaders of opposition, for the various species of information which they deemed necessary for elucidating the different subjects proposed as objects of discussion, and the support of those points they wished to establish. In some instances, these motions were complied with, in others rejected. The general reason given by ministers for their refusal was the impropriety of disclosing state secrets, which never failed to be given when they either would not, or could not produce what was desired. They also said, that when gentlemen moved for papers, they frequently did not see or consider the extent to which their motions went. Contracts for clothing, victualling, and supplying the troops with rum, porter, and the various other articles necessary for the service, together with the treasury minutes, relative to all such contracts for four entire years, had been demanded. These were so exceedingly voluminous, that it required more time than the ministers themselves could have apprehended to obey the order of parliament. It might happen, too, in some cases, that the accounts had not been received; in others, perhaps, the original motions had not been directed to the proper offices; but these matters lay not with them. The former complaints of opposition, however, still continued; nor was it ever owned that the cause was entirely removed. Some accounts, they said, were deficient, others imperfect, and some totally omitted. Responsibility was shifted one moment, and official knowledge the next. Those, who, under the immediate authority of parliament, endeavoured to procure information for its guidance in matters of the greatest national importance, were wearied and baffled by chicanery or evasion. It was not this, or it

was not that person's business to give information, or the papers did not belong to this or that office, was all the satisfaction they ever received; and thus they were left to grope their way through a chaos of uncertainty and error.

CHAP.
XVII.

1778.
Feb. 2.

Under all these disadvantages, the inquiry was begun by Mr. Fox, February 2, 1778. He would state, he said, certain incontrovertible facts from the papers before them, and draw the fair if not inevitable conclusions arising from those facts. Thus, with respect to the army, he would state, that in the four years, commencing with 1774, and ending with 1777, an army, consisting in each year of a certain number of thousands of men had been employed in America; and that certain military operations had been performed by that army: he would shew that army to have been much stronger and more numerous within that period, and the enemy to have been much weaker and more incapable of war than both were at this time: he should, in the next place, shew the impossibility of encreasing that army, the hopelessness of success with an inferior force, after the repeated and continued failure with one much greater: and, lastly, he would shew the enormous expense which had been already incurred, its rapid increase, and the inability of the nation to support it. All these topics he expatiated upon at great length, and much strength of argument; concluding his speech with moving, as a resolution of the committee into which the house then were, "that an address should be presented to his majesty, that no part of the old established force of these kingdoms, or in the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, should be sent to America.

To this speech, it was much doubted if the ministry could make any satisfactory reply; for which reason, most probably, it was not attempted. The question was called for, and the motion rejected by 259 to 165.

A few days after a motion was made by Mr. Burke for an address to lay before the house, copies of all papers that had passed between any of his majesty's ministers and the generals of his armies in America, or any persons acting for government in Indian affairs, relative to the military employment of the Indians in America, from the 1st of March, 1774, to the 1st of January, 1778. This motion was supported by a speech of near three hours in length; by many thought to be the best ever delivered by this celebrated orator. After a warm debate, however, of seven hours, Mr. Burke's motion was rejected by 223 to 137.

Mr. Burke's
motion against em-
ploying the
Indians,
Feb. 16.

CHAP. Several others, which he afterwards introduced, were all
 XVII. in like manner negatived one after another.

1778.
 Mr. Fox
 on the state
 of the na-
 tion,
 Feb. 10.

The bad success which had hitherto attended himself and his associates did not yet discourage Mr. Fox from making an attempt to shew the pernicious nature of the war from the number of men already lost. For this purpose, having established, from the documents before them, and which were indeed extremely defective, the exact number of effective men in America in the year 1774, and which he determined to be 6864, he added to that number the reinforcement, and recruits, whether native or foreign, which had been sent from Great Britain, Ireland, or Germany, during the intermediate time; and these aggregates being cast into one round sum, and compared with the number of effective men which from the last returns appeared to be left on that continent, the difference amounted to about 20,000; and this he stated to be the exact loss of men sustained in the war to the latest date, whether by desertion, slain in battle, dead from disease, or otherwise incapacitated from service. Adding to this loss of men, that of twenty-five millions of treasure, he appealed to the judgment of the committee, considering that we had hitherto gained nothing by this fatal contest, and that, instead of the undisciplined rabble we had first to contend with, a numerous, powerful, and well-disciplined army had now made its appearance, whether or not it was then time to reflect, in the most serious manner, on the very critical and alarming situation of public affairs: to consider whether our resources of men and money were equal to the difficult and hazardous task of conquest; or, if that should appear, on due examination, to be totally impracticable, whether parliament ought not immediately to devise some method of putting an immediate end to it. At the same time, he put them in mind, that the vast quantity of blood and treasure thrown away had not only forwarded us nothing, but rendered the desirable work of reconciliation much more difficult than before, and, consequently, our situation as a nation much worse than if a sword had never been drawn, nor a shilling expended.

The cause was instantly taken up by the secretary at war, who insisted, that our loss by the returns of those killed in battle, amounted, in the whole three years war, to no more than 1200 men; of consequence, that Mr. Fox's statement was very erroneous; and, should this erroneous statement go out into the world, under the sanction of parliament, it would not only establish false, but

very pernicious ideas, with respect to the state, nature, CHAP. conduct, and consequences of the war. The minister insisted on the impropriety of exposing to our enemies the critical state of the nation; but, at any rate, he never could agree to any motion on the subject, while such a prodigious difference of calculation remained betwixt the secretary of war and his antagonist. XVII.

1778.

The opposite party were not long in bringing arguments to support their calculation. It was insisted, that no person had ever supposed or stated 20,000 men to be actually slain on the field of battle. Mr. Fox had only shown, from indisputable documents, that the deficiency of force sent to America, exclusive of what was raised in the country, amounted, at the date of the latest returns, to that number; that however some parts of the question might be interesting to humanity, it availed but little to the public, and nothing at all to the service, what proportions of the 20,000 had been killed in battle, died of their wounds, perished by disease or fatigue, deserted to the enemy, or who lived to present a maimed and mutilated spectacle of human nature at home, condemned to drag out a life of misery, and to exist a dead burthen and constant expense to their country:

These debates were at length ended in the house of commons, by lord North's conciliatory proposition. In the house of lords they had been no less warmly carried on: The duke of Richmond was the principal speaker; his motions were attended with no better success than those of the opposition in the house of commons, the arguments against him being chiefly grounded on the impolicy of exposing the state of the nation to the enemy. Several eminent merchants, however, were brought by that nobleman to be examined at the bar, from whose evidence it appeared, that the losses by the American war had been immense, the captures alone amounting to no less than 2,600,000*l*. To lessen or set aside the effects of this inquiry, lord Sandwich brought other evidence to show, how far these losses had been compensated by prizes taken from the rebellious colonies, or by the opening of new branches of commerce.

Lords on the state of the nation.

The duke of Richmond, after recapitulating his evidencies, moved the following resolutions: "That in the course of trade a very considerable balance was always due from the merchants in North-America to those of Great-Britain, towards the discharge of which, remittances were made in goods to a great amount, since the commencement of the present troubles, and whilst the trade

Duke of Richmond's view of public affairs.

CHAP. between this kingdom and the colonies was suffered to
XVII. remain open : That since the passing of the several acts
 { for prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies in North-
 1778. America, their mutual intercourse with each other, all
 trade and commerce between them and this kingdom,
 and for making prize of their ships and distributing their
 value, the number of vessels taken from Great-Britain by
 American ships of war and privateers amounted to 733.
 Of that number, 47 had been released, and 127 retaken;
 but that the loss on the latter, for salvage, interest on
 the value of the cargo, and loss of market, must have
 been very considerable. The loss of the remaining 559
 vessels, which had been carried into port, amounted, by
 the report of the merchants, to at least 2,600,000 l.—
 That of 200 ships annually employed in the African trade
 before the commencement of the present civil war, whose
 value upon an average was about 9000 l. each, there
 were not now 40 employed in that trade, whereby there
 was a clear diminution in this branch of commerce of
 160 ships, amounting to a loss of 1,440,000 l. *per an-*
num—That the price of insurance to the West-Indies
 and North-America was increased from two, and two
 and an half, to five *per cent.* with convoy; but, without
 convoy, and unarmed, it had been made at 15 *per cent.*
 though generally ships in such circumstances could not be
 insured at all—That the price of seamen's wages had
 arisen from 30 s. to 3 l. 5 s. *per month*; the price of
 pot-ash from 8 s. to 3 l. 10 s. *per hundred weight*; the
 price of spermaceti oil was increased from 35 l. to 70 l.
per ton; of tar from 7s. and 8s. to 30 s. *per barrel*; the
 price of sugars, and all commodities from the West-In-
 dies, and divers sorts of naval stores from North-Ame-
 rica, were greatly enhanced—That the present dimi-
 nution of the African trade, the interruption of the Ame-
 rican trade to the West-Indies, and the captures made
 of the West-India ships, have greatly distressed the
 British colonies in the West-Indies—That the number
 of American privateers, of which authentic accounts had
 been received, amounted to 173; that they carried 2256
 guns, and at least 13,840 seamen, reckoning 80 men in
 each ship; and that of these privateers, 34 had been ta-
 ken, which carried 3217 men, being more than 97 to
 each vessel."

In answer to all this, it was replied by lord Sandwich,
 that every day's experience served to confirm him in his
 original opinion, that the inquiry into the state of the na-
 tion was pregnant with the most ruinous consequences,

and could not be productive of the smallest benefit. It CHAP. could only, publish to the world those things which, in. XVII, prudence and policy, should be concealed. No war could be conducted without difficulty, loss, and embarrassment; but it was a new system of policy to let our enemies into the secret of national difficulty or imbecility. He also contended, that the American commerce had suffered more than that of Britain since the commencement of the war; so that, on the whole, we had been gainers in that respect; and that, on a fair examination, a considerable balance would be found in our favour. In support of this position, he controverted the evidence given by the merchants;—said, that their estimates, in point of value, were rated too high, and their lists of ships taken by the enemy erroneous. If some branches of trade had failed, (which ever was and will be the case with all nations, whether in peace or war) others of greater value were established. On this ground, he estimated the benefits to be derived from the southern fishery, and even its present value at a very high rate; and the American share of the Newfoundland fishery, which was calculated in its duplicate state of a prize to us and a loss to them, was appreciated in the same manner. He stated the number of prizes taken from the Americans at 904, each of which he valued at 2000*l.* the total amount of which would be 1,808,000*l.*; and to this, if we added the value of the fisheries, it would appear, that this country was not less benefited by the war than 2,200,000*l.* besides that every shilling of this money was a total loss to our enemies. He concluded, that these facts totally overthrew the duke's resolutions in point of establishing a national loss, and that though nobody wished to see an end of the war more than himself, yet its continuance was, in many respects, advantageous to this country, and would be more so.

To these arguments the duke of Richmond replied, with exceeding great severity, that the dangers with which we were surrounded, and the calamities with which the country was overwhelmed, could no longer excite wonder or surprise, when a minister at the head of the marine, that most capital department of the state, and upon which its preservation entirely depended, should betray such shameful ignorance of trade and commerce, as to lay it down as an incontrovertible maxim, that because the great number of ships we had lost in the war might be balanced by another number of vessels taken from the Americans, the nation, upon the whole, sustained no loss. He asked, whether any other lord present

CHAP. could be persuaded, that the commerce of this country
 XVII. was not affected by the loss of 773 vessels, estimated in
 value at considerably more than two millions of money,
 which had been taken from our merchants, because an
 equal value in prizes (supposing the assertion to be true,
 which was by no means admitted) had been taken from
 the Americans, and distributed among the seamen of the
 royal navy? The case, he said, was still more deplorable,
 as the value of all these cargoes would, in the course of
 trade, have centered in Great-Britain. The debate was
 ended by the house resuming its proper form, and every
 one of the duke's resolutions being set aside by the pre-
 vious question.

Lord
 North's
 concilia-
 tory plan.
 Feb. 17.

Before the time appointed by lord North for bringing forth his conciliatory propositions, a petition had been framed by the inhabitants of Norfolk, and read the very morning, February 17th, when the plan was to be entirely laid open. This petition was signed by 5400 inhabitants of the county just mentioned, including the town of Norwich, and was written with uncommon spirit and energy. The minister, however little he might be satisfied with the censures past or implied on his conduct, could find nothing in it that tended to militate with his propositions relative to America. He introduced his conciliatory plan with asserting, that peace had been, at all times, his governing principle; but that events had been, in general, exceedingly untoward. He had always known, that American taxation could never be productive of a beneficial revenue. There were many taxes which could not at all be laid on that country, and of those that could, few would prove worth the collecting. The stamp act was indeed the most judicious that could have been chosen for this purpose; but, notwithstanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly estimated, he had not believed that its produce would have been a very considerable object. He accordingly had never proposed any tax on the Americans. He unfortunately found them taxed when he came into administration. His principle of policy was to have as little discussion of these matters as possible, and to keep the affairs of America out of parliament; but as he had not laid on the tea-tax, he did not think it advisable for him to repeal it, nor did he look out for any means of enforcing it. The measure of enabling the East-India company to send teas on their own account to America, with a drawback of the whole duty here, was a regulation of such a nature, being a relief instead of an oppression, that it was impossible, he should

suppose, it could ever excite a single complaint amongst the Americans, much less be productive of the consequences that followed. These he attributed in part to the disaffected, and in part to those who were concerned in a contraband trade, who represented it to the populace as a monopoly, so that the people were excited to tumult upon a principle totally different from every idea of taxation. The coercive acts were called forth by the distemper of the times, when they appeared necessary; but, in the event, they had produced effects which he never intended, nor could have by any means expected. As soon as he discovered their failure, a conciliatory proposition was made before the sword was drawn. At that time, he thought, and still continued to think, that the terms of that proposition would form the happiest, most equitable, and most lasting bond of unity betwixt Great-Britain and her colonies; but that, by a variety of discussions, a proposition that was originally clear and simple in itself was made so obscure, as to be condemned before it went to America; so that the Congress conceived, or took occasion to represent it as a scheme for sowing divisions, and introducing taxation among them in a worse manner than before, and accordingly rejected it.

CHAP,
XVII.
1772.

The events of war in America, he said, had turned out very different from what he had a right to expect; nor had the great and well-appointed force sent out, and hitherto so amply provided for by government, answered his expectations in any degree better. He could not but confess himself exceedingly disappointed at this failure in our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even call into question, the conduct of any of our commanders; but he had been disappointed. Sir William Howe had been in the late actions, and throughout the whole course of the campaign, not only in the goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but even in point of numbers, much superior to the American army which opposed him in the field. General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, until the affair at Bennington, was near twice as strong as the army under general Gates. Considering all these things, the event had been very contrary to his expectation; but to these events, and not to his expectations, his plan must conform.

As the foundation of his conciliatory scheme, he proposed to bring in two bills—one “for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great-Britain concerning the right of imposing taxes within his majesty’s colonies,

CHAP. provinces, and plantations in North-America ;—and another
 XVII. “to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners,
 5772 with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon
 the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North-America.” It was intended, he said, to appoint five commissioners, and to endow them with very extensive powers. They should be enabled to treat with the congress by name, as if it were a legal body, and so far to give it authenticity, as to suppose its acts and concessions binding upon all America. They might treat with any of their provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, and with any individuals in their present civil capacities, or military commands ; with general Washington, or any other officer. They should have a power to order a suspension of arms, and the operation of all laws ; and to grant all sorts of pardons, immunities and rewards. They should also have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of their ancient constitution, as it stood before the troubles ; and in any of these, where the king nominated the governors, councils, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion, until his pleasure were further known—that, as the deficiency of powers in the former commissioners had been objected to, and as the congress had raised a difficulty, on pretence that their independency was not admitted, he would not now insist on their renouncing it, until the final ratification of the treaty by the king and parliament of Great-Britain—that the commissioners should be instructed to negotiate for some moderate and reasonable contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when re-united ; but, to take away all pretence for not putting an end to this unhappy difference, this contribution was not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty ; but that if the Americans should refuse so reasonable a proposition, they were not to complain, if hereafter they could not look for support to that part of the empire to the expense of which they had refused to contribute.

The minister now observed, that it might be asked, if his sentiments had been always such with regard to taxation and peace, as he had now stated them to be, why had he not made this proposition at an earlier period ? To this he answered, his opinion had always been, that the moment of victory was the proper season for offering terms of concession. And, with an eye to several reflections which had of late been thrown upon him by the op-

posite party, he declared, that, for his part, he had never made a promise which he did not perform, or receive any information which he did not communicate: he only kept back the names of those who had given him the information, and which it would have been unfaithful and inhuman to have divulged. He promised that a great army should be sent out—and a great army had accordingly been sent out, to the amount of 60,000 men and upwards. He had promised that a great fleet should be employed—and a great fleet had been, and still was employed. He promised that they should be provided with every kind of supply—and they had been supplied amply and liberally, and might be so for years to come. The house had also been all along in full possession of the subject; so that, if they were deceived, they had deceived themselves. He concluded with informing the house, that his concessions were from reason and propriety, and not from necessity. We were in a condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raise many more men, and had many more men ready to send. The navy was never in greater strength; the revenue but little sunk; and a few days would show, that he should raise the funds for the current year at a moderate rate: but he submitted the whole, with the propriety of his past and present conduct, to the judgment of the house.

CHAP.
XVII.

1778.

This speech was by no means received with that applause which had so long marked every thing that issued from the lips of the minister. It seemed to be received with terror and astonishment by the whole assembly. His declarations, that he had now only delivered what had all along been the genuine sentiments of his heart, were not believed; and it was universally supposed, that something very extraordinary and alarming had happened, which now produced such an unexpected and sudden alteration. The opposition he now encountered was from his own friends, most of whom were exceedingly piqued at one of his expressions, viz. that "if parliament had been deceived, they had deceived themselves." Some of the country gentlemen asserted, with great indignation, that they had been grossly deceived and misled by the uniform language of government for three years past; and one gentleman went so far as to declare, that he should feel for the humiliating blush of his sovereign, while he signed the bills. On the declaration of a great law-officer, that a security for the congress debts, and a re-establishment of the credit of their paper currency, would be one of the principal objects of the commission, and one

His plan
adopted by
the mem-
bers in op-
position.

CHAP. of the principal inducements held out to that body to re-
XVII. turn to its allegiance, another gentleman affirmed, that he
 1778. would rather consent to give currency to forged India
 bonds, and counterfeit bank notes, than to paper which
 had been fabricated to carry on rebellion against the king
 and parliament of Great-Britain. The general voice of the
 country gentlemen, indeed, was, that as taxation was now
 given up, peace ought to be procured on any terms, and
 in the speediest manner.

The members in opposition, properly so called, though
 they approved of the conciliatory bills, shewed no mercy
 to the conduct of the minister. He was reprobated in-
 deed by both parties in such a manner, as must have made
 his situation extremely disagreeable. By his own he was
 asked, as taxation had not been his object, what were the
 real motives which had induced him to begin the war?
 Had he sported away 30,000 lives, and thirty millions of
 money, and, in that amusement, put not only the unity,
 but the existence of the empire, to the utmost hazard, in
 order to try the mettle of the Americans, and to discover
 how they would behave in defence of every thing that
 was dear to them?

Nor were the censures of opposition, though they now
 joined in his measures, less severe. Mr. Fox complimented
 the minister on his conversion, and congratulated his
 own party on the acquisition of such a potent auxiliary.
 He was glad to find that his own propositions did not
 materially differ from those made by Mr. Burke three
 years before. He reminded the house, that though they
 were then rejected, a war of three years had convinced
 him, that they were really useful. Nay, so perfect a pro-
 fessite was the minister become, that the very same argu-
 ments, which had at that time been ineffectually used by
 Mr. Burke, were now adopted, almost in the same words,
 by his lordship. He said, however, that as the present pro-
 positions were much more clear and satisfactory than the
 former, they should receive his support, and he supposed
 they would do the same from all his friends on that side
 of the house. Undoubtedly, said he, they would have gi-
 ven full satisfaction, and have prevented all the loss, ruin,
 and calamity, which England and America had since ex-
 perience, had they been offered in time. But if the con-
 cession should be found ample enough, and then come too
 late, what punishment would be sufficient for those mini-
 sters who adjourned parliament, in order to make propo-
 sitions of concession, and then neglected to do it, until
 France had concluded a treaty with the independent

states of America, acknowledging them as such? He did not speak from surmise : He had it from authority which he could not question, that the treaty he mentioned had been signed in Paris ten days before, counting from that instant. He therefore wished, that ministry would give the house satisfaction on that very interesting point ; for he feared that it would be found, that their present apparently pacific and equitable disposition, with that proposition which seemed to be the result of it, owed their existence to the previous knowledge of this treaty, which must, from its nature, render that proposition as useless to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Britain.

The minister finding himself at last closely pressed on all sides for some explanations relative to the treaty between France and America, at last declared, that he had no authority upon which to pronounce absolutely with regard to that event. A report had for some time prevailed, that such a treaty was in agitation ; that its conclusion was not only possible, but perhaps too probable ; but that, as it had not yet been authenticated by the ambassador, the presumption lay that it had not taken place. In this matter, however, his doubts, if he had any, were soon resolved, by the formal notification given to his Majesty by the French ambassador, and the annunciation of that by a royal message to the house of commons, on the 16th of March.

March 16.

The interval was filled up by debates on the nomination of the American Commissioners, whom, the Opposition asserted, the ministers had no right, on account of their manifest incapacity, to chuse. The matter, however, was at last, after warm debates, finally decided in favour of administration without any division ; the members in opposition not chusing to throw any impediment in the way of the bills, when the only hope they had of their success, small as that was, depended on the expedition with which they were sent to America. The Commissioners appointed were, the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, Governor Johnstone, and the commander in chief by sea and land in America for the time being.—Dr. Adam Ferguson secretary.

Commissioners appointed.

This matter being settled, a motion was made by Mr. Powys for the repeal of the Massachusetts charter act, which produced much conversation on the affairs of America. During the course of this, it appeared, that a great majority of the house had constantly held the American war in abhorrence ; but that many of them had been led from one step to another, without looking

CHAP. much farther before them, and always supposing,
 XVII. until that the succeeding one would be conclusive
 ~~~~~ the American declaration of independence had at once  
 1772 surprised and astonished them with an awful and unlook-  
 ed-for revolution. This alarming situation of things  
 seemed to leave no other alternative than to sit down su-  
 pinely with the loss of the colonies, or the greatest na-  
 tional union and exertions for their subjection. The fai-  
 lure in arms afforded another scene equally novel and un-  
 expected, and seemed now to excite a kind of melancholy  
 wish, that the fatal extremities to which we were ar-  
 rived, had been avoided in time.

The present conciliatory measures were highly con-  
 demned by the ministerial party. Some insisted on the  
 exercise, as well as the right of taxation in their utmost  
 extent: and even affirmed, that this was a right so inhe-  
 rent in parliament, and so effectually interwoven with  
 the constitution, that no resignation of it could ever be  
 valid. A greater number lamented the degradation which  
 the bills would bring upon government, as well as the  
 counsels and dignity of the nation. They insisted, that  
 our resources were not only great, but inexhaustible;  
 and that nothing but a spirited and vigorous exertion of  
 our powers was wanting to accomplish much greater  
 matters than the subjugation of America. They bitterly  
 lamented that pusillanimity in our counsels, which,  
 after so great an expense in blood and treasure, could  
 not only submit to give up all the objects of contest; but  
 meanly enter into a treaty with armed rebels, and there-  
 by virtually acknowledge and establish that independ-  
 ence which they claimed. They said, that while it  
 would serve greatly to excite the courage of the rebels,  
 and increase their insolence to the highest degree, it  
 would, on the other hand, greatly dispirit our own troops,  
 totally dissolve all that confidence and hope, which the  
 loyal and well-disposed Americans had reposed in our  
 faith or our power, and would besides render us con-  
 temptible in the eyes of all European states. To crown  
 all these ill consequences, they foretold, that the bills  
 would not answer the end proposed.

With this prediction, the members in opposition very  
 nearly agreed, though, in other respects, they totally dif-  
 fered with the gentlemen above mentioned. They had  
 great apprehensions, that, from the lateness of adopting  
 the measure, it would not produce that happy effect  
 which they themselves so much wished, and which they  
 were certain a great majority of the nation began now  
 most ardently to pant after. They acknowledged, that

The conciliatory plan  
 offensive to  
 the ministerial  
 party.



the chances in point of calculation were infinitely against the success of the measure; but still there was a chance; and the object of peace with America was of so temporary a nature, including not only the happiness, but the preservation of this country, that the smallest chance against whatever superiority of odds, was not to be given up at any rate. On this account, they said, they overlooked many things which they disapproved of in the bills, as they would not in any manner of way impede or delay the business where such a prize was at stake. So great indeed was the apparent eagerness of all parties to obtain this desirable object, that some, even of the gentlemen in office, wished to extend the repeal to all the obnoxious acts relative to America. It was agreed on all hands, that, upon the principle of conciliation, this must be a measure of necessity; and the minister himself, in opening his propositions, had declared his willingness to give up all these laws from the 10th of February, 1763. The only difference of opinion now upon the subject was concerning the time of carrying it into execution; that is, whether it should be preliminary to, or a consequence of the treaty? The latter at length prevailed, and the motion for the repeal of the charter act was rejected by 181 to 108. It was afterwards agreed, however, to repeal the tea-act; and Mr. Burke having, the same day, moved, that the provisions of the bill should be extended to the West-India, his motion was likewise agreed to.

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Tea-act repealed.

Ways and means.

In the debates on the ways and means, some motions were made which exceedingly alarmed administration, and even threatened the total downfall of their power. In order to raise the interest of six millions, which the minister found necessary to borrow, he proposed a new tax on houses and wines. This occasioned some debate in the Committee of Supply on the house-tax, which was considered by the members in opposition as not only a land-tax in effect, but as being also exceedingly disproportionate and oppressive, and falling particularly heavy upon the inhabitants of London and Westminster, who already paid so vast a proportion to the land-tax, and whose burdens, including poor rates, window tax, watch, lights, pavement, and other imposts, amounted in several parishes to more than eight shillings in the pound. Whilst, to render it still more grievous, it frequently happened, that those who were the least able to bear them, had the heaviest burdens imposed upon them.

Tax on houses and wines.

Such, however, was the present temper of the house, that tho' the motions were at last agreed to, another was

CHAP. made by a gentleman in office, and closely connected with  
XVII. one branch of the ministry, "That the better to enable his

1778.

Tax of one  
fourth on  
salaries, &c.

majesty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown and dominions, in the present exigency of affairs, there be granted one fourth part of the nett annual income upon the salaries, fees, and perquisites of all offices under the crown, excepting only those held by the speaker of the house of commons, the chancellor, or commissioners of the great seal, the judges, ministers to foreign parts, commissioners, officers in the army and navy, and all those which do not produce a clear yearly income of 200 l. to their possessors; the tax also extending to all annuities, pensions, stipends, or other yearly sums issuing out of the exchequer, or any branch of the revenue; to commence from the 25th of March, 1778, and to continue for one year, and during the American war.

Rejected.

This motion, to the astonishment and terror of administration, was carried in the committee by 100 to 82; and though the ministry summoned all their forces against the ensuing day, in order to oppose it on receiving the report from the committee, it was rejected only by a majority of six; nor would even this have been the case, had the members in opposition been at all unanimous in its support. Some of their principals, however, considered it as a measure exceedingly distressing to individuals, without any equivalent advantage to the public. For men in office had frequently no other support but their salary, and had long been accustomed to live up to its full extent; and those who had interest with government would be repaid from the public purse (frequently with usury) what they had *apparently* contributed towards it. The only real contribution, therefore, would arise from those, who, being destitute of interest, were the least capable of bearing the tax.

Mr. Lut-  
trell's mo-  
tion.

A motion made by Mr. Fox concerning the state of the navy, proved likewise very troublesome; but was at length got rid of by the previous question, without a division. That which gave most offence, however, was one made by Mr. James Luttrell, for an address to his majesty, "that he would be graciously pleased to instruct the commissioners, whom he might name for the purposes of carrying into execution the American bills, that in case they should find that the continuance in office of any public minister, or ministers, of the crown of Great-Britain, should be found to impress such jealousies or mistrust on one or more of the revolted colonies, as might tend materially to obstruct the happy work of peace and sincere

reconciliation between Great-Britain and her colonies, **CHAP. XVII.** that the said commissioners might be enabled to promise, in his majesty's name, the earliest removal of such minister or ministers from the councils."—This motion, by many, even of the members in opposition, thought far too degrading and humiliating, was rejected by 150 to 55. 1778.

In the house of lords, administration had not been much more at their ease than in that of the commons. On the 16th of February, the earl of Thanet rose, and as he was then very much indisposed by a cold, could only inform the house, that he had in his hand a letter from general Gates, which he wished might be read. His request, after some opposition from the ministerial party, was performed by the marquis of Buckingham. The letter was dated October 26, 1777. It in substance recommended the withdrawing the fleet and army from America, the removal of the present ministry, and a commercial alliance, as the only means of recovering the friendship of the colonies. Feb. 16.  
General  
Gates's  
letter to the  
earl of  
Thanet.

On hearing the letter, it was moved by the duke of Richmond, that it should lie on the table. A considerable debate ensued, which terminated in the rejection of the duke's motion without a division; after which the committee of enquiry into the state of the nation was resumed. In this business also the duke of Richmond took a leading part, by observing, that he had several resolutions to propose, all of them tending to establish the state of the army, and the number of effective men serving in America in the different years of 1774, 1775, 1776, 1777, with the services and events of each campaign, as they appeared from the papers which were referred to the consideration of the committee. Having then stated the necessity of the committee's coming to some result upon the matters that were brought before them, as the name or pretence of an inquiry would otherwise be an absolute mockery, he moved his first resolution, viz. "That it appears to this committee, so far as they are informed from the returns referred to them, that the greatest number of regular land forces serving in North America in 1774, did not exceed 6884 men, including officers."—The motion was opposed on the old grounds, namely, that it would be impolitic to expose the national weakness to the enemy; and the committee was dissolved, by the chairman's leaving the chair; after which all the duke of Richmond's resolutions were formally negatived, one by one, in the house. Further  
proceed-  
ings on the  
state of the  
nation.

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The committee was resumed on the 19th of February, and another set of resolutions proposed by the duke of Richmond, relating to the expenses which the American war had already cost the nation. This, for the four last years, each of which he stated separately, he said, from what already appeared, amounted to the gross sum of 23,894,792l. But he also shewed, from the example of the last war, as well as from various calculations, that there would still remain an expense which could not at present be ascertained, which, at the most moderate computation, would at least amount to nine millions more: so that the public expense attending the American contest, however speedily and happily it might now be brought to a conclusion, and independent of all other contingent losses, would, at the lowest calculation, amount to near thirty-three millions sterling.

The ministry did not pretend to controvert his calculations, but rejected his resolutions as highly inexpedient, unparliamentary, and incapable of answering any useful purpose. It was equally inexpedient and foolish to expose the national infirmities and weakness; and that, instead of promoting the purpose held out by the noble duke, the publishing of facts declarative of weakness, would produce a directly contrary effect, and render any plan of peace that could be proposed, infinitely more difficult and hazardous. That if they had foreseen the purposes to which it had been intended to direct the committee, they would have opposed its formation originally; they threw out some hints concerning its final dissolution, and concluded with moving, that the chairman should leave the chair.

In his reply, the duke made many severe strictures on the conduct of administration; but they were attended with no better success now than on former occasions. The motion for the chairman's leaving the chair was carried by 66 to 28; after which, the resolutions were all set aside by the previous question. His grace had now resigned his share of the enquiry to the duke of Bolton and earl of Bristol, having, he said, gone through those subjects with which he was most conversant. On the 25th of February, the former moved, that the surveyor of the navy should attend the house. This was opposed by the earl of Sandwich on the usual ground, of its being inexpedient and useless to give farther information on the subject. He had ever held but one opinion, he said, in that respect, which was, that it would be highly imprudent, even in its present very flourishing state, to divulge its condition; while,

Feb. 25.

on the other hand, this flourishing state of the navy was **CHAP.**  
utterly denied by the lords in opposition, and precedents **XVII.**  
brought for the inquiry. The motion was lost by a ma-  
jority of 13 to 11: 1778.

The committee being resumed on the 2d of March, a March 2.  
new attack was made on the ministry by the same noble-  
man, on the ground of the mismanagements committed  
in the conduct of our naval affairs. He concluded a long  
speech on this subject, with a string of resolutions, which,  
after a debate of sufficient length, were all rejected by a  
majority of 64 to 26.

On the 12th of March, the business was again opened  
by the earl of Effingham, who attacked the ministry on — 12.  
the profusion and want of economy prevailing in the va-  
rious departments of state; to prove which, he had al-  
ready procured an order for papers and the attendance of  
witnesses: but though administration did not pretend to  
controvert any of the estimates laid before them on this  
occasion, or question the authenticity of the facts, they  
concluded that it was necessary to oppose his resolutions,  
as well as every other on the subject. They were there-  
fore all set aside by the previous question; upon which he  
proposed his concluding one, which was rejected by a  
majority of 35 to 17; and thus ended the inquiry into the  
state of the nation in the house of lords.

The American conciliatory bills passed through the  
house of lords with very little opposition. Many consid- On the con-  
ered them as extremely disgraceful to Britain: and inde- ciliatory  
ed it seemed to be the general opinion that they would bills.  
not answer the purpose for which they were intended.  
The eager hope, however, of attaining the great point in  
view, subdued all other considerations, and prevented any  
great degree of opposition.

The discussions on American affairs were not ended by On allow-  
the royal message concerning the declaration of France ing inde-  
in favour of the colonies. Several of the most respectable pendence  
members in opposition, and even some of the opposite to the co-  
party, considered an immediate acknowledgment of the lonics.  
independency of the Americans, as not only the wisest, March 17.  
but the only measure now to be adopted, and which was  
capable of extricating us without still greater losses, out  
of our present dangers and difficulties, with any prospect  
of advantage from our ancient colonies. Their indepen-  
dence, they said, was not only already established, but had  
obtained such time to fix and settle upon its foundations,  
that it appeared now too firm to be shaken by our utmost  
efforts, even supposing it were left, without any foreign

CHAP. support, merely to the exertions of its own internal  
 XVII. strength. But, in that situation, to form any hope of our  
 1778. being equal to its overthrow, under the acknowledgment  
 and support of the house of Bourbon, was, they said, an  
 idea only fit to be entertained by Bedlamites.

On this occasion, lord Chatham made his last and most affecting speech in the house of lords. He had long been a prey to those incurable disorders which brought him to his grave, and, at this time, was so exceedingly weak, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be brought into the house. He delivered his speech, however, with extraordinary energy, and, in the most pathetic manner, concluded with giving his hearty negative to the independence of America.\*

\* "My lords," says he, "the times are alarming; the state, is, indeed, in danger! and nothing but the poor condition of my health could so long have prevented me from attending to my duty in parliament at this very important period. But advice is now so necessary, that although sorely pressed by the hand of infirmity, I have made an effort, almost beyond my constitution, to come down to the house to give my best advice to your lordships, and to express my indignation at the pusillanimous, the disgraceful idea of giving up the dependence of America on the sovereignty of Britain. Feeble as I am, I rejoice that I am yet alive, that the grave has not altogether closed on me, before I had an opportunity of giving my vote against so impolitic a measure, as the acknowledgment of the independence of America.

"That our public affairs have, for some years by-past, been shamefully managed, I have frequently endeavoured to convince your lordships; and although I condemned the measures which have for some time been adopted by the majority of this house, yet I have been always against the independence of America, and never would support measures carried on in unrecanted error; but after a full recantation of these erroneous measures, and after a repeal of all the oppressive acts, it is the duty of every lover of his country, of every good citizen, to take care, while, on the one hand, he preserves the rights and privileges of the colonies, he does not, on the other, tarnish the lustre of his royal master's crown, nor sink the glory of the British nation. The tendency and plain language of the present motion is to disgrace our sovereign, and to bring reproach upon us as a nation. It is, in a manner, totally to annihilate this once-great empire. I chuse to speak out my sentiments, even though there may be danger in doing so. I always hated reserve; and never did approve of halting between two opinions, when there was no middle path to steer with certainty. The perfidy of France ought to rouse us, and make us strain every nerve, open every vein, to preserve our national character, and to preserve us from being scoffed and laughed at by foreigners. It is now absolutely necessary either to declare for peace or war; and when the former cannot be preserved with honour, the latter ought to be commenced without hesitation. What is life without reputation? And does that person deserve the name of a man, of an *Englishman*, who would not lay down his life to preserve the ancient dignity of his country? We may possibly fail in the attempt, but still let us make an effort, one united effort, to prevent such national disgrace. If we fall in the attempt, Europe will at least be convinced, that we had as much virtue left as to fall like men.

"But, it is said, we ought to make peace with America on any terms, and bring home our troops in order to protect ourselves; in short,

The duke of Richmond, after passing the highest compliments on the great success of lord Chatham's administration, appealed to the noble lord himself if such successes could be attained; even by the talents of a Chatham,

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that we should allow a foreign ambassador insolently to tell us that *his* master had made a bargain for that commerce which was *our* natural right, and entered into a treaty with *our own* subjects, without so much as resenting it.—Merciful God! to what a low ebb must this once great empire be now reduced, when any of her senators (pointing to the duke of Richmond) can raise up his head, and with a grave face openly hold forth such timid, such dastardly councils? This never was the language of Britain, and never shall be mine.—What! can it be possible that we are the same people, who about sixteen years ago were the envy and admiration of all the world? Is not this England?—Is not this the senate of Great Britain? And can we forget that we are Englishmen? Can we have forgot that the nation has stood the Danish irruptions—the Scotch inroad—the Norman conquests—the Spanish armada—and the various efforts of the Bourbon compacts? Of what then are we afraid? Why are we blinded by despair? Why should we sit down in ignominious tameness; and, with a deploring face, say to France, “take from us what you will; take all we have; but do, pray, let us live and die in peace.” Shame upon such disgraceful, such pitiful counsels! My God! how are we altered! What can have occasioned so sudden an alteration? Is the king still the same? I hope he is; but I fear there is something in the dark, something rotten near him; something lurking between him and his people; which has thus dismembered his empire, and tarnished his glory. But I trust that we still have resources, still have courage to punish the perfidy of France. Why then should we now give up all? And that, too, without a blow; without an attempt to resent the insults offered to us? If France and Spain are for war, why not try an issue with them? For, I again say, if we should fall in the attempt, let us fall decently; and if we cannot live with honour, let us die like men. Heaven forbid that we should be permitted to live one day for the purpose of making scourges for our own backs!

“At present I cannot point out the means for carrying on the war; but I wish to recall to your lordships remembrance, the extent and revenue of the crown when king George III. came to take possession of it. Your lordships will then be satisfied, that the internal resources of the kingdom are great. But I do deny, (pointing to the duke of Cumberland) that your lordships, supposing you were so unanimous, have any right to vote away the inheritance of thirteen American provinces from the royal family. I revere the descendants of the body of the princess Sophia, and before I agree to the present motion, I will have the prince of Wales, the bishop of Osnaburg, and the other rising hopes of the royal blood, brought down to this house, to give their consent to giving up what they have a legal and natural right to expect to possess. Feeble and shattered as I am, yet so long as I have strength to raise myself on my crutches,—so long as I can lift my hand, or utter a syllable, I will vote against the giving up the dependence of America on the sovereignty of Great-Britain. Even if I should stand single, I will, to the last moment of my existence, vote against a measure so dishonourable to my country! From my bad state of health, I am sensible that my abilities are not now such as to insure success even to the best concerted measures; but I shall always be ready, when called upon, to give an honest advice to my beloved sovereign.

“I wage war with no set of men, nor do I wish to get into any of their employments. I think the king has a right to chuse his own servants; but if they shall betray the trust reposed in them, I shall always be for an inquiry into their conduct; and, if they are found guilty, I hope there is still spirit enough in the nation to bring misdoers to condign punishment. I trust in God, however, that his majesty will be directed to make a proper choice of his servants. There ne-

CHAP. unaffected by circumstances. Could he obtain conquest  
XVII. without means, without an army, without a navy, with-

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out money, without a revenue, without credit? He begged leave to recall to the noble lord's memory, that, when he was called to the management of affairs, the empire was in a flourishing state; the finances were delivered to him in the highest state of improvement to which the abilities of a Pelham could raise them. The national debt was seventy millions less when he came to the helm than when he left it. Could any analogy be deduced from these times to the present? America was then with us; she is now against us. Our commerce was then extended and profitable; we have since lost the most profitable branches of our trade. The African trade was diminished 1,400,000l. a year. Our merchant ships were now destroyed by those who then protected and employed them. We have lost shipping to the value of 2,600,000l. in the contest with America, as had been proved at their lordships bar. These were circumstances unknown in other times, and required new measures. The bravest princes, and the proudest states, have been obliged to temporize, and submit to circumstances; and this was a moment for us to imitate them. But, in fact, what was the shocking humiliation? Acknowledge the independence of America, and you have no further quarrel with France. And what was the mighty difference between *dependence* and *independence*? It was a quarrel about words, a mere difference of sounds: For, if we gave up taxation, if we gave up the appointment of governors, and other officers in the provinces, if we did not insist on keeping up a standing army there, they would only stand bound to us by inclination and interest, and the names of *dependence* and *independence* could only be descriptive of the same connection. He might be called dastardly and pusillanimous, for advising peace; but he would shew his courage, by persisting in the same plan, in spite of such painful and undeserved appellations; and he held himself amply justi-

ver was a king who stood more in need of honest and able ministers. But I feel my constitution fails me. I am always much indebted to your lordships for your indulgence. If my health would permit, if my frail carcase could be supported, I could speak forever on this subject, when the dignity of my king, and the honour of my country are at stake. The good of the nation is my sole ambition, and although I do earnestly pray for an honourable peace, yet I hope never to live so long as to see such disgrace brought on the kingdom as must arise from a peace produced by pusillanimous counsels, which any peace with America, as independent states, must be. I feel my mind agitated at the thoughts of it. My soul revolts. It spurns at the idea of American independency; and therefore I will, on every occasion, give it a negative."—Here his lordship's speech was cut short by extreme weakness.



fied in wishing to save his country, by recommending a CHAP.  
 pacification on any terms, when so great a man as lord XVII.  
 Chatham had publicly declared, he did not know the means of saving it by making war. The ministers who  
 had advised the violent measures against America, were 1778.  
 the persons who had disinherited the prince of Wales and  
 the bishop of Osnaburg, and not those who recommended  
 a salutary acquiescence under the losses which they had  
 rendered inevitable, and which must increase by resistance.

Lord Chatham rose to reply; but, after two or three  
 unsuccessful attempts to stand, fell down in a swoon on  
 his seat, where he was assisted by the duke of Cumber-  
 land, the earls Temple, Stamford, &c. After being con-  
 veyed out of the house, he seemed to recover a little, but  
 continued in a languishing condition till the 11th of May,  
 when he expired at his seat at Hayes, near Kensington. May 11.  
 After his death, ~~both parties~~ <sup>Death and</sup> seemed inclined to make funeral ho-  
 amends, <sup>nours of</sup> by the honours they then paid to his memory, lord Chat-  
 for the neglect with which he had been treated during ham.  
 the latter part of his life. His death was announced in  
 the house of commons, late the same evening, by colonel  
 Barré, who, after a short eulogium on the deceased, and  
 taking a slight sketch of the obligations which the nation  
 owed to his public virtues and services, moved for an ad-  
 dress to his majesty for directions "that the remains of  
 William Pitt, earl of Chatham, be interred at the public  
 expense." The motion was seconded by Mr. Townsend;  
 and seemed to receive a very general approbation.

Notwithstanding the vast effusions of sorrow and gra-  
 titude now poured forth, it was, however, well known;  
 that, for some time past, lord Chatham had been so un-  
 gracious at court, that it was not even thought proper fre-  
 quently to mention his name there. A gentleman, (Mr.  
 Rigby) at that time high in office, endeavoured, therefore,  
 to get rid of the motion by a proposal, which, without  
 conveying the ungracious and unpopular idea of directly  
 opposing the honour intended to the deceased, would, if  
 adopted, tend greatly to lessen its effect. His proposal was,  
 to erect a monument to his lordship's memory, which,  
 he could not help thinking, would be a more eligible as  
 well as a more lasting testimony of the public gratitude,  
 than merely to defray his funeral expenses. This propo-  
 sal, however, produced an effect directly contrary to what  
 was intended. The opposition received it with joy; but,  
 instead of the substitution proposed, they joined it to the  
 original motion, in the following words: "And that a  
 monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St.

CHAP. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that great and excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty that this house will make good the expense.”

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Lord John Cavendish arose, and said, he hoped that virtue should not, in this instance, be merely its own reward; but that the gratitude of the public to lord Chatham's family, whom he had left destitute of all suitable provision, should be the means of exciting an emulation in those yet unborn to copy such an example.

The minister fell in with these measures in a manner that did him honour; and the whole house seemed to participate of a general pleasure in the approbation of them. In consequence of a motion, made by Mr. Townshend, a bill was brought in and passed, by which an annuity of 4000*l.* a year, payable out of the civil-list revenue, was for ever settled on those heirs of the late earl, on whom the earldom of Chatham may descend: and this was followed by a grant of 20,000*l.* from the commons, for the discharge of the late earl's debts.

Though all this was passed in the house of commons without any altercation, or without a single dissentient voice upon any one proposition, it was otherwise in the house of lords. A motion made by the earl of Shelburne, that the house should attend his funeral, was directly opposed, and the motion lost by the majority of one. The bill for settling an annuity on his descendants was likewise vigorously opposed by a few lords; however, it carried, by a majority of 42 to 11\*.

\* A protest was entered by the duke of Chandos, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of York, and lord Paget.—“Because,” said they, “we cannot agree to such an unwarrantable lavishing away of the public money, at a time when the nation groans under a heavy load of debts, and is engaged in a dangerous and expensive war.

“Because we fear that this act may in time be made use of as a precedent for factious purposes; and for the enriching of private families at the public expense.”

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*State of affairs in America—French King's letters to Congress—Proceedings of the Commissioners—Earl of Carlisle challenged by Fayette—General Howe succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton—Battle of Freehold—General Lee disgraced—French fleet under D'Estaing arrives—Attempt on Rhode-Island—Expedition of the British against Egg-Harbour and Wyoming—and of the Americans against Illinois, the Tories on Susquehanna, and the Six Indian Nations—Georgia reduced by Campbell and Prevost—Attempt of Prevost on Charleston—Ashe defeated—Northern Colonies—D'Estaing leaves Boston—Vaughan's expedition against Virginia—Americans surprise Stoney-Point—Fail at Paulus Hook—Defeated at Penobscot.*

**W**E shall now take leave of the parliament of Great-Britain, in order to follow the commissioners across the Atlantic, where they found matters in such a state as would have required more address to conciliate them, than perhaps ever fell to the share of any five persons in this world. It has been already mentioned, that one of the terms of the convention of Saratoga was, that the troops should have a safe passage from Boston back to their own country, on condition of not serving in North-America during the continuance of the war. It is easy to see, that however well the performance of this article on the part of congress might accord with that system of fairness, equity, and good faith, so necessary to be ob-

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served in new states, it would be equally contrary to what is reckoned sound policy, and the principles by which every state endeavours to support itself. To have sent over to Britain such a number of soldiers, whence they might instantly have been replaced by others, appeared to congress exceedingly improper, if any means could be fallen upon to prevent it. These were accordingly sought after with eagerness, at the same time that every method was taken to preserve the necessary appearance of equity and justice. Here, indeed, it seems to have been particularly unlucky, at least in point of time, that a requisition for a little deviation from some of the terms of the convention had been made by the British commanders themselves. This was for the embarkation of the convention-troops either at the Sound, near New-York, or at Rhode-Island, instead of Boston, which had been mentioned in the convention. In consequence of its being expected that this request would have been complied with, the transports for the conveyance of the troops had assembled at Rhode-Island. The congress, however, not only refused to comply with this requisition, but pretended that the measure was proposed merely to afford an opportunity to the convention-troops to join their fellows at New-York, and continue to act in America.

Great complaints were made in the mean time by the British officers near Boston, of the badness of the quarters with which they had been provided; and general Burgoyne having made some strong expostulations on this subject, and the detention of the troops, his words were wrested by congress to a declaration, that the convention had been broken on their part, and consequently that the general must consider himself at liberty to act as he thought proper, as soon as he was got without the limits of the American power. On this and some other frivolous pretences, such as that the soldiers had not delivered up their cartouch-boxes, the congress published a resolution on the 8th of January, 1778, from which they could never be induced to recede, that the embarkation of general Burgoyne and his army should be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the treaty at Saratoga should be formally notified to them by the court of Great-Britain.

April.

About the middle of April, governor Tryon at New-York received the rough draught of the conciliatory bills, and used every method he could think of to disperse them among the revolted colonists. As the congress had already made a resolve not to treat with Great-Britain, ex-

cept on the footing of independence, this mode of circulating the bills was considered as an insidious attempt to divide the people; and the congress, to shew their contempt of it, caused them to be published in the newspapers, with suitable remarks and resolutions.

In the beginning of May, Mr. Silas Deane arrived at Yorktown in Virginia, where the congress had sat since the loss of Philadelphia, with the French treaty. He had been conveyed from France in a royal frigate of 28 guns, appointed for the purpose; and brought with him, for ratification by the congress, copies of the two treaties of alliance and commerce; the latter having been concluded on the 30th of January, and the former on the 6th of February this year. The joy and exultation of the Americans on this occasion was extreme. A gazette was instantly published, in which, besides a general summary of the information that had been received, some of the most flattering articles of the treaties, with the comments of congress upon them, were exhibited to the people, in which the extraordinary equity, generosity, and unparalleled honour of the French king were extolled in the highest degree. They seemed also to count upon Spain as already a virtual party to the alliance, and the naval force of both nations as united in their cause, boasting much likewise of the friendly disposition of the other European powers, setting them forth as almost all viewing America with an eye of friendship.

It was not, however, until the month of August that the congress had the pleasure of formally giving audience to a French ambassador and plenipotentiary, named M. Gerard.—Within the bar of the house the congress formed a semicircle on each side of the president and the minister, the president sitting at one extremity of the circle, at a table upon a platform elevated by two steps, the minister sitting at the opposite extremity in an arm-chair, upon the same level with the Congress. The door of the congress chamber being thrown open below the bar, above 200 gentlemen were admitted.

At this audience a letter \* from his most christian ma-

\* The letter was in the following words.

*Very Dear Great Friends and Allies,*

"The treaties which we have signed with you, in consequence of the proposals your commissioners made to us in your behalf, are a certain assurance of our affection for the United States in general, and for each of them in particular, as well as of the interest we take in their happiness and prosperity. It is to convince you more particularly of this, that we have nominated the Sieur Gerard, secretary of our council of state, to reside among you in quality of our minister plenipotentiary.

**CHAP.** jesty was delivered by the secretary of the Sieur Gerard  
**XVIII.** to the president of congress, and read; acquainting them  
 of his having signed the treaties with America, and as-  
 suring them of his affection and friendship. This was  
 followed by a speech from the Sieur Gerard, in which  
 among other things he informs them, that his majesty  
 had hastened to send a powerful assistance, in order to  
 establish their independence. To this speech a suitable  
 answer was returned by Henry Laurens, esq; president  
 of Congress, in which he complimented his most chris-  
 tian majesty on his wisdom and magnanimity, and hoped  
 the assistance he had so generously sent, would bring  
 Great-Britain to a sense of her duty, and promote the  
 common interests of France and America.

1778.  
 French  
 king's let-  
 ter to the  
 congress.

Though this audience had not been given until after the arrival of the British commissioners, yet as the treaties with France had been absolutely and finally concluded long before, we may easily see how little hope the court of Britain could reasonably entertain that the Americans would now relinquish their independence, for which they had so long and successfully contended. From the letters indeed between the reverend Mr. Duche, chaplain to congress, and general Washington, it appears, that even before these treaties were completed, and while matters still remained very doubtful with regard to the event of the war, it was the universal sense of America, that their independence could not be given up on any terms whatever. The reasons adduced for this by general Washington in his letter, were such as might naturally have occurred to any person who would give himself the trouble of reasoning on the subject; but in Britain there seemed to prevail some kind of infatuation, as it might be called, with regard to the inclination of the Americans to submit to Britain. Indeed, this persuasion seems to have been the true origin of all the misfortunes that attended the British arms throughout this ill-fated war. Had the ministry been apprized of the real forces necessary to have subjugated the colonies, it is most probable that they

He is the better acquainted with our sentiments toward you, and the more capable of testifying the same to you, as he was intrusted on our part to negotiate with your commissioners, and signed with them the treaties which cement our union. We pray you to give full credit to all he shall communicate to you from us, more especially when he shall assure you of our affection and constant friendship for you. We pray God, Very Dear Great Friends and Allies, to have you in his holy keeping.

Your Good Friend and Ally,

LOUIS.

*Versailles, 22<sup>th</sup> March, 1778.*

GRAVIER DE VERGENNES.

would not have persisted in their design of conquest, but made those offers in time which they now so disgracefully held out, after the independence of the colonies had been guaranteed by the greatest power in Europe, and when they could not but expect them to be refused with contempt, as they afterwards experienced.

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1778.

With these inauspicious persuasions, the commissioners set sail on the 21st of April, the very day before the congress had finally resolved not only to treat on no other terms than independency, but to hold as enemies to their country any person who presumed to treat with them privately. They arrived at Philadelphia on the 6th June, and instantly set about the business of their commission, by making, when too late, those concessions, that, at a former season, would have saved the British empire from a most destructive war. A letter, with the late acts of parliament, a copy of their commission, and some other papers, were dispatched to congress; but their secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, professor of moral philosophy in Edinburgh, who was intended to convey the papers, and to enter into a negotiation with congress, being refused a passport, they were obliged to convey them by common means. In these papers, they offered to consent to an immediate cessation of arms by sea and land—to restore a free intercourse, and renew the common benefits of naturalization through the several parts of the empire—to extend every freedom to trade that the interests of both sides could require—to agree, that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North-America, without the consent of the general congress, or of the particular assemblies—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation—to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great-Britain; or, if sent from Great-Britain, to have in that case a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they might be deputed respectively, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they were deputed—in short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government; so that the British states throughout North-America, acting with Great-Britain in peace or war, under one common sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every pri-

April 21.  
Proceed-  
ings of the  
commis-  
sioners in  
America.  
June 6.

CHAP. XVIII. privilege that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force on which the safety of the common religion and liberty depends.

1778.  
Their offers finally refused by congress.

These papers produced considerable debates for six days; but the answer returned at last by Henry Laurens, president of the congress, was altogether unfavourable.— They observed to the commissioners, that the acts of the British parliament, the commission from their sovereign, and their letter, supposed the people of those states to be *subjects* of the crown of Great-Britain, and were founded on the idea of *dependence*, which was totally inadmissible. They informed them, that notwithstanding the unjust claims from which the war originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted, they would be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great-Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; but the only solid proof of that disposition would be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of those states, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

The congress, at the same time, issued an unanimous approbation of general Washington's conduct, in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson; and although as a body they did not enter into any litigation with the commissioners on the general subject of their mission, yet some of their members, particularly Mr. Drayton, one of the delegates for South-Carolina, and others, perhaps not officially connected with them, entered the lists of controversy in the public papers with no small degree of animosity. For, as the commissioners carried along with them the idea that "the bulk of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that the greater part of the remainder were only held in a state of delusion by the congress," they accordingly, upon this failure of negotiation, directed their publications in the manner of appeals to the people at large; seeming thereby, in some degree, to realize the charge so frequently made, that their only object was, under the appearance of reconciliation, to produce either a separation among the colonies, or excite the people to tumults against their respective governments. And as the congress not only permitted, but affected to forward the publication of all matters upon the subject, so the writers just mentioned undertook to obviate any effect which those issued by the commissioners might have upon the minds of the people at large.

Such a peremptory denial to their first offers of accom-



moderation not only proved very mortifying to the commissioners, but excited their resentment in no small degree. In their attempts to treat with the people at large, governor Johnstone distinguished himself beyond all the other commissioners, and drew upon him, of consequence, a greater share of the resentment of congress. They accused him as a spy, whose only view was to sow dissention among them; nay, who had attempted to bribe Joseph Read, Esq; Robert Morris, Esq; also George Washington, Esq; and president Laurens, to desert the cause of their country, and betray it to the British; absolutely refusing, at the same time, to have any connection with him as a commissioner. This produced a reply from the rest of the commissioners, in which they charged the congress with breaking the convention of Saratoga; with inhumanity in prolonging the war, when they had an opportunity of putting a stop to it; of deluding the people, &c. In another manifesto, they endeavoured to prove, that the offers of France had been made only in consequence of the declaration of lord North, that he was to propose a conciliatory plan with regard to the colonies, which was as far back as the month of November, 1777; and consequently, that the Americans ought to accept of their offers, rather than adhere to their treaty with France, whose offers had commenced only on the 16th of December.

CHAP. XVIII.

1778. They attempt in vain to treat with the people at large.

It may easily be supposed that reasonings of this kind could have very little weight with the Americans. The consequences therefore were exactly what had been predicted. Instead of succeeding in their commission, they found themselves every where treated with ridicule and contempt; nay, the marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, who, from mere enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, had joined the Americans, sent a challenge to the earl of Carlisle on account of some expressions he had made use of to the prejudice, as he conceived, of the French nation. Though the challenge was treated with the contempt it merited, it served to shew the very hostile disposition which reigned throughout the whole continent with regard to Britain, and how very little hope of success remained. Finding, therefore, that nothing could be accomplished, they put a conclusion to their treaty, by a manifesto, dated October 3d, 1778, and addressed to the congress, the general assemblies or conventions of the colonies, plantations and provinces, and the free inhabitants of every rank and denomination. In this, after once more holding forth the blessings they were

Earl of Carlisle challenged by the marquis de la Fayette.

**CHAP. XVIII.** empowered to confer, the great advantages the Americans would find in a re-union with Britain, and the danger of a connection with France, they concluded with warning them of the calamities in which they would inevitably involve themselves by persisting in their opposition to Great-Britain, and assuring them that their independence never would be acknowledged by the mother country.

1778.

This manifesto was quickly answered by another from congress, in which they contrasted the behaviour of Britain in the most disadvantageous manner with their own.

It would swell this work to an enormous size, were we to enter minutely into this paper war: We shall, therefore, now proceed to give an account of those more serious operations which the arrival of the commissioners had scarce interrupted.

Successful expedition of the British.

In the beginning of the year, some successful predatory incursions had been made into the Jerseys, and on the banks of the Delaware, by which the Americans sustained a prodigious loss, besides the defeat of a party of soldiers by colonel Abercrombie, in which great numbers of the provincials were killed and wounded. Towards the end of May, some expeditions from Rhode-Island were conducted in such a manner, as undoubtedly must have contributed greatly to frustrate that little expectation of peace, which the ill-advised proceedings at home had rendered almost totally desperate. Ships, boats, houses, places of worship, stores of all sorts, of whatever nature, whether public or private, in a word, every thing useful to man, that was liable to the action of fire, was in some places consumed.

On the Rhode-Island side, a less severe mode of operation was practised, namely, the carrying off the peaceable and defenceless inhabitants of the country, and detaining them as prisoners of war, until they should at some time or other be exchanged for an equal number of soldiers taken on their side in arms. Of this the American general having made a complaint, it was replied, that by the laws of America, every inhabitant from sixteen and sixty was liable to be called on to take up arms, and was therefore to be considered at all times, and treated as a soldier. It could be no injustice therefore to carry off, and detain as prisoners of war, as many of them as could be taken, whether armed or not, to be exchanged for soldiers or sailors.

Gen. Howe resigns the command  
sir H.  
on.

In the beginning of May, sir Henry Clinton took upon him the command of the army, in place of general Howe, who now returned to England. The design of evacuating

Philadelphia was put in execution on the 18th of June, CHAP. XVIII. on which day the whole British army passed the Delaware without interruption. The American general being informed of the intended evacuation, had sent out a strong detachment with orders to interrupt their march as much as possible. This detachment, however, not being able to cope with the whole British force, could do nothing but break down the bridges, after abandoning a strong post they had occupied, with a view to dispute the passage of the enemy. The troops, therefore, pursued their march for some time without any interruption from the Americans, though greatly encumbered with a vast quantity of baggage, the number of loaded horses and wheel-carriages being so great, as to occupy a line of twelve miles in length, though in this were included the provisions necessary for their whole retreat, and which could not have been procured in a country so extremely inimical to the British cause. The march was exceedingly retarded by the heat of the weather, which at that time was excessive, the closeness of the narrow roads through the woods, and the constant labour of renewing or repairing bridges, in a country every where intersected with creeks and marshy brooks.

1778.

June 18.

In the mean time, the generals Washington and Lee, with a very considerable force, watched the motions of the British army, eagerly waiting for an opportunity of attacking them to advantage. The evident difficulty of passing the Rariton, induced sir Henry Clinton to avoid the straight road to Staten-Island, and to direct his course towards the sea-coast, in order to reach Sandy-Hook. On discovering this design, the American commander dispatched some bodies of chosen troops under the general conduct of the marquis de la Fayette, to harass the enemy in their march, himself following, with the whole force, at a proper distance. On the near approach of the van of the one army to the rear of the other, general Lee was dispatched with two brigades to reinforce, and take the command of the advanced corps, which, according to Washington's account, amounted to 5000 men. Sir Henry Clinton now judging from the number of the enemy's light troops which hovered on his rear, that the main body was at no great distance, placed the baggage under the care of general Knyphausen, who led the first column of the army. The other, which covered the line of march, and which was composed of most excellent troops, now remained free for action, and was under the immediate inspection of sir Henry himself.

**CHAP. XVIII.** On the morning of the 28th of June, general Knyphausen, with the carriages, began to move at day-break, directing their course towards Middle-Town, a place distant about ten or twelve miles, in a high and strong country. The second division, under the commander in chief, continued for some hours longer on their ground, in the neighbourhood of Freehold, both to cover the line of march, and to afford time for the carriages to get on their way. About eight o'clock, some parties of the enemy, which harassed their left flank from the woods, were engaged and dispersed by the light troops; but as the rear-guard descended into a valley about three miles in length, and one in breadth, several columns of the enemy appeared likewise descending into the plain, who began a cannonade about ten o'clock; at the same time that the enemy were discovered marching in great force on both flanks. Sir Henry, now judging that the enemy's principal design was on the baggage, immediately concluded, that the only way to save it would be to make a vigorous attack on that body which incommoded his rear, and which would oblige them to call in the flanking detachments to their assistance. Having, therefore, recalled a brigade of British infantry, and the 17th regiment of light dragoons from Knyphausen's division, he directed them to take such a position as would effectually cover his right flank, where he was most jealous of the enemy's design. In the mean time, the queen's light dragoons had, with their usual spirit, attacked and routed the cavalry of the enemy under the marquis de la Fayette, and driven them back in confusion on their own infantry. The general then took measures for attacking the enemy on the plain; but before this could be accomplished, they unexpectedly fell back, and took a strong position on some adjacent high grounds.

1778.  
Battle of  
Freehold,  
June 28.

Though the troops were already greatly fatigued by reason of the heat of the weather, which even in that sultry climate was uncommonly intense, the British grenadiers attacked the enemy with such spirit, that their first line soon gave way. The second line behaved much better, and resisted a fierce attack with great obstinacy, until being at length compelled to give way, they took a third position with so much judgment, that any attack seemed almost impracticable, their front being well covered by a marshy hollow. Dispositions, however, were made for dislodging them, and their left flank had been already turned for this purpose; but the army were now so greatly overpowered with fatigue, that it was thought expedi-

ent to delay any further operations at that time; especially as the general was now confident that the purpose of the action was gained, and the baggage in perfect safety. His judgment, indeed, in this case, appeared very conspicuous; for two brigades of the enemy's light troops had actually made the attempt, but were repulsed at the first onset; after which, the engagement in the plain instantly commencing, they were recalled to assist in the defence of the main body.

Though, from the account just now given, this appears to have been a kind of drawn battle, or rather to the disadvantage of the Americans, the latter nevertheless pretended that the victory belonged to them; nay, according to their account of the matter, the engagement would have been decisive in their favour, had it not been for the misconduct and disobedience of general Lee.

From these discordant accounts, it is difficult, indeed, impossible, to collect the real truth. By the consequences, it is natural to suppose that very little was gained on either side. Both parties, however, seem to have exerted themselves to the utmost, as, by the British accounts, it appears that fifty-nine of their soldiers died of mere fatigue, without any wound; and the like happened to several of the American soldiers, notwithstanding their being so much accustomed to the climate. With regard to those killed and wounded at this time, we are no less at a loss than as to the circumstances of the battle. If we may believe the gazette accounts, the loss of the British in killed and missing amounted only to one hundred and twenty-nine, and the wounded to one hundred and seventy; whereas, general Washington says, in his account of the affair to congress, that two hundred and forty-five British were buried on the field of battle, besides others whom they themselves had buried.

The behaviour of general Lee was highly resented by the commander in chief, who, it is said, made use of some very harsh expressions to the former in the face of the whole army. These amounted to a charge of disobedience to orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. He was put under arrest that very night on which the action happened, and wrote two passionate letters to Washington, to which he received an answer the same night. A court martial was held on his conduct in the beginning of July, which, after six weeks, found him guilty of disobedience and disrespect to the commander in chief, and sentenced him to be suspended from any command in the American army for a twelve-month.

Gen. Lee  
disgraced.

**CHAP. XVIII.** The British army now pursued their march, without any interruption, to Sandy Hook, which at this time happened to be entirely separated from the continent by a violent breach of the sea. This might have proved of fatal consequence at the present crisis, had not the arrival of the fleet, with the extraordinary efforts of the seamen, and skill of the commander, removed the impediment. A bridge of boats was constructed with such expedition, that the whole army passed over this channel on the 5th of July, whence they were afterwards safely conveyed to New-York, thus happily escaping the danger with which they were threatened from a new enemy who had now appeared on the coasts of America.

**1778.** From the whole history of the transactions between the court of France and congress, it appears, that the former had been unusually sincere in their professions of friendship. A powerful fleet, with a considerable body of land forces on board, commanded by the count d'Estaing, had been sent from France, and appeared on the coast of Virginia the very day on which the British army had passed the bridge at Sandy Hook. Had this commander met with the transports either in the Delaware, or on the passage from thence, loaded and encumbered as they were, and convoyed only by two ships of the line and some frigates, they must have been undoubtedly taken; and the army shut up on one side by that under general Washington, and on the other by the French fleet, could by no means have prosecuted its way to New-York, but must undoubtedly have fallen a prey to the enemy. The danger would scarce have been less, had he directed his course immediately to New-York, instead of the Chesapeake; but, as the great object of his enterprize was the surprise of the fleet, and inclosure of the army at Philadelphia, all dangers were happily escaped by their timely removal.

**French fleet under d'Estaing.**  
**July 11.** On the 11th of July, d'Estaing, with his whole force, arrived suddenly in sight of the British fleet at Sandy Hook. He had under his command twelve ships of the line, and three large frigates. Of the former, one carried 90, another 8, and six carried 74 guns each, and the squadron was said to have no fewer than 11,000 men on board. On the other side, the fleet under lord Howe consisted of no more than six ships of 64 guns each, three of fifty, and two of 40 guns. They had also been so long in service, that many of the ships of the line were exceedingly out of repair, so that they could by no means be supposed adequate to an engagement with such a

powerful fleet as that which now opposed them. The British admiral, however, had the advantage of being in possession of the harbour of Sandy Hook, into which it was expected that d'Estaing would have attempted to force his way; though some have doubted whether it would have been practicable for ships of such a force to have entered that harbour. On the part of the British commanders, every disposition was made that consummate military skill could suggest, for notwithstanding the formidable power which threatened to assail them; but d'Estaing, not chusing to risk such a desperate engagement as must necessarily be the consequence of an attack, having continued quietly to look at them for eleven days, at last sailed away, to the great satisfaction of every one concerned.

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1778

During the time that the French commander remained, the most eager hopes were entertained of the arrival of a squadron from Britain under the command of admiral Byron. Fortunately, however, none of the ships appeared while d'Estaing remained on the coast. The squadron is said to have been very ill equipped and manned, and in that state it met with weather unusually bad for the season, so that many of the ships at last arrived singly, and in a very shattered condition, at Sandy Hook, which reinforcement, however, was a matter of very great joy to every one in the fleet, being looked upon as a piece of good fortune, scarcely inferior to their original escape from d'Estaing.

The excellent scheme for the surprise and capture of the British fleet in the Delaware, laid by the French ministry, having thus failed through unavoidable accidents, it was resolved to make an attempt on Rhode-Island. For this purpose d'Estaing had left Sandy Hook, and for the same purpose general Sullivan assembled a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Providence, with a view to invade the island from the continent, while the French fleet was to enter the harbour of Newport, near its southern extremity, and after destroying the shipping by a powerful assault on the works facing the sea, to place the British forces between two fires. On that side, however, every precaution which the military art could furnish was taken, in order to obviate the very great danger in which they were. The commanding officer, general Pigot, also received a reinforcement of five battalions; his troops were in excellent spirits; and at last the force destined to act against them, was found less considerable than had at first been apprehended.—General Sullivan, however, having collected about 10,000 men, of whom one half at

Unsuccessful attempt on Rhode-Island.

CHAP. least were volunteers from New-England and Connecticut, passed over into the island on the 8th of August, XVIII. when the French fleet also entered the harbour, cannonading the batteries as they passed along, and receiving their fire without any material effect on either side. Their entrance, however, obliged the British commanders to burn three frigates, and sink two others.

1778.  
August 8.

Lord Howe no sooner received advice of the danger which threatened Rhode-Island, than he hastened to its relief, though his squadron was still considerably inferior to that of the enemy. But the utmost expedition he could use, would not have prevented the French fleet from entering the harbour before his arrival; and the result of his communication with general Pigot was, that in the present circumstances he could afford no essential aid. The bad conduct of d'Estaing, however, soon altered the face of affairs. The wind no sooner shifted, than, as if he had forgot that his design was to reduce the British forces in Rhode-Island, not fight their fleet, he abandoned the harbour, and sailed out to attack them. The engagement was prevented by a violent tempest, in which both fleets suffered extremely; but the French much more than the English; the consequence of which was, that d'Estaing was obliged to return to Boston to refit his ships, leaving general Sullivan to carry on the enterprize against Rhode-Island as he thought proper.

The loss sustained by the French fleet was so considerable, that some of their capital ships were in the utmost danger of being taken. D'Estaing's own ship, the *Languedoc*, of 90 guns, having lost all her masts, was met in that condition by the *Renown* of 50 guns, captain Dawson, who engaged her with such fury, that nothing but the approach of night prevented the admiral from becoming a prize; nor could she possibly have escaped next morning, had not six French men of war made their appearance at that time, which obliged the English captain to sheer off.—The *Tonnant* of 80 guns, with only her main-mast standing, was about the same time engaged by another 50 gun ship, and escaped in the very same way, night having put an end to the engagement, and the appearance of part of the French fleet preventing its renewal next day.—The most remarkable action, however, was betwixt the *Isis* of 50, captain Raynor, and the *Cæsar*, of 74 guns; both of which had entirely escaped the effects of the tempest. Betwixt these two a desperate and close engagement, within pistol shot, was maintained for an hour and a half; at the end of which time, the *Isis*



had obtained such a manifest superiority that the French-  
man was glad to put before the wind, in order to escape  
from so furious an adversary. The Isis, however, had  
suffered so much in her sails and rigging as to be incapa-  
ble of pursuit.

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1778

In the mean time, the extreme badness of the weather  
prevented general Sullivan for some days from bringing  
forward his artillery and stores, and of course retarded the  
progress of his army. On the 17th of August, however, August 17.  
he began his operations; but as the British had greatly  
strengthened themselves by additional works, they were  
now under very little apprehension from the efforts of the  
Americans, who, on their part, complained loudly of the  
scandalous desertion of their ally, from whom so much  
had been expected. So impracticable did their enterprize  
now appear to the besiegers themselves, that Sullivan was  
soon deserted by the greater part of his army, consisting  
of the New England and Connecticut volunteers; so that,  
being left with a force inferior in number to those he was  
besieging, nothing was left but to think of a retreat. This  
he conducted in such a masterly manner as to obtain de-  
servedly the thanks of Congress; for though he was most  
vigourously pursued, and repeatedly attacked by the Bri-  
tish forces, wherever an opportunity occurred, he found  
means to pass his army over to the continent without any  
considerable loss. Nor was his good fortune inferior to  
his conduct; as sir Henry Clinton arrived at Rhode  
Island immediately after his departure with such a force  
as must have decided the fate of the American army, had  
they been there at that time.

The same day that Sullivan abandoned Rhode-Island,  
lord Howe entered the bay of Boston, where, to his great  
mortification, he found d'Estaing already arrived, and so  
effectually protected by batteries in Nantuket Road, that  
it was utterly impossible to attack him with any prospect  
of success; on which he proceeded for Rhode-Island; but  
finding that place already out of danger, he returned to  
New-York, where he resigned the command of the fleet  
to admiral Gamber, and returned to England.

In the mean time, sir Henry Clinton, who had embarked  
with 4000 troops for Rhode-Island, had two other objects  
in view besides the relief of that place: the one was, to  
cut off Sullivan's retreat from thence: the other, to attack  
the Americans in their head quarters and principal place  
of arms at Providence. These designs, however, being  
frustrated by the timely retreat of Sullivan, major general

Successful  
expeditions  
from New  
York.

**CHAP. XVIII.** Gray was dispatched on an expedition to the eastward, in order to destroy some nests of privateers abounding in the rivers and creeks adjoining to Buzzard's Bay, in that part of New England called the Plymouth Colony; and which, from their vicinity to Rhode Island and the Sound, proved very prejudicial to the trade of New-York and Long Island.—This service was very effectually performed. About seventy sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft, were destroyed, together with the magazines, wharfs, stores, warehouses, ropewalks, and vessels on the stocks, on both sides of Acushinat river.—From thence they proceeded to the island called Martha's Vineyard; where having collected 10,000 sheep, and 300 oxen, they returned to New-York, literally laden with spoil.

Expedition  
against Egg  
harbour.

Encouraged by this success, sir Henry projected another expedition. It was against Egg harbour on the Jersey coast, where the enemy had a number of privateers, and some very considerable salt-works.—The attention of the Americans was drawn away from the object of this enterprise by some masterly dispositions, and movements, by which a great part of the Jerseys were laid open to the British forces under Cornwallis and Knyphausen, while general Washington's army was at that time divided in such a manner that it could not have been assembled in ten days, and even that not without hazard of bringing on a general engagement on very disadvantageous terms on his part. The expedition was conducted with more success than humanity on the part of the British. A regiment of light horse, raised a short time before in Virginia, and known by the name of Baylor's or Mrs. Washington's regiment, were surprised naked and asleep in some barns where they lodged, and in that condition put to the sword, instead of being made prisoners. A similar disaster happened to another body called Pulaski's regiment, who, from their unaccountable carelessness in not placing proper guards, were likewise surprised in the houses where they lay, and their light horse almost entirely cut to pieces. Only five prisoners were taken; as an excuse for which, the British officer (Captain Ferguson) observed, in his account of the affair, that "as it was a night-attack, little quarter could be given." A further excuse was, that Pulaski had ordered no quarter to be given to the British soldiers. This expedition to Little Egg harbour answered the purpose of destroying some of the enemy's privateers, as well as British prizes which could not be brought off.

But however reprehensible the conduct of the British

and Hessians might have been in the mode of treating their opponents, as above mentioned, their severities were far exceeded by those of their allies, the Indians and American refugees. As leaders in these scenes of destruction, the names of colonel Butler and Brandt must stand consigned to perpetual infamy. The former had been an Indian agent in the wars on the Canada side, and had great influence with some of the northern Indians; the other was an half Indian by blood, and possessed the ferocity and cruelty natural to these savages, joined to a desperate courage, which is not one of their characteristics. It is easy to conceive how miserable the situation of those poor wretches must be who fell into their hands, where no submission could procure mercy, nor any condition, age or sex, allay their fury.

In their course of destruction, the ruin of the fine settlement of Wyoming was particularly affecting, as well as detrimental to the cause of the Americans. That district, situated on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, though naturally seeming to belong to Pennsylvania, had been peopled by a numerous colony from Connecticut. This, however, was so much resented by the Pennsylvanians, that after much altercation, it became the cause of actual war between the two colonies, which was not terminated until the contest with the mother-country obliged both parties to suspend their hostilities. It consisted of eight townships, each containing a square or five miles, beautifully situated on both sides of the river. The climate was mild, and the soil luxuriantly fertile; every person possessed an abundance, the fruit of moderate labour and industry, where no man was very rich, nor very great; so that, on the whole, this settlement exhibited such a picture of primeval happiness as can scarcely be supposed to be exceeded, indeed very seldom equalled, in the present state of humanity.

In such circumstances the population of Wyoming became so vigorous, that they had already sent 1000 men to serve in the continental army. Yet, which this excessive drain from the cultivation of a new colony, their farms were still so loaded with crops of every kind, and their pastures so abundantly covered with cattle, that their supplies to the army in those respects were at least in full proportion to that which they afforded in men. Nor had they been deficient in providing against those dangers to which, from their remote situation, they were particularly exposed; they had accordingly constructed for that purpose four forts, which seemed at least fully sufficient to cover the settlement from the incursions of the savages.

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1778.  
Destruction  
of Wy-  
oming.

CHAP. XVIII. In the beginning of July 1778, the enemy appeared suddenly, but in full force, on the Susquehanna. They were led by Butler, assisted by: most of those barbarians, who had distinguished themselves by their cruelties in the frontier war. Their force was estimated at about 1600 men, of whom not quite one fourth were Indians, led by their own chiefs; the others were disguised and painted in such a manner as not to be distinguished from the savages, excepting only their officers, who being dressed in regimentals, carried the appearance of regulars. One of the smaller forts, mostly garrisoned by those called Tories, was by them given up, or, as it was said, betrayed; another was taken by storm, where, although they massacred the men in the most inhuman manner, they spared the women and children.

1778.  
July.

It would seem odd enough, that another colonel Butler, said to be a near relation to the invader, should chance to have the defence of Wyoming either committed to his charge, or by some means fallen to his lot. This man, with nearly the whole strength of the settlement, was stationed in the principal fort called Kingston, whither also the women, children, and defenceless of all sorts had repaired as the only place of common refuge. It would seem, from his situation and force in that place, that he might there have waited, and successfully resisted all the attempts of the enemy; but he was so wretchedly weak, that he suffered himself to be enticed by his namesake and kinsmen to abandon the security afforded by this fortress, and to devote these under his charge to certain destruction, by exposing them naked to such a dreadful enemy. Under the colour of holding a parley for the conclusion of a treaty, he was led into an agreement, that, upon the enemy withdrawing their force, he should march out to hold a conference with them in the open field, and that at so great a distance from the fort as excluded every possibility of the protection which it otherwise afforded. To render this measure still more unaccountable, he, at the same time, shewed so great a distrust of the enemy, and seemed so thoroughly apprehensive of their designs, that he marched 400 men, well armed, being nearly the whole strength of the garrison, to guard his person.

On his arrival at the place appointed, he was greatly surprised to find nobody there to treat with; but not being willing to return without finishing his business, he advanced towards the foot of the neighbouring mountains, still hoping he might hear or see something of those he wanted. As the country began to grow dark and

woody, a flag at length appeared at a considerable distance among the bushes, the holders of which seemed so much afraid of treachery and danger from his side, that they retired as he advanced; whilst he, endeavouring to remove this ill impression, still pursued the flag. CHAP. XVIII. 1778.

The commander of the garrison did not once perceive his danger until his party was thoroughly inclosed, and he was suddenly awakened from his dream by finding himself at once attacked on every side. His behaviour in this dangerous situation could scarcely have been expected from his former conduct: he and his party fought with resolution and bravery, keeping up such a continual and heavy fire for three quarters of an hour, that they seemed ready to gain a decided superiority over their numerous enemies. In this critical moment, some sudden impulse of fear, or premeditated treachery in a soldier, which induced him to cry out that the colonel had ordered a retreat, determined at once the fate of the party.—In the state of confusion that ensued, the enemy breaking in on all sides without obstruction, commenced an unresisted slaughter. Considering the great superiority of numbers on the part of the victors, the fleetness of the savages, and the fierceness of the whole, together with the manner in which the vanquished had been originally surrounded, it is not a little surprising that the commander of the garrison, with about 70 of his party, should have been able to effect their escape, and to make their way to a small fort on the other side of the river.

The conquerors immediately invested fort Kingston, and, to damp still more the drooping spirits of the weak remaining garrison, sent in the bloody scalps of 200 of their late relations, friends, and comrades. Colonel Denison, the present commander of the fort, seeing the impossibility of any effectual defence, not having force sufficient to man the works even for one effort, went with a flag to Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a surrender. To this application of weakness and misery, Butler, with all the phlegm of a real savage, answered, in two short words, "The hatchet!" In these dreadful circumstances, the unfortunate governor, having defended his fort until the most of the garrison were killed or disabled, was at length compelled to surrender at discretion. Some of the unhappy persons were carried away alive; but the barbarous conquerors, to save the trouble of murder in detail, shut up the greater part promiscuously in the houses and barracks, which having then set on fire, they enjoyed the savage pleasure of beholding

Cruelties of  
colonel  
Butler.

CHAP. XVIII. the whole consumed in one general blaze. They then proceeded to the only remaining fort called Wilkesburgh, which, in hopes of obtaining mercy, surrendered without resistance, or without even demanding any conditions. Here the tragedy was renewed with aggravated horrors. They found in this fort about 70 of that sort of militia who were engaged by the different provinces merely for the guard and defence of their respective frontiers, and who are not called to any other service. With these, as objects of particular enmity, the slaughter was begun, and they were butchered with every possible circumstance of the most deliberate, wanton, and savage cruelty. A captain Bedlow, who had been taken prisoner, being stripped naked, had his body stuck full of sharp pine splinters, and then a heap of knots of the same wood being piled round him, the whole was set on fire; and his two companions, the captains Ranson and Durgée, thrown alive into the flames. The remainder of the men, with the women and children, not demanding so much particular attention, were shut up, as before, in the houses, which being set on fire, they perished all together in the flames.

1778.

A general scene of devastation was now spread through all the townships. Fire and sword alternately triumphed. Nay, the merciless ravagers, when the main objects of their cruelty were exhausted, seemed to direct their animosity against every part of the animated creation; and, as if it were a relaxation or amusement, cut out the tongues of the horses and cattle, leaving them still alive only to prolong their agonies.

Colonel  
Clarke's  
expedition  
against the  
French and  
Indians.

Though the Americans were fully resolved to take ample vengeance for the barbarities committed at Wyoming, their attention was so much engaged by affairs of the utmost importance, that they could not, for some time, undertake any thing of consequence against those who had been perpetrators of that horrid tragedy. A small expedition, however, was, during the course of the summer, undertaken from Virginia by a colonel Clarke with no more than 200 or 300 men. The object was to reduce those French settlements which had been planted by the Canadians on the upper Mississippi, situated in a fine fertile country called the *Illinois*, from a nation of Indians of that name. Much of the mischief which had fallen upon the back settlements was attributed to the activity of the governor of those colonies, who, since the commencement of the present dispute, it was said, had acted as an agent for government, and besides his paying a large reward for scalps, had been indefatigable in his

continual endeavours to excite the Ohio and Mississippi CHAP. Indians to attack the defenceless parts of the colonies. In XVIII. prosecution of this design, the aggressors were obliged to traverse 1200 miles of a boundless uncultivated desert, through which every necessary for subsistence was to be conveyed, as well as their accoutrements of war. 1778.

After a long and tedious voyage down the Monongahela, and another down the Ohio, they arrived at length at the great Falls of the latter, within about 60 miles of its mouth, where they hid their boats, and proceeded by land to the northward. In this stage of the expedition, having consumed all the provision which they had been able to carry on their backs, they marched two days without any sustenance; after which they arrived, about midnight, at the principal town of the settlement, named Kakaskias, so distressed with hunger and fatigue, that they were determined either to succeed or perish in the attempt.

This town consisted of about 250 houses, and was fortified in such a manner as would have sufficed to withstand a much stronger enemy; but the remoteness of their situation, as it had precluded all fear, so it had also induced that fatal security, so common in America, which occasioned the neglect of proper guards. The surprise was therefore complete; the town and fort were taken, without opposition, before the people were well awake; and the inhabitants so effectually secured, that not a single person escaped to alarm the neighbouring settlements. The governor, Philip Rocheblave, was considered as such an inveterate enemy to the United States, that he was sent to Virginia with all the written instructions he had received from Detroit, Quebec, and Michillimackinack, for instigating and paying the Indians. The inhabitants were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the United States; and the conquerors took up their head-quarters at Kakaskias. The smaller towns were subdued without difficulty, and the inhabitants, without compulsion, flocked in by hundreds, to take the oaths to their new masters.

These called Tories, who had been the immediate actors in the massacre at Wyoming, now became the object of vengeance. In October, 1778, an expedition was undertaken against them from the remote and upper parts of Pennsylvania, under the conduct of a colonel Butler. The people against whom it was destined, inhabited the country about the upper parts of the Susquehanna, and were intermixed in such a manner with the Indians, as to be in a manner united to them. The adverse party, con-

Settlement of the Tories on the Susquehanna destroyed. October.

**CHAP.** sitting of a Pennsylvania regiment, covered by riflemen  
**XVIII.** and rangers, took its departure from Schoharie ; and, having gained the head of the Delaware, marched down that river for two days ; from whence, turning to the right, they struck across the mountains to the Susquehanna. Here they destroyed the Indian castles and villages in that quarter, and other settlements ; but notwithstanding their utmost address and precaution, both Tories and Indians had the good fortune to escape. The destruction of their settlements, however, was extended for several miles on both sides of the Susquehanna ; in the course of which, the fruits of a plentiful harvest, together with the only saw-mill and grist-mill in that whole country, shared the same fate with the houses, and every other article useful or necessary to man.

1778.

1779.

The Six Nations of Indians entirely ruined by general Sullivan.

These expeditions, however, were but a small part of the chastisement to which these barbarians were destined. The languid manner in which the campaign at that time happened to be carried on at New-York, afforded leisure to congress to pour forth upon them that *exemplary vengeance*, which they had threatened in their answer to the commissioners' manifesto. The objects of this vengeance were the Five or Six Nations, for they are called by both these names, whose confederacy seems to form in these deserts the wide outlines of a republic. These nations, lying at the back of the northern and middle colonies, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and almost impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage, constancy, and fidelity, with which they had adhered to the English in their wars with the French ; and had even assisted them frequently against different nations of their own countrymen. In the beginning of the present contest, they had concluded a treaty with the Americans, by which they bound themselves to observe a strict neutrality during the progress of the struggle. The Americans gave out, that they offered, at that time, to take up the hatchet against the English ; but that they had rejected the offer upon principle, only requiring them to observe a strict neutrality. From this pacific conduct, however, they were soon led to depart, by the presents distributed among them by order of the British ministry, the influence of Sir William Johnson, and above all, by their own innate propensity to murder and bloodshed, which seems to be greater among the American Indians than any other people on earth. It was therefore now thought expedient to dispatch against them general Sullivan, with a small army and train of artillery.



ry; the object of his expedition being of the most savage nature, not to conquer, but *exterminate*, as far as possible, his enemies.

CHAP.  
XVIII.



1779.

The Indians marched boldly towards their frontiers to meet the invaders. They were led on by Butler, Brandt, Guy Johnson, and Macdonald; and besides assembling all their own tribes and allies, were joined by some hundreds of refugees, or tories, as the Americans called them. They possessed themselves of a difficult pass in the woods, between Chemung and Newtown, in the neighbourhood of Teagoa river, where they constructed a strong breastwork, of above half a mile in extent, made of large logs; from whence other works of less strength reached for a mile and a half to the top of a mountain in their rear, where a second breastwork was formed. Here a fierce attack commenced on the 29th of August, 1779, which continued for two hours. The Indians resisted with uncommon bravery; nor could the breastwork have been forced without the assistance of the artillery, which the provincial army had carried along with them. On perceiving, however, that some dispositions were made for turning their flank, and thereby cutting off their retreat, no persuasions could prevail on the Indians to stand their ground any longer. They fled with the utmost precipitation; and so complete was the victory obtained by general Sullivan on this occasion, that the enemy never dared to make another stand to interrupt the desolation of their country.

But though the way was thus cleared for the passage of the provincial army into the Indian territories, one great obstacle yet remained, *viz.* the want of provisions. To render the service in any degree effectual, it was necessary that the army should lie out for a month at least, in a country totally unknown, and where no supplies of any kind could be hoped for; but with all the care and industry both of the general and his employers, such difficulties occurred, as rendered it impossible to procure more than half the quantity; nor indeed were there any pack-horses to be found to convey more; although, to lighten the carriage, the cattle destined for the use of the army were driven along with it. The violent desire of being revenged on the barbarians against whom they were sent, with the animating speeches of their commander, removed all impediments: the proposal of short allowance was received with the loudest shouts of approbation; and the ration for twenty four hours was unanimously fixed at half a pound of flour, and as much beef per day; the reduction extending even to salt.

**CHAP. XVIII.** In attempting to proceed into the country of the Indians, Sullivan found to his surprise that no guides could be found who knew any thing of the nature of it; and the only method he had of finding his way to their towns, was that which finds out a wild beast in his den, namely, the track of the inhabitants. It was even more difficult in the present case, as the last of a file of Indians always covers with leaves the tracks made by his fellows and himself; so that it requires much experience, as well as patience and industry, to be able to develope and trace them. All these difficulties, however, were overcome; the towns were found out, and such a scene of desolation begun as must be read with horror, and which nothing, not even the implacable nature of those against whom it was exercised, could possibly justify. Forty of their towns, the largest containing 128 houses, were destroyed; their corn, computed at no less than 160,000 bushels, shared the same fate; their fruit-trees were cut down, and themselves pursued and slaughtered, till there was not, as far as the conquering army could perceive, a single house, fruit-tree, field of corn, or inhabitant remaining in the whole country. On this occasion, the Americans were not less cruel than those whom they have thought proper to style savages and barbarians. In this expedition, it was remarked, that the Indians had attained to a much higher degree of knowledge of the useful arts, than what had ever been imagined by any person. The beauty of their situation, together with the size, construction, and neatness of their houses, were great objects of admiration to the American army. In several places, the houses were not only large, but elegant, and built of frame-work. The size of the corn-fields, as well as the high degree of cultivation in which they were, also excited wonder; and so numerous were the fruit-trees, that in one orchard they cut down 1500, many of which were observed to be of great age.—The whole of this destructive expedition was comprized within the space of a month, as no more time could possibly be spared. By it, however, the colonies were effectually secured against the incursions of the Indians, who were now no longer in a condition to attempt anything. The Oneida Indians, who had wisely adhered to their neutrality, were allowed to remain unmolested.

1778.  
Georgia reduced by  
colonel  
Campbell  
and general  
Prevost.

Till the autumn of 1778, the feat of war betwixt the British and Americans had been chiefly confined to New-York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, and the borders of Connecticut; while the southern colonies enjoyed a profound tranquility, excepting only some petty hostilities betwixt

the inconsiderable colonies of Georgia and East Florida. CHAP. XVIII.  
An expedition undertaken against some British settlements in the country of the Indians, called *Natches*, however, greatly alarmed the whole colony of West Florida, and drew the attention of the British commander so much to the southward, that he resolved upon an immediate conquest of Georgia; which was also desirable on account of the quantity of rice it produced. It was likewise known that the continental credit in Europe was chiefly upheld by the southern colonies, from whom France took off such quantities of their most valuable productions, that their trade seemed little affected by the war, farther than what it suffered from the British cruizers. But, before any thing of this nature could be accomplished, the British settlers, in the country of the *Natches*, had surrendered without resistance to a captain Willing; who, although they had been surprised, and totally in his power, granted them every condition which they required for their present and future security. His views, however, were thought at this time not to have been entirely confined to the reduction of these settlements, but to have extended to a correspondence with the Spaniards at New-Orleans, as it was known that the court of Spain was now about to make a declaration in favour of the Americans.

The motives just mentioned, and perhaps some others, now induced the British commanders to take the resolution, fatal as it afterwards proved, of dividing their force, by sending a detachment to the southward. The conduct of the expedition was committed to colonel (now sir Archibald) Campbell, a brave and able officer, who, in the beginning of the war, had been taken by a mistake in sailing into the harbour of Boston after it was evacuated by the British troops, and had afterwards undergone a long and severe confinement in that place. His force consisted of the 71st regiment of foot, two battalions of Hessians, four of provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery. The transports sailed from Sandy Hook on the 27th of November, 1778, being escorted by a small squadron of ships of war, under the command of commodore Hyde Parker. Nov. 27.

From the accounts of this expedition, it appears, that the Georgians fell victims to that fatal negligence which so frequently marked the conduct of the Americans throughout this war. The British commanders having arrived at the island of Tybee, the place of their destination, towards the end of December, were informed by two Dec. 23.

CHAP. men, whom they seized for that purpose, that the batteries  
XVIII. which ought to have defended the town of Savannah,



1778.

had been entirely neglected, and were out of repair ; that there were very few troops in it, though reinforcements were daily expected ; at the same time, that they gave such an exact account of the situation of two armed galleys as effectually enabled the British to cut off their retreat. Some obstacles, however, occurred : several transports grounded on the flats, and the landing place appeared to be very difficult, and capable of defence against a superior number of men. The former was soon got over by the activity and skill of captain Stanhope, who acted as a volunteer on this expedition ; and though the enemy made a show of defending the landing-place, they fled after the first fire, by which only seven of the British were killed ; one of which, however, was a brave officer, captain Cameron, of the light infantry. The subsequent conduct of the Americans under a major-general Robert Howe, displayed equal want of resolution in the men, and want of military skill in the commander. Having taken what he imagined to be a very strong post, he continued to amuse himself with an idle cannonade, to which the British never answered a single gun, until part of the light infantry, privately conducted by a negro through a woody swamp, were ready to fall upon their rear, at the same time that they found themselves attacked in front and in flank by the remainder of the army, with a well-directed artillery. Even without this advantage, the provincials fled at the first onset, and that with such rapidity, that only about 80 were killed, and 30 more drowned in an attempt to cross a swamp. Thirty-eight commissioned officers, 415 non-commissioned and privates, 40 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort, with its ammunition and stores, a large quantity of provisions, with the town of Savannah itself, instantly fell into the hands of the victors ; who, upon this occasion, shewed themselves worthy of that character of clemency they had all along assumed ; for though the fugitives directed their course through the town of Savannah, where many of the inhabitants happened to be in the streets, none suffered who had not arms in their hands. The American general, with the remains of his army, retreated into South-Carolina.

By this decisive victory, the whole province of Georgia was once more reduced under the British government in less than a fortnight, the town of Sunbury alone excepted ; and this also quickly submitted to general Prevost, who had been called from East-Florida with all the force he could collect.

The sudden reduction of Georgia proved no less matter of exultation to the loyalists in the Carolinas than of depression to the opposite party. The former, ever impatient to catch at any opportunity, were instantly in motion. Notwithstanding the extreme readiness, however, which these people shewed on all occasions to rise in arms, it appears that they were either very much destitute of military skill, or some how incapable of conducting their affairs to an happy termination. Their bad success under Macdonald we have already seen ; and the same bad fortune attended them at present. About 700 of them assembled in the back parts of North-Carolina ; but before they were able to accomplish any thing of consequence, they were attacked and utterly defeated by the nearest militia, with the loss of near half their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners.—About 300 of the remainder found means to make good their retreat to the back part of Georgia, where, by degrees, they joined the nearest posts of the royal army.

CHAP. XVIII.

1778.  
Insurrection of the loyalists in North Carolina.

In the mean time, general Lincoln had arrived with a reinforcement of continental troops for the protection of South-Carolina, which probably induced general Prevost, on whom the supreme command had devolved, to recall colonel Campbell, who, with a detachment of troops, had penetrated as far as Augusta, and to contract his posts in such a manner that Hudson's ferry, about twenty-four miles distant from the capital, was the upper extremity of the chain which he formed along the frontier. Here lieutenant colonel Prevost formed a design of surprising a general Ashe, who, with a detachment of about 2000 men, had posted himself thirteen miles farther up the river, at a place called Briar's Creek, in order to cover the upper part of the country, where the American party had again assumed their wonted superiority. The situation of this officer, however, did not very easily admit of surprise. Briar's Creek, which for several miles covered his front, was too deep to be forded ; his left was covered with the Savannah and a deep morass ; and his right was guarded by 200 horse. General Prevost having, nevertheless, made proper movements for attracting the attention of general Lincoln, the colonel divided his force into two parts, with one of which he advanced towards Briar's Creek, as if he meant an attack on their front, where it was absolutely impracticable. The other division, amounting in the whole to about 900 men, the colonel himself led by a circuitous march of 50 miles, in order to get round or to cross Briar's Creek, and thereby turning the

General Prevost pursues his march to Charles-town.

CHAP. right, to fall unexpectedly on the enemy's rear. This en-  
 XVIII. terprise proved successful, as most commonly happened  
 when any surprise was intended against the Americans.  
 1779. The general had injudiciously sent away his light horse on  
 Defeats some useless expedition, by which means, being destitute  
 Gen. Ashe, of intelligence, he was completely surprised in open day-  
 March 3. light, and received the first notice of his danger from the  
 havoc made in his camp by the British troops. Whole re-  
 giments fled without firing a shot, and some of them with-  
 out even attempting to lay hold of their arms. Great  
 numbers, blinded by their fears, ran into the river or  
 marsh, and were drowned. Only one regiment of North-  
 Carolina, with a few of the officers, took to their arms,  
 though their resistance was totally ineffectual. Brigadier  
 General Elbert, the second in command, with some other  
 officers of note, were taken; 150 were killed of inferior  
 rank, and 200 taken prisoners; besides a great number  
 lost in the Savannah and swamp.

By this victory, the provincials were once more driven  
 out of Georgia. The hostile armies continued to look at  
 one another till towards the end of April. At that time,  
 April. however, general Lincoln, in order to protect the pro-  
 vincial congress, which had now sat down at Augusta,  
 marched towards that place with the best part of his ar-  
 my. It did not, indeed, appear probable to him that the  
 British forces could attempt any thing in his absence, the  
 river being so much swelled by the rains, that it seemed  
 to be a sufficient defence; and even supposing this could  
 be passed, the deep swamps and flooded country on the  
 other side, appeared insuperable obstacles to the progress of  
 an army. In this, however, he was mistaken; the British  
 troops passed the river in several places, and went through  
 the swamps with such alacrity, that they struck with as-  
 tonishment a body of militia whom general Lincoln had  
 left under general Moultrie, so that they fled every where  
 before them, leaving the road quite open to Charlestown.

The force which general Prevost now commanded, did  
 not exceed 3000 men; nevertheless, influenced by the  
 assertions of the loyalists in his army, to hope that Charle-  
 town would surrender on the first summons, he marched  
 forwards to that place. To this he was further determin-  
 ed, by the conduct of general Lincoln, who looked upon  
 an attempt on the capital at that time as so utterly im-  
 probable, that he could not, by any means, be induced  
 to return to its defence until several days after the Bri-  
 tish commander had passed the river.

The march of the British army was very little retarded

by the enemy. Some slight skirmishes indeed took place; but the militia under general Moultrie, already disheartened, and in the neighbourhood of their own families, deserted every day, so that by the 11th of May they had passed Ashley river, a few miles above Charlestown, and advancing along the neck of land formed by the rivers Ashley and Cooper, posted themselves a little beyond cannon shot of the enemy. The town, however, refused to surrender, though very favourable conditions were offered; but they would willingly have agreed to a neutrality both for the city and province during the continuance of the war. The negotiations being thus broken off, every preparation was made for a vigorous resistance. General Prevost, however, finding his force altogether inadequate to the task, without either heavy artillery, or a naval force to co-operate with his attack by land, resolved not to hazard a failure in the enterprise, especially as he understood that general Lincoln, with a force superior to his own, was approaching. He, therefore, decamped silently that very night, and having, before morning, crossed the river Ashley, took post on two of the adjacent islands, called St. James and St. John, lying to the southward of Charlestown harbour, and which, from their cultivation and fertility, afforded good quarters and plenty of provisions for the troops.—Here they waited some time for supplies of ammunition and necessaries from New-York. The first ships dispatched with these supplies had the misfortune of being either taken or destroyed by the enemy; but at length the arrival of two frigates of war enabled them to reduce the island of Port Royal, which afforded the most eligible situation during the intense heats and unhealthy season then approaching. Thus also he could not only secure a firm footing in South-Carolina, but was most excellently situated for the protection of Georgia. The only interruption given by the Americans was an attack by general Lincoln on a pass called Stone Ferry; in which, though the superiority on the American side was prodigious, being no less than six to one, they were nevertheless repulsed with great loss. The army then quietly took possession of Port Royal, which put an end to all operations for the season.

CHAP. XVIII.

1779.  
May II.

Prevost  
obliged to  
desist.

We must now return to the French admiral d'Estaing, whom we left at Boston refitting his ships which had been so severely shattered by a tempest, after deserting his allies at Rhode Island. His conduct had been so offensive to the Americans in general, that it was impossible to prevent the revival of those ancient animosities which had

1778.

**CHAP. XVIII.** subsisted between the Bostonians and French. The affair at Boston produced continual disputes betwixt the opposite parties, which, about the middle of September, 1778, broke out in a violent tumult. At this time some of the French are said to have been killed, and several were certainly wounded, among whom were some officers, and one of considerable distinction.—A reward of 300 dollars was offered by the council of state for the discovery of any of the parties concerned in the riot; but no discovery of the actors was made.

1778.  
September.  
Dissentions  
between  
the French  
and Ame-  
icans,

A much more violent affray happened about the same time between the American and French seamen in the city and port of Charlestown. The quarrel began there, as at Boston, on shore, and at night, and ended in the most desperate hostilities. A pitched battle was fought with cannon and small arms; the French firing from their ships, whither they had been hastily driven from the town, and the Americans from the adjacent shore and wharfs. Several were killed, and a much greater number wounded.

As such dreadful affrays threatened the most dangerous consequences to the United States, the greatest care was therefore taken to prevent them for the future. A reward of 1000 l. was offered for the discovery of the particular persons who had fired some guns from one of the wharfs which were observed to be fatal in their effects. No discovery, however, was made in consequence of this offer.

D'Estaing  
sails from  
Boston,  
Nov. 3.

D'Estaing having with much difficulty victualled his fleet, owing to a great scarcity of provisions at that time in Boston, at last set sail from that port; but instead of endeavouring to co-operate with the American army, he quitted the continent altogether, in order to attack the British Islands in the West Indies. Before his departure, he published a manifesto, to be dispersed among the Canadians, in which he addressed them in the name of their former king and master, labouring to recall the ir affection to their ancient government, and to prepare them for an invasion either from France or America.

Expedition  
to Virginia,  
May.

Leaving d'Estaing to pursue his voyage, we shall now proceed with a detail of the military operations in the northern colonies after the unsuccessful attempt of general Sullivan on Rhode-Island.—While general Prevost was employed in the successful expedition already related, sir Henry Clinton, in conjunction with sir George Collier, who now commanded the maritime force at New-York, concerted an expedition to the Chesapeake, and a descent upon Virginia, which seemed more likely to dis-



steps the enemy than any other measure that could be thought of. For this purpose, a sufficient naval and land force was dispatched under the conduct of sir George Collier and general Matthew. The fleet having successfully passed the capes of Virginia, a man of war, with some armed tenders, were left to block up James river, while Sir George Collier, shifting his pendant to a frigate, proceeded with the smaller ships of war and transports up Elizabeth river.—The town of Portsmouth was the immediate object of the expedition, and in itself defenceless, though covered by fort Nelson, which had been constructed for its protection, at about half a mile's distance. The garrison, however, knowing that no assistance was at hand, and that the fort was incapable of any defence, abandoned it at the approach of the army, who accordingly possessed themselves both of the town of Portsmouth, and the remains of Norfolk on the opposite side. The Americans burnt several vessels in their ports, among whom were two large French ships loaded with 1000 hogheads of tobacco, though, by the celerity of the invaders, the progress of the flames was checked, and several others were taken.

The general pushed on detachments to take possession of two strong posts several miles in front, which, from the nature of the country, served to cover the approaches to his camp from any sudden attack of the enemy. In the mean time, the army made an excursion to Suffolk, at about eighteen miles distance, on Nansemond river. They reached the place about day-break; but finding it abandoned, they proceeded to the destruction of a very large magazine of provisions, together with the vessels and naval stores they found there. A similar destruction ensued at Kempe's landing, Shepherds, Gosport, Tanner's creek, and some other places in that quarter; nor were the frigates and armed vessels less active or successful in the work of destruction on the rivers and ports near the bay.

On this expedition they remained a fortnight, during which time the Americans sustained prodigious loss. Several thousand barrels of pork, with other provisions in proportion, which had been prepared for Washington's army, were destroyed, and 130 vessels of different sizes either burnt or taken; every thing that could conveniently be moved being carried off. A proposal was made by the loyalists for erecting the king's standard in the country, which they represented as ready to return to its allegiance; but though this idea was entered into by Sir George Collier, and a letter written to Sir Henry Clin-

CHAP. ton on the subject, the latter could not by any means be  
 XVIII. induced to agree to it, but commanded the immediate return of the fleet and army. To this recall, besides the danger of being surrounded by the enemy, to which the Virginia adventurers were liable, a new expedition which general Clinton was on the point of undertaking up the north river, probably contributed. The provincials had been for some time engaged, at great labour and expense, in constructing two very strong works, at the important posts of Verplank's neck and Stoney Point in the Highlands. These posts, which are on nearly opposite points of land, the former being on the east, the latter on the west side of the North river, were of the utmost importance for keeping the communication open between the eastern and western colonies; the great pass, called King's ferry, lying directly between them. As these were nearly completed, but not yet defensible, the general thought it a proper time to avail himself of the industry of the enemy, and to reap the fruits of their toil; Washington being at too great a distance, and otherwise incapable of giving any interruption.

Expedition  
 against  
 Connecticut,  
 May  
 30.

The troops destined for this service were embarked, May 30, 1779, under the command of major general Vaughan; and, before they set sail, were joined by the force from the Chesapeake, with whom they proceeded up the North River. The following morning, general Vaughan, with the greater part of the army, landed on the east side of the river, about eight miles from Verplank's; whilst the remainder, under the conduct of general Pattison, and accompanied by the commander in chief, advancing farther up, landed within three miles of Stoney Point. On the appearance of the ships, the enemy abandoned the place, after setting fire to a large blockhouse; and though some shew of resistance was made on the approach of the troops to take possession of Stoney Point, they did not venture to stand an engagement.

On the opposite side of the river, the Americans had completed a small but strong fort called La Fayette, which was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a garrison of between 70 and 80 men. But this little redoubt, though strong in itself, was effectually commanded by Stoney Point, which is situated at about 1000 yards distance on the opposite shore; and it being exceedingly difficult of approach from its own side, at least for the conveyance of artillery, the attack was accordingly intended from the other.—For this purpose, general Pattison, with infinite fatigue and labour, and the most indefatiga-

ble perseverance during the night, overcame the difficulties of dragging the heavy artillery from a very bad landing place, up a steep precipice to the top of the hill; and his arrangements and exertions were so effectual and judicious, that by five on the following morning, he had opened a battery of cannon, and another of mortars, on the summit of the difficult rocks of Stoney Point, which poured a dreadful fire on fort La Fayette. The attack was supported by sir George Collier, who advanced with the galleys and gunboats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued on all sides during the day; and as soon as it was dark, sir George ordered two of the galleys to pass the fort, and anchor above it, in order to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. In the mean time, general Vaughan, with his division, having made a long circuit through the hills, had at length arrived, and had closely invested the place on the land side. The garrison, seeing that all possibility of escape was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered and lost in the magnitude of that which they received, surrendered their little fortrefs on the following morning, and themselves prisoners of war, without any other stipulation than that of humane treatment. Immediate directions were given for completing the works of both posts, and for putting Stoney Point, in particular, in the strongest state of defence. For their better support and protection, as well as with a view to the further operations of the campaign, he encamped his army at Philipsburgh, about half way down the river to York Island; which he likewise rendered a post of some importance, by throwing up works, in order to establish and preserve a free communication for the future. By the loss of these posts, the provincials in the Jerseys were under a necessity of making a circuit of above ninety miles through the mountains, to communicate with the countries east of Hudson's river.

The state of the hostile armies on both sides, with respect to actual force, together with the want of money and deficiency of military provisions on one side, necessarily limited the views of the opposite commanders, and prevented their undertaking any decisive or extensive operations. They were each in a strong state of defence, and neither had such a superiority of force as could compel the other to relinquish the advantages of his situation. Washington was, besides, in expectation of foreign aid; and it would have been inconsistent with his usual caution and judgment, to run the hazard, by any previous attempt, of weakening his strength to such a degree as might

CHA P. render him incapable of profiting by the assistance of his al-  
 XVIII. ly, and the American arms and force of course contempt-  
 1779. ible in his eyes. The campaign was accordingly languid,  
 and its operations confined to the surprise of posts, and  
 to desultory excursions; to the last of which, the Ame-  
 ricans were now, as well as at all times, exceedingly ex-  
 posed, and upon no footing of equality with their enemy.

The numberless small cruizers, whale-boats, and other  
 craft of that nature from the Connecticut coasts, which  
 infested the Sound, lying between that colony and Long-  
 Island, were so watchful in their depredations, and their  
 situation afforded them such opportunities, that they had  
 nearly destroyed the trade to and from New-York on that  
 side, to the very great inconvenience and distress of that  
 city, as well as of the fleet and army. Upon this account,  
 sir Henry Clinton and sir George Collier determined on a  
 course of desultory invasions along that coast, with a  
 view of curing the evil, by cutting off the means of de-  
 predation in the destruction of their privateers, and, as  
 far as it could be done, of their other vessels and mate-  
 rials for building.

Governor Tryon, who had likewise been invested with  
 a military command, was appointed to the conduct of  
 July 3. the land-service in this expedition: his force amounted to  
 about 2600 men, and he was seconded by brigadier-ge-  
 neral Garth, an officer of distinguished merit and ability.  
 The forces were landed at the town of Newhaven, which  
 they instantly took possession of, as well as of a battery  
 that covered it, without any great loss, though conside-  
 rable resistance was made by the inhabitants and militia.  
 The fort, with all the naval and military stores, were de-  
 stroyed; but the town, though at first doomed to destruc-  
 tion, was spared, as the militia had not attempted to  
 molest the troops in their retreat. From Newhaven the  
 fleet sailed to Fairfield, where the troops were again  
 landed and again opposed. Here the town was set on fire,  
 and consumed, with every thing of value; and the same  
 destruction took place at Norwalk, where the militia were  
 more numerous, and made a greater resistance than in  
 the other places. Here the loss of the Americans was  
 very great; both Norwalk and Greenfield, a small town  
 in the neighbourhood, were totally destroyed, with a  
 considerable number of ships either finished or on the  
 stocks, and a still greater of whale-boats and small craft,  
 with stores and merchandize to a large amount. The ex-  
 pedition, however, was suddenly stopped by a peremp-  
 17 13. tory order from general Clinton for the return of the  
 troops, on the 13th of July, only eight days after it be-

gan. The loss sustained by the British troops was very trifling, not exceeding 150 in killed, wounded, and missing. CHAP. XVIII.

This expedition seems not to have been attended with any great effect as to its immediate purpose; for so bold and numerous did the American privateers continue, that in a very few days, two of the royal ships of war were taken by them.

Among other views of the British commander in the Connecticut expedition, it was supposed to be a probable method of drawing general Washington from his strong posts in the Highlands into the Low Country, where he might be forced to a battle on disadvantageous terms; and on the same principle, some other expeditions of less note were undertaken. But this cautious general in every instance avoided the snare; nor could any art on the part of the British commander ever make him quit his posts in such a manner as to afford him the least advantage. On the surprise of Stoney-Point and Verplanks he had indeed moved from the Jerseys, and taken post among the high grounds farther up the North-River, but this only with a design of watching the motions of the British army, not of undertaking any action of consequence. A very spirited enterprise, however, was now undertaken and successfully executed by general Wayne. This was no less than an attempt to surprise the strong posts of Verplanks and Stoney-Point. The works of the former had been completed and repaired with the utmost industry by the British, as far as the short time they had possessed the place would admit, so that it was now in a very strong state of defence, and was garrisoned by a whole regiment of foot; the grenadier companies of another; a company of loyal Americans, and some artillery; the whole being under the command of lieutenant-colonel Johnson. The garrison in the opposite post, at Verplank's Neck, was under the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Webster, and was at least equal in force to that at Stoney-Point.

General Wayne set out on this arduous task on the 15th of July, attended by a strong detachment of the best American infantry. They went from Sandy-Beach about noon, and marched 14 miles over high mountains, through deep morasses, difficult defiles, and roads exceedingly bad and narrow; so that they could only move in single files during the greatest part of the way. About eight in the evening, the van arrived within a mile and a half of the fort, where they halted, and the troops were formed into two columns as fast as they came up.—

Stoney-Point surprised by the Americans, July 15.

CHAP. The general issued the most express orders to both co-  
 XVIII. lumns, and which they seem to have exactly obeyed, not

~ to fire a shot on any account, but to place their whole re-  
 1779. liance on the bayonet. Two attacks were, therefore, made on opposite sides of the fortification, to which the soldiers marched with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, whilst a detachment in front amused the garrison with a feint. They found the approaches more difficult than, from their knowledge of the place, they had been led to expect, the works being covered by a deep morass, which at this time was overflowed by the tide. According to the American accounts, neither the deep morass, the formidable and double rows of abbatis, or the strong works in front and flank, could damp the ardour of their troops, who, in the face of an incessant and tremendous fire of musquetry, and cannon loaded with grape-shot, forced their way through every obstacle, until the van of each column met in the centre of the works, and the garrison were obliged to surrender prisoners at discretion. General Wayne was wounded in the head by a musket ball as he passed the last abbatis, but was gallantly supported and helped through the works, by his two brave aids-de-camp, Fishbourn and Archer, to whom he acknowledged the utmost gratitude in his public letter. The total number of prisoners amounted to 543; the number of slain, on the part of the British, to 63. The artillery, stores, &c. were by no means inconsiderable.

As soon as Stoney-Point was taken, the artillery was directly turned against Verplanks, and a furious cannonade ensued, which necessarily obliged the shipping to cut their cables, and sail down the river. The news of this disaster, and of colonel Webster's situation, who likewise expected an immediate attack on the land side, no sooner reached sir Henry Clinton, than he took measures for the immediate relief of Verplanks, and recapture of Stoney-Point. But of whatever importance the possession of the latter might be to the Americans, general Washington was by no means disposed to hazard a decisive engagement on its account, especially in a situation where the command of the river would afford such decisive advantages to his opponents in the disposition and sudden movement of their troops, either with respect to the immediate point of action, or the seizing of the passes, and cutting off the retreat of his army, as might probably be attended with the most fatal consequences. The works were therefore destroyed, and the artillery and stores brought off; three days after which the British took possession of the place without opposition.

The success of the Americans in the surprise of Stony Point, encouraged them to make a similar attempt on Paulus Hook four days after. This was a strong post lying in the Jersey side, opposite to New-York. Such a remissness, however, had prevailed on the part of the garrison, that the enemy completely surprised the place at three o'clock in the morning, and carried a blockhouse and two redoubts almost without any resistance. In that critical moment, major Sutherland, the commander, threw himself hastily, with forty Hessians, into another redoubt, from which they kept such a warm fire, that the Americans scandalously deserted their new posts with as much expedition, and as little difficulty, as they had attained them.—In the mean time, such intelligence was received at New-York as necessarily called Sir George Collier, with the greater part of his naval force, away from that city. This necessity originated from an expedition, undertaken in the summer from Halifax by Colonel Maclean, with a view of establishing a strong post on the river Penobscot, in the eastern confines of New-England, where that colony borders on Nova Scotia, and amidst some new and weak settlements which the Massachusetts people had established after the peace of 1763, and formed into a county under the name of Lincoln. Here he arrived about the middle of June this year, with a force of about 650 men, convoyed by three sloops of war; and here he began to erect a small fort in a situation perfectly well chosen for annoying the enemy.

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1779.

Unsuccessful attempt on Paulus Hook.

June.

This transaction occasioned an unusual alarm at Boston, and the most vigorous measures were adopted in order to prevent the scheme from being completed. Orders were immediately given for an expedition to the Penobscot; and, in order to secure armed vessels and transports, an embargo for 40 days was laid on all their shipping; as an encouragement to adventurers, the state also gave up to the captors its share in all the prizes that should be taken. A very considerable naval armament, and a body of land forces, were likewise sent thither.

Americans defeated at Penobscot.

On the other side, the works of the new fort, though the utmost diligence had been used in their construction, were yet so far from being finished, that they afforded but very imperfect means of defence against any great superiority of force. Colonel Maclean, however, had the good fortune to receive intelligence of the armament preparing at Boston, a few days before its arrival; upon which he immediately changed his plan of operation; and instead of proceeding further in the construction of

CHAP. works which he could not have time to complete, used  
 XVIII. the utmost diligence to put himself in the best posture of  
 defence which the present state of the place, and the  
 shortness of the notice, would admit.

1779.  
 July 25.

On the 25th of July the American fleet appeared to the number of 37 sail; and soon after their ships of war began to cannonade the vessels lying there, and a battery of four twelve pounders, which had been erected on the bank of the river for their protection. Their fire, however, was so well returned, that their ships found it necessary to retire; and though they renewed their attack the following day, they suffered a second repulse, and were not able to make good their landing till the 28th of the month.

July 28.

Two days after their landing, the Americans opened a battery about 750 yards distance from the works, and another somewhat nearer, but without being able to make any impression. In this ineffectual manner the siege was carried on till towards the middle of August, when the British commander received intelligence from a deserter, that a general assault was determined, and that the ships and fort were to be attacked at the same instant. But while the troops in the fort were eagerly expecting the attack, on the morning of August 14, they were surpris-

August 14.

ed at observing an unusual calm in the camp of the enemy, and, on a closer inspection, found that they had abandoned it in the night, and reembarked both their forces and artillery. Nor were they long in the dark as to the cause of this mysterious event, for while they were endeavouring to profit in some degree by the confusion they observed in the enemy's fleet, Sir George Collier, with his Squadron, appeared full in view, sailing up the river. The wretched assailants at first made some shew of resistance, by drawing up in a crescent across the river, as if they designed to dispute the passage; but their resolution soon failed, and they betook themselves to an ignominious flight. A general chase, which terminated in universal destruction, took place. One frigate of 20 guns, and another of 18, were taken. The Warwick, a new frigate, of 32 guns; 7 others of smaller force; 6 armed vessels, and 24 transports, were burnt or sunk, some of these by the Americans themselves.—The conduct of the provincial Admiral, Saltonstall, was execrated in the highest degree by his countrymen. It was even said, that the indignation of the land forces rose to such a pitch, that they came to blows with the seamen in their way home.



## CHAPTER XIX.

*Unsuccessful attack on the Savannah by d'Estaing—Dis-  
 sention between the French and Americans—Spain joins  
 the confederacy against Britain—Takes Pensacola—  
 Expedition of Sir Henry Clinton against Charlestown—  
 General Lincoln capitulates—Tarleton defeats the Ame-  
 ricans at Waxhaw—South Carolina reduced—Dis-  
 turbances in North Carolina—Cornwallis victorious at  
 Camden—Tarleton defeats Sumpter—Unsuccessful  
 expedition from New-York—Fayette and Ternay arrive  
 in America—French fleet blocked up by Arbuthnot—  
 Sir George Rodney arrives at New York—Arnold's  
 revolt from the Americans—Major Andre executed as  
 a spy—Colonel Fergusson killed—General Sumpter  
 defeated—General Leslie's expedition to Charlestown.*

**W**HILE matters were going on in this disastrous way for the Americans, Admiral d'Estaing arrived from the West Indies, where he had taken the Islands of Grenada and St. Vincent's, and been reinforced by a considerable squadron under M. la Motte, with 10,000 land forces. The first object to which he turned his attention was the destruction of the small force under General Prevost, which would free the southern colonies from their present alarm and danger. The second was to attack, in conjunction with general Washington,

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1779.  
Unsuccessful  
 attack-  
 on the Sa-  
 vannah by  
 d'Estaing.

## CHAP.

## XIX.



1779.

Experi-  
ment man  
of war, &c.  
taken.

the British forces at New-York, by sea and land at the same time; and thus, by the reduction of that island and its dependencies, with the ruin of the British fleet and army, to bring the war to a conclusion at once.

With these grand expectations, d'Estaing set sail for the coasts of Georgia, where he appeared so suddenly, that the Experiment man of war, of 50 guns, and three royal frigates, fell into his hands; and had he proceeded all along to use his force with the same rapidity, while the British were in their weak and unprepared state, there is very little reason to doubt that he would have succeeded in his first object. General Prevost was at this time at the town of Savannah; but the better part of his army was still at Port-Royal in South-Carolina, where it had continued posted ever since the retreat at Charlestown.—

As the enemy were masters by sea, it was now impossible that colonel Maitland could join the troops at Savannah, but by means of the numerous inland navigations which intersect the country betwixt them. An express to this purpose was dispatched to Port-Royal; but, happening to be intercepted by the Americans, it was delayed so long that the enemy had time to seize the principal communications before the junction could be effected. Some delay, however, in the operations of d'Estaing was necessarily occasioned by his being obliged to communicate with the government of Charlestown relative to the movements of general Lincoln, who was to act in concert with him in the intended reduction of Georgia. Though he arrived on the coast of Georgia about the 1st of September, it was not till the 9th of that month that his fleet, consisting of above 40 sail, anchored off the bar of Tybee at the mouth of the river Savannah. For three or four days afterwards, the French troops were taken up in passing, by means of small American vessels, through the Oribaw inlet, and landing them at a place called Beau-lieu, about thirteen miles from the town of Savannah, at the same time that their frigates were occupied in taking possession of the lower river, and of the different inlets, approaching as near to the town and lines as the circumstances of water and of defence would admit.

On the 15th, the French, with count Polaski's American light-horse, appeared so near the British lines, as to skirmish with the piquets; and as the force under general Prevost did not admit of his having any other object in view than the mere defence of the town, he contracted his posts within the cover of the artillery on the works. Next day the French commander sent a mess

D'Estaing  
arrives at  
Tybee,  
Sept. 9.

Sept. 15,  
Summons  
gen Prevost to sur-  
render.

haughty summons to general Prevost, vaunting in the highest language of his prowess, the valour of his troops, and commanding him to yield to a force which he was utterly incapable of resisting.

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Though general Prevost, with the officers about him, were determined, even with the small force they had, to defend the place to the last extremity, yet it was thought prudent and necessary to gain all the time that was possible; and this the more especially, as the lines were still in a very imperfect state of defence, and there had not been time to convey the artillery from the shipping. By sending different messages, therefore, he found means to protract the time considerably, and at last was allowed a truce of twenty-four hours for deliberation. During this interval, colonel Maitland, having surmounted every difficulty and danger, arrived with the troops from Port-Royal. The face of affairs was now entirely changed, and instead of the easy conquest which presented itself on the arrival of d'Estaing, a most obstinate defence was threatened. The general returned a positive answer to the summons, that he was determined to defend the place to the last extremity; and the sailors, who had been all drawn from the ships to construct and man the batteries, expressed their approbation by three cheers, when the gun was fired as a signal for the recommencement of hostilities.

Col. Maitland arrives.

On the day after delivering the summons, d'Estaing was joined by general Lincoln, as he had been before by count Polaski. The allies took separate, but adjoining camps, and each began immediately to make approaches as in a regular siege. Their joint force has been computed at about 9000 men, while that of the garrison did not exceed 3000. The utmost exertions, however, were made on the part of the British. Every man, without distinction, was employed in the hardest labour, and cheerfully underwent his share of the common toil. At the time that the French summons was received, the lines were not only weak and imperfect, but were not protected by above eight or ten pieces of cannon; while, at the conclusion of the siege, or blockade, the works, by the assistance of the ship guns, and the continual exertion in landing and bringing them forward, were covered with a numerous artillery, amounting to near 100 pieces.—Nor was the skill and dexterity with which they were used and directed by captain Moncrieffe, the engineer, at all inferior to the labour used in bringing them forward, as was owned both by friends and enemies.

Numbers on both sides.

Capt. Moncrieffe's address.

The enemy were by no means idle in their endeavours

**CHAP. XIX.** to interrupt the works, though their efforts were ineffectual; nor did they spare any pains in carrying on their own, so that in a week they had pushed a sap to within 300 yards of the abbatis. Few skirmishes took place, as the British commander was exceedingly sparing of his men; but in the few that were fought, the allies were constantly defeated. About midnight, between the 3d and 4th of October, the enemy began a heavy bombardment, and at day-light a violent cannonade from 37 pieces of heavy artillery, nine mortars from their land batteries, and 16 cannon from the water. Though this cannonade continued for five days, its destructive effects were felt only by the women, children, and negroes, and by the houses of the town; the works, so far from being demolished, continually acquiring additional strength, through the industry of the besieged.—In this distress of the women and children, which was further increased by the throwing of carcases, in order to set the town on fire, general Prevost sent a letter to d’Estaing requiring permission for the women and children to desert the place; but after three hours, during which the discharge of cannon and shells continued, this humane request was refused, in a letter signed by both commanders, Lincoln and d’Estaing, and the refusal conveyed in the most insulting terms.

Grand attack,  
October 9.

The impatient temper of d’Estaing at last prompted him to order a general assault, confiding so much in the goodness of his troops, that he hoped thus to make a successful end of the business at once.—This decisive attack took place in the morning of the 9th of October, a little before day-light; after a heavy discharge of cannon and mortars for several hours. The firing began on the left of the British lines, but soon after became general. As it was still too dark to perceive the movements of the enemy, and uncertain where their principal attacks would take place, no change was made in the disposition of the British troops, but each division waited coolly in its post, expecting what should happen.

The nature of the ground on both flanks of the lines was so favourable to the approaches of the enemy, that the defect could not be remedied by all the skill of the engineer. Thus, an attack was to be expected towards either or both of the points. The grand attack, however, was directed to the right, whither d’Estaing in person led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. They advanced in three columns, under cover of a swampy hollow, which reached

within a very little distance of some of the principal works. By reason of the darkness of the night, however, they took a greater circuit, and went deeper in the bog than they needed to have done ; a circumstance, which, besides a critical loss of time, could not fail of producing some disorder. The attack was nevertheless made with great spirit, and supported with obstinate perseverance. One redoubt, particularly, was the scene of much gallantry. It was obstinately defended by captain Tawse. The enemy planted two stand of colours upon it ; and at length the brave captain fell, gallantly fighting in his redoubt, his sword being plunged, at the instant of death, in the body of the third man he had killed with his own hand.—But while the conflict was still dubious and bloody, particularly at that redoubt, three batteries, which were occupied by the seamen, assailed the enemy in almost every direction, and made such havoc in their ranks as caused some little disorder, or at least a pause in the violence of their attack. At that instant a body of grenadiers and marines advanced suddenly from the lines, and charged the enemy with such rapidity and fury, throwing themselves headlong into the ditches and works amongst them, that in an instant the redoubt, and a battery to the right of it, were totally cleared of them. The advantage was pursued with the greatest vigour ; the enemy were instantly routed, and driven into the swamp with such celerity, that three companies of the most active troops, in the army could not, with all their exertion, come in for any share of the honour. The pursuit was prevented by a thick fog and darkness, which did not admit of the British general's perceiving how far it was proper to venture his troops out of the town. As the day cleared, the works and ditches near the redoubt presented a most shocking spectacle of killed and wounded, said by some officers and soldiers to have been only equalled at Bunker's Hill. At ten o'clock, the enemy requested leave to carry off their wounded and bury their dead ; which, with some restrictions as to the former, was granted.

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Captain  
Tawse  
killed.

French, &c.  
repulsed.

In this fatal attack the loss of the allies was computed at between 1000 and 1200 men in killed and wounded.—The French owned 44 officers, and about 700 private men in killed and wounded.—The loss of the Americans was not acknowledged, but was certainly very considerable. The celebrated Polish count Polaski was mortally wounded. D'Estaing himself was grievously wounded in two places. Several other French officers of distinction were also wounded. The loss on the British side was inconceivably small.

Loss on  
both sides.

CHAP. The dissensions betwixt the Americans and their allies,  
XIX. were renewed by their ill success, each party accusing the

1779.  other of misconduct, or bad performance, and being the  
Dissensions author of his own particular loss or disgrace. It was even  
between the French and Ame- said, that the troops on both sides were with difficulty  
ricans. restrained from proceeding to the most desperate extre-  
mities; and that the French and American commanders,  
and principal officers, were as little satisfied with each  
other as the private men. It was likewise supposed, that  
a jealousy had previously subsisted on the American side,  
from d'Estaing's summoning the place to surrender to the  
arms of the French king only.—But however these might  
be, it was now necessary to think of getting away with  
safety; and even this it was necessary to mask with the  
appearance of continuing a blockade. Great civilities  
now passed between the French and British; and num-  
berless apologies were made for the refusal with respect  
to the women and children. They were now pressed to  
place themselves in the situation they had formerly re-  
quested; and a particular ship of war and commander  
were named for the reception of Mrs. Prevost, her chil-  
dren, and company. But the answer was, that what had  
once been refused, and that in terms of insult, could not  
in any circumstance be deemed worth accepting.

On the 18th of the month, upon the clearing up of a  
fog, it was discovered that the French and Americans  
had abandoned their camps in the preceding night. Some  
pursuit was made, but it was soon found that they had  
broken down all the bridges behind them, and pursued  
their respective routs with the greatest dispatch. The  
French admiral found his fleet in better condition than his  
army; and, therefore, totally abandoned the coasts of  
America. About the beginning of November he pro-  
ceeded with the greater part of his fleet to France to refit,  
the rest having returned to the West-Indies.

Spain joins  
the confe-  
deracy  
against  
Britain.

June 16.

In the year 1779, however ruinous to the United States  
in general, was yet fortunate to them in one instance,  
namely, that their independency was now acknowledged  
by the court of Spain. The declaration to this purpose  
was delivered to the court of London on the 16th of  
June; but it appears, from various circumstances, that  
the Spanish governors and commanders in America and  
the West-Indies had been made acquainted with the in-  
tended rupture long before. It would even seem, that  
they were informed of the precise time, or very near it,  
at which the rupture was to take place; as it was asserted,  
that war was declared in Port Rico a few days after the  
delivery of the Spanish rescript in London; and it is cer-

tain, that English vessels were carried into the Havannah as prizes, before any intelligence of that event could possibly arrive there from Europe. CHAP. XIX.

By means of this early intelligence, the whole colony on the Mississippi, along with the troops destined for its protection, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The settlements in that part, being as yet too weak for a particular government, had been annexed to that of West-Florida; which was, however, too distant to afford any effectual protection. We have also taken notice of an expedition by the Americans to that country, though they did not stay to enforce their dominion. In consequence of this, however, some troops had been sent for the protection of that infant colony. These were suddenly attacked, towards the end of August, 1779, by Don Ber-  
nardo de Galvez, governor of Louisiana, with the whole force he could collect; who, having first publicly declared the independency of British America by beat of drum at New-Orleans, set out on his expedition. His measures had been so well concerted, that major general Campbell, who commanded at Pensacola, did not receive the smallest information of the danger which threatened the western part of the province, or even that hostility was intended, until the affair was almost over. A royal sloop of war, and several vessels were taken by surprise, laden with provisions and necessaries for the British detachment, together with some troops belonging to the regiment of Waldeck. This was quickly followed by the reduction of the whole British force in that country, which, indeed, did not amount to 500 men, under the command of lieutenant colonel Dickson of the 16th regiment; and these had no other cover against an enemy, much their superior, than a newly constructed fort, or more properly, a field redoubt, at Batton Rouge.—Here, however, they stood a siege for nine days, until the opening of a battery of heavy artillery left no farther hope; yet, notwithstanding the desperate situation in which they were, honourable terms were obtained, to which the Spanish governor exactly adhered. This disaster, on the part of Britain, was soon revenged by the conquest of the strong fortress of Omoa, of which we shall speak particularly afterwards.

1779.

August.

Col. Dickson surrenders to Don Galvez.

The beginning of the year 1780 presented a most alarming appearance to Britain. She was now engaged in a war, not only with her own revolted colonies, together with the kingdoms of France and Spain; but such a combination was entered into by the neutral powers,

1780.

Armed Neutrality.

**CHAP.** under the title of an *Armed Neutrality*, as indicated a  
**XIX.** general inclination to take up arms in favour of America,  
 should the establishment of her independence yet remain  
 doubtful.—This extraordinary association originated with  
 the court of Petersburg, whom the British ministry  
 looked upon as their best, if not their only allies in the  
 present crisis. The declaration of the empress on this oc-  
 casion would, in other circumstances, have been constru-  
 ed as a declaration of war. At present, however, the  
 court of London, standing alone and unsupported, was  
 obliged to submit. The proposals of the empress were  
 acceded to not only without the least hesitation, but with  
 the utmost applause of her justice and wisdom by all  
 other powers of Europe, to whom they were presented,  
 Portugal alone excepted.

Expedition  
 against  
 Charles-  
 town by  
 sir Henry  
 Clinton.

Jan. 1780.

Though the powerful combination in favour of the re-  
 volted colonies, of which this Armed Neutrality might  
 be considered as a principal part, rendered the contest  
 with them ultimately hopeless on the part of Great Bri-  
 tain, the war was nevertheless kept up with equal spirit  
 by our commanders, and the same delusive hopes of suc-  
 cess were held out by the ministry. The conquest of the  
 southern colonies was now looked upon as an object with-  
 in reach, and for this purpose an expedition was under-  
 taken by sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, for  
 which the state of general Washington's army was pecu-  
 liarly favourable. His auxiliaries had already returned  
 home; the term of enlistment of a great number of con-  
 tinental soldiers was expired; and the filling up of the  
 regiments, by waiting for recruits from their respective  
 states, must necessarily be a work of considerable time.  
 The expedition, however, was not undertaken till the  
 26th of December, 1779, nor did the fleet arrive at the  
 Savannah until the end of January, 1780. The voyage,  
 besides its tediousness, was otherwise very unprosperous.  
 The sea was so rough, and the weather so tempestuous,  
 that great mischief was done among the transports and  
 victuallers. Several were lost; others dispersed and da-  
 maged; a few were taken by the Americans; an ordnance  
 ship went down with all her stores; and almost all the  
 horses, whether for draught or belonging to the cavalry,  
 were lost.

February.

From Savannah the fleet and army proceeded before  
 the middle of February to the inlet or harbour of North  
 Edisto, on the coast of South-Carolina, where the army  
 was landed without opposition, and took possession with  
 equal facility of the islands of St. James and St. John;



but, from some difficulties, the nature of which were never well explained, it was not till the end of March that they passed the river Ashley. On the 1st of April they broke ground within 800 yards of the enemy's works, and in a week their guns were mounted in battery.

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1780.  
April 1.

In the mean time, the admiral had by no means been deficient in his endeavours to pass Charlestown bar, in order to co-operate with the land forces; but so difficult was the task, that the fleet lay in that situation exposed on an open coast, in the winter season, to the danger of the seas and the insults of the enemy, for above a fortnight before a proper opportunity offered. The bar was, however, passed, on the 20th of March, without loss, and the entrance of the harbour gained without difficulty.

The provincials had a considerable marine force in the harbour, which might have been expected to contribute more to the defence of the town and passage than it actually did. It consisted of an American ship built since the commencement of the war, and pierced for 60 guns, but mounting only 44; seven frigates of the same country, from 32 to 16 guns; a French frigate of 26 guns, and a polacre of 18. These, at first, upon the admiral's getting over the bar, shewed some inclination to resist, and took a favourable position for this purpose. On the approach of the British force, however, their resolution appears to have failed them; and, therefore, leaving fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's island, to its fate, they retired to Charlestown; where most of the ships, with a number of merchant vessels, being fitted with *chevaux de frize* on their decks, were sunk to obstruct the navigation of the river. This obstacle, however, was soon removed; and the success of the attack on the land-side depending almost entirely on the joint operation of the fleet, the admiral took a favourable opportunity of passing the heavy batteries at fort Moultrie, so much celebrated for its obstinate defence against the attack of sir Peter Parker.

On the 9th of April this passage was effected with little loss of men, under a severe fire from the fort, though some of the ships suffered considerably; and a transport, with some naval stores, was of necessity abandoned and burnt. The great object, however, was now gained; they were in possession of the harbour, and took such effectual measures for blocking up or securing the various inlets, that the town was almost completely invested.

April 9.

In this state of things, the batteries ready to be opened, a summons was sent to general Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, to surrender.—This summons,

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1780.  
Summons  
sent to gen.  
Lincoln to  
surrender  
refused.

however, being refused, hostilities instantly commenced. The defences of the town consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, extending from one river to the other, and covered with 80 cannon and mortars. In the front of either flank, the works were covered by swamps, originating from the opposite rivers, and tending towards the centre; through which they were connected by a canal passing from one to the other. Between these outward impediments and the works, were two strong rows of abattis, the trees being buried slanting in the earth; so that their heads facing outwards, formed a kind of fraize-work against the assailants; and these were farther secured by a ditch double picketted. In the centre, where the natural defences were unequal to those on the flanks, a horn-work of masonry had been constructed, as well to remedy that defect, as to cover the principal gate; and this during the siege had been closed in, in such a manner, as to render it a kind of citadel, or independent fort.

April 19.

The siege was carried on with great vigour; the batteries were soon perceived to acquire a superiority to those of the enemy, and the works were pushed forward with unremitting industry. By the 19th of April the second parallel was completed; the approaches to it secured; and it was carried within 450 yards of the main works of the besieged. Major Moncrieffe, who had gained so much honour at the Savannah, acquired no less applause, from the very superior and masterly manner in which he conducted the offensive operations of the siege.

The town had kept its communication open with the country on the farther side of Cooper's river, for some time after it had been invested on other sides by the fleet and army; and some bodies of militia, cavalry, and infantry, began to assemble on the higher parts of that river, who, being in possession of the bridges, might, at least, have become troublesome to the foraging parties, if not capable of disturbing the operations of the army. The general, as soon as his situation would permit, detached 1400 men under lieutenant colonel Webster, in order to destroy this corps which the enemy were preparing to assemble in the field, to break in upon their remaining communications, and to seize the principal passes of the country. On this expedition lieutenant colonel Tarleton, at the head of a corps of cavalry, and seconded by major Fergusson's light infantry and marksmen, with a very inferior force, surprised, defeated, and almost totally cut off the rebel party; and thereby opened a way for colonel Webster to shut up the place entirely.

As the arrival of a large reinforcement from New-York enabled the general considerably to strengthen the corps under Webster; so the importance of the situation induced Cornwallis to take the command on that side of Cooper's river; and under the conduct of this nobleman, colonel Tarleton entirely ruined another body of cavalry which the enemy had with the utmost difficulty collected.

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In the mean time, the besiegers had completed their third parallel, which they carried close to the provincial canal; and by a sap pushed to the dam which supplied it with water on the right, they had drained it in several parts to the bottom. On the other hand, the admiral, who had constantly pressed and distressed the enemy, having taken the fort at Mount Pleasant, acquired from its vicinity, and the information of the deserters which it encouraged, a full knowledge of the state of the garrison and defences of fort Moultrie in Sullivan's-Island. In pursuance of this information, he landed a body of seamen and marines to storm the place by land, while the ships battered it by sea in every possible direction. In these circumstances, the garrison seeing the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and sensible of the impossibility of relief, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus, driven to its last resource, the general still wishing to preserve Charlestown from destruction, and to avoid the cruelty of storming the place, sent a second summons to general Lincoln, with an offer of the same terms which the latter had before refused, but which were now accepted without hesitation. The garrison were allowed some of the honours of war.

Lincoln capitulates.  
May 1<sup>st</sup>.

On this occasion, the number of prisoners amounted to 5611, exclusive of near 1000 seamen. An immense quantity of artillery, amounting to upwards of 400 pieces of cannon, were found in the town and forts adjacent. One French and three American frigates, which had escaped the operation of being sunk in the river, fell likewise into the hands of the conquerors.

The most rapid success now every where attended the British arms in Carolina. Lord Cornwallis having marched up the north side of the great river Santee, received intelligence that there were some Virginia troops, under the command of colonel Burford, near the borders of North Carolina. He accordingly detached colonel Tarleton with 700 light cavalry, and a new corps of infantry called the Legion, mounted on horseback, in order to rout and disperse that body, before it could receive

Colonel Tarleton defeats the Americans at Waxhaw.

CHAP. any reinforcement from the neighbouring colonies.—

XIX. The Americans, confiding in their distance from the enemy, had been at no pains to chuse a proper situation.

1780. Colonel Tarleton, therefore, having marched 105 miles in 54 hours, presented himself suddenly and unexpectedly before them at a place called Waxfaw. But, although the enemy were surpris'd and dispirited, they positively refused the offer of the British commander to surrender on the same terms with the garrison of Charlestown. An engagement, therefore, ensued; in which the provincials, though superior in number, made but a faint defence; above 100 were killed on the spot, and 150 so badly wounded, that they were unable to travel, and about 50 were brought away prisoners. Their colours, baggage, with the remains of the artillery of the southern army, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

South-Carolina entirely reduced.

June.

This success seemed decisive as to the fate of South-Carolina. General Clinton considered it as so entirely subjugated, that on his return to New-York, in the beginning of June, he acquainted the American minister, that there were few men in the province who were not either prisoners to, or in arms with the British forces; and he exulted in the numbers of those who came in from every quarter to testify their allegiance, to offer their services in support of his majesty's government, and who, in many instances, had brought as prisoners their former oppressors or leaders. This appearance of loyalty induced sir Henry to put in execution a scheme often recommended by the partizans of the British ministry, viz. the obliging the province to contribute largely to its own defence, and even to take an active part in suppressing the rebellion on its frontiers.

July.

Notwithstanding these positive assertions, however, and the flattering appearance of loyalty in South-Carolina, at the time of sir Henry Clinton's departure from thence, it soon became obvious, that many of the inhabitants were so little satisfied with their present government, that they endeavoured to dispose of their property on the best terms they could obtain, and totally to abandon the country. This conduct became so frequent and glaring, that lord Cornwallis found it necessary, towards the end of July, to issue a proclamation, strictly forbidding all sales and transfers of property, including even negroes, without a license first obtained from the commandant of Charlestown; and likewise forbidding all masters of vessels from carrying any persons whatever, whether black or white, out of the colony, without a written passport from the same officer.

In the mean time, the part of the British army destined to active service was advanced towards the frontiers, under the command of lord Rawdon, who fixed his headquarters at the town of Camden. The advantageous situation of that place on the great river Santee, which afforded an easy communication with several remote parts of the country, together with other inviting and favourable circumstances, induced lord Cornwallis not only to make it a place of arms, but a general storehouse or repository for the army in its intended operations. He, accordingly, used the utmost dispatch in conveying thither from Charlestown the stores necessary for the troops, which, by reason of the heat of the weather, proved a matter of great labour and difficulty. He likewise spared no pains in arming and embodying the militia of the province, and in raising new military corps, under well-affected leaders.

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1780.

But, during these transactions, a great change in the aspect of affairs took place in North Carolina. Besides the suppression of the Loyalists, who were treated with little mercy, major-general Baron de Kalbe, a German officer in the American service, arrived in that province with 2000 continental troops, and was followed by some bodies of militia from Virginia. The governors of the colony were likewise indefatigable in their exertions and preparations, at least for defence, if not for conquest. Troops were raised, the militia every where drawn out; and Rutherford, Caswel, Sumpter, and other leaders, advanced to the frontiers, at the head of different bodies. Skirmishes took place on all sides, and were attended with various fortune; the enemy became so dangerous, that lord Rawdon was obliged to contract his posts.

New disturbances in North Carolina.

It soon appeared that the loyalty of South Carolina was not to be depended on, and that nothing could deter the inhabitants from adhering to the cause of congress, whenever an opportunity offered. As the enemy increased in strength, and approached nearer, numbers of those who had submitted to the British government, and others who were on parole, abandoned or hazarded all things in order to join them. A colonel Lisle, who had exchanged his parole for a certificate of being a good subject, carried off a whole battalion of militia, which had been raised by another gentleman for lord Cornwallis, to join Sumpter. Another battalion, who were appointed to conduct about 100 sick down the Pedee to George-town, seized their own officers, and carried them, with the sick, all prisoners to the enemy.

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1780.  
 Provincials  
 entirely de-  
 feated near  
 Camden.  
 August.

General Gates was now in North Carolina, to take the command of the new southern army, and the time was fast approaching, when the high military reputation he had acquired was to be staked in a contest with earl Cornwallis. In the second week of August, the latter having received intelligence at Charlestown, that Gates was advancing with his army, and that Sumpter was endeavouring to cut off the communication between that city and the army; that the whole country between the Pedee and the black river had revolted; and that lord Rawdon was collecting his whole force at Camden—he immediately set off for that place. On his arrival, he found he had no small difficulties to encounter.—Gates was at hand with a great superiority of force: his army was computed at not less than 5000 or 6000 men, and was supposed to be very well appointed; and rendered still more formidable by the name and character of its commander. On the other hand, lord Cornwallis's regular force was so much reduced by sickness and casualties, as not much to exceed 1400 fighting men, with 400 or 500 militia, or North Carolina refugees. The position of Camden, however convenient or advantageous in other respects, was a bad one to receive an attack. He could indeed have made good his retreat to Charlestown with those troops that were able to march; but, in that case, he must have left about 800 sick, with a vast quantity of valuable stores, to fall into the hands of the enemy. He likewise foresaw, that excepting Charlestown and the Savannah, a retreat would be attended with the loss of the two provinces of Carolina and Georgia.—In his own words, there was “little to lose by a defeat, and much to gain by a victory.” The intelligence which he received that general Gates had encamped in a bad situation at Ruggles, about 13 miles from Camden, undoubtedly served to confirm lord Cornwallis in his determination. He accordingly marched from Camden, about 10 o'clock at night, with a full intention of surprising general Gates at Ruggles, and making his dispositions in such a manner, as that his best troops and greatest force should be directed against the continental regiments, laying little stress on the militia, if these were sufficiently provided against.

It was very singular, that at the very hour and moment at which lord Cornwallis set out from Camden to surprise Gates, that general should set out from Ruggles to surprise him.—As the two armies mutually approached, the light troops, and advanced guards on each

side, necessarily fell in with, and engaged each other in the dark. In this blind encounter, the American light troops, being driven back on the van, considerably disordered it, as well as their centre, which probably was never afterwards recovered. Lord Cornwallis repressed the firing early, and immediately formed. He found that the enemy were in bad ground, and he could not hazard in the dark the advantages which their situation would afford him in the light. A movement, however, made by the Americans on the left by day-light, indicating some change of disposition, offered some advantage to the royal army. This being eagerly seized by their skilful general, he instantly ordered colonel Webster, who commanded the British right, directly to charge the enemy's left with the light infantry, supported by the 23d and 33d regiments. The action soon became general, and was supported with the utmost obstinacy, the firing being intermixed with sharp and well-supported contests at the bayonet. The haziness of the morning, with the cloud of smoke which involved both armies, prevented the effects of the fire from being well observed. It was evident, however, that the British troops pushed forward, and the Americans gave way, until at last the rout becoming general, they fled on all sides, and were pursued 20 miles from the field of battle. All their artillery, amounting to 7 or 8 brass field-pieces, with 2000 stand of arms, their military waggons, and several standards, were taken. About 800 or 900 were killed on the spot, and 100 taken. The whole body of American militia, (which constituted by far the greater part of their force,) excepting only one North-Carolina regiment, run away at the first fire, and were incapable of being rallied, or even persuaded to make a single stand; so that, gaining the woods as fast as possible, they totally dispersed. The continental regular troops, however, and the single regiment of North-Carolina militia, vindicated their own and the national character. General baron de Kalbe, a Prussian officer, the second in command, who was mortally wounded in this engagement, spent his last breath in dictating a letter, expressive of the warmest affection for the Americans, and containing the highest encomiums on the valour of the regular troops, the satisfaction that he felt in having been a partaker of their fortune, and having fallen in their cause. Besides general Kalbe, the Americans lost several other officers, among whom were brigadier-general Gregory, killed, and general Rutherford, taken. The loss on the part of the British amounted only

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1780.  
August 16.

CHAP. to 324, killed, wounded, and prisoners, among whom, however, were several brave officers.



1780.  
Tarleton  
defeats  
Sumpter.

The victory at Camden was quickly followed by another.—General Sumpter had for some time been very successful in cutting off or intercepting the British parties and convoys, and lay now, with about 1000 men, and a number of prisoners and waggons which he had lately taken, at Catawba Fords. As Lord Cornwallis considered it a matter of some consequence to give a check to this body before he advanced to North Carolina, he detached Colonel Tarleton, with the light infantry and cavalry of the legion, to the number of 350, on this service. Sumpter, confiding in his distance from the enemy, was surprised at noon-day so completely, that his men were mostly cut off from their arms. The victory was, therefore, nothing more than a slaughter and rout. About 150 were killed, and 300 taken prisoners, with two pieces of cannon, and the prisoners and waggons retaken which had fallen into his hands at the Catawba Fords.

While the military operations already related were going on in the southern colonies, the hostile armies on the side of New-York were so nearly poised, that no great exploits could be performed on either side.

Association  
of Loyalists  
at New-  
York.

Mean time the refugees were now grown so numerous, that, thro' some mistaken policy, they were permitted to set up a distinct government in New-York, under the name of "The Honourable Board of Associated Loyalists;" and this board was said to be authorized by the British legislature. But, be this as it will, as these refugees had a common stock, and their infant excursions at sea proved extremely successful, they became every day more powerful, and possessed something like a fleet of small privateers and cruizers. Their knowledge of the adjoining coasts afforded them such advantages, that they generally proved successful in their enterprizes; but their want of any effectual discipline or government, along with their peculiar, and frequently personal animosity, leading them to excess, produced retaliation on the other side, so that the war was carried on with unrelenting cruelty on both sides, without the least tendency either to conquest or reconciliation.

Unsuccessful  
expeditions  
from  
New-York.

A few days before the arrival of sir Henry Clinton from Charlestown, the generals Knyphausen, Robertson and Tryon, with a view of attacking some of Washington's out-posts, passed over by night with 5000 or 6000 men from Staten Island to Elizabeth-town in New-Jer.



sey. On the following morning, though severely harassed in their march by the provincial militia, they advanced a few miles to a settlement called the Connecticut Farms, from its having been planted and settled, a few years before, by some inhabitants of that province. This new and thriving settlement was burnt, together with the Presbyterian church in that place. But what produced the loudest complaints, was the death of the clergyman's wife, who, sitting with her family, was shot, by accident, through a window in her own house.

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1780.  
June 6.

From thence the army proceeded to Springfield; and met with the like annoyance on their march, but with greater effect, as the militia now had assembled in greater numbers. At last they found themselves opposed by general Maxwell, at the head of the Jersey brigade, and reinforced by all the militia he could collect, well posted in the same place. Whether it proceeded from Maxwell's good countenance and position, or from whatever other cause, the army halted, and continued on the same ground till midnight without advancing. The Americans, however, though inferior in strength, kept up a constant and incessant firing, without coming to any close action; by which the British officers, finding themselves in all probability more likely than usual to be over-matched, were induced to give up the main object of their enterprize, and return to Elizabeth-town at night.

The arrival of sir Henry Clinton at New-York made no change in the situation of the royal forces, who still kept their post at Elizabeth-town. On the contrary, the commander in chief determined to prosecute the intended enterprize with still more vigour. For this purpose, a feint was made of an expedition up the North River, which had the desired effect of drawing Washington from the place where he was encamped, and where he would have obstructed the design, in order to defend the strong posts in the Highlands, the taking of which would have been destructive to his army. This point being gained, the forces at Elizabeth-town again advanced towards Springfield. This village lay at the foot of those hills which constituted the strength of the country, and led directly to some of the principal passes, which were now guarded by general Greene, at the head of Starke's and the Jersey brigades, with some of the neighbouring militia. The bridge which led to the village was defended by 170 men, under a Colonel Angel, who maintained his ground for about a quarter of an hour, with great gallantry, against a vast superiority of force, and though obliged at last to

June 23.

**CHAP.** give way; found means to carry off his wounded, though  
**XIX.** nearly one-fourth of the whole corps were by this time  
 killed or disabled; the British troops having suffered more  
 1780. in this trifling affair than could be imagined.

Springfield  
burnt.

At this time, Greene lay about a mile above Springfield; but his troops were so divided, that he could not make any detachment sufficient for the relief of Colonel Angel, without hazarding the security of the post he himself occupied, and which was of much greater importance. The British troops, therefore, having met with such an unexpected check from the handful of men at the bridge, did not venture to attack general Greene, but closed their expedition with burning the village of Springfield. The royal forces passed over the same night to Staten-Island; while Washington continued to be amused for some days longer with the appearance of an expedition up the North-River, which probably never was intended.

The event of this short campaign in the Jerseys shewed, more than any thing that had yet happened, the utter impossibility of reducing the Americans by force of arms. A force which had once been thought sufficient to sweep every obstacle before it, had been baffled by a body of Americans not exceeding 1200 men; for general Greene, whom they durst not attack, had not above 1000 under his command. It was now evident that the British forces had an enemy in the field little less respectable than themselves; that all the superiority in arms, which had produced such effects at the beginning of the contest, was, in a great measure, at an end; nor did general Washington fail to shew the greatest exultation in the public orders given by him afterwards, on the effects of the improvements in discipline he had already made, and the greater which he still hoped.

M. de Fayette, and de Ternay, arrive in America.

During the course of the summer, the Americans were further encouraged by the return of the Marquis de la Fayette from France, whither he had gone some time before. His early engagement and great zeal in the American service, in which he held an high rank, caused him to be received with distinction by Washington, who gave him a letter to Congress full of the most flattering encomiums.

July 11.

In a short time after the arrival of M. de Ternay at Rhode-Island, he seemed to decide matters at once in favour of the Colonies. He had along with him a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and two armed vessels. His own ship, *Le Duc de Burgoyne*, carried 84 guns, and 1200 men; two others carried 74,

and four had 64 guns each. He likewise convoyed a fleet of transports, with five old French regiments, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in all to about 6000 men, under the conduct of lieutenant-general the count de Rochambeau. They were received by major-general Heath; who, for the security of the troops and squadron against any attempts from New-York, put them in possession of the numerous forts and batteries of the island, which, with the industry peculiar to the Americans, they soon put in a strong state of defence.

In the mean time, the American commander, in order to prevent any jealousies or contests from arising between the two nations, issued a requisition in public orders, to the American officers, soliciting, and strongly recommending to them to wear black and white cockades, (the ground of the former, and the relief of the latter colour), as a compliment and symbol of affection to their generous and magnanimous allies.—There were now indeed the greatest hopes that matters would be speedily decided; for, as Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New-York, he was by no means able to cope with the French squadron; but, on the contrary, in expectation of being himself attacked by them. This state of affairs was soon changed by the arrival of Admiral Graves, with six sail of the line, from England; so that the French now, instead of being able to act on the offensive, found themselves blocked up in Rhode-Island. Here, however, the British found the enemy so strong, that an attack by sea was impracticable; and though sir Henry Clinton meditated an attack by land, it did not appear that such a measure was agreeable to the Admiral. Disagreement and dislike appeared to take place between the commanders of the sea and land forces; so that, after much delay and ambiguous correspondence, the troops were relanded. It does not appear, however, that, even supposing the most cheerful co-operation between the fleet and army, the expedition against Rhode-Island could have been attended with success; for, besides the natural advantages of situation which that island possesses, and the strength of its forts and batteries, the New-England provinces were ready to pour in their whole force to the support of the French. So much were they set on displaying their valour before their great allies, that, on the first report of the design, above 10,000 of their militia and six month's men, were suddenly in arms, and marched towards Providence; at the same time that general Washington, with 12,000 chosen troops, marched rapidly towards King's

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XIX.

1780.

French  
fleet block-  
ed up in  
Rhode-  
Island by  
Arbuthnot.

July 13.

CHAP. Bridge, with a design to attack New-York, which, in  
 XIX. the situation it then was, deprived of its best troops,  
 could scarce have been saved: but the failure of that ex-  
 1780. pedition necessarily frustrated both these designs.

Great ex-  
 pectations  
 of the allies  
 disappoint-  
 ed.

In the mean time, the vast superiority which the combined fleets of France and Spain had acquired in the West-Indies, not only gave the greatest hopes of crushing the naval force of Britain in those parts, but of relieving the Americans, and even enabling them to act on the offensive. In consequence of these grand ideas, a number of preparations were made for a winter expedition to Canada, to be conducted by the Marquis de la Fayette. That officer accordingly published a preparatory memorial, addressed to the French Canadians, calling upon them by all the ancient ties of blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural and fervent desire of recovering their own freedom, to be in preparation to assist him on his arrival among them. At the same time, the universal expectation of such grand objects being accomplished, raised the military ardour of the people to such a pitch, that Washington's army was suddenly augmented to more than 20,000 men; the northern provinces were ready to send in their militia; and all orders of men were ready to share, with their French allies, the honour and profit of finally overthrowing the British power by the capture of New-York.—These vast expectations, however, were suddenly disappointed by the departure of the French fleet under M. Guichen. This step was rendered absolutely necessary by the very distressed situation to which they were reduced by sickness, long service in the West-Indies, and the various engagements which they had with the British fleet; at the same time, as it was not by any means proper that their real situation should be known, the French Admiral did not think fit to communicate his design to any person; but, taking the opportunity of convoying a large fleet from the West-Indies, sailed to France, leaving his allies in eager expectation of his return to accomplish their grand design on New-York.

Nothing ever proved more galling to the Americans than this disappointment. Even general Washington, so remarkable for his prudence and equanimity, is said to have lost his temper on this occasion. All the views of France and America, with respect to the campaign, were now finally given up, while the force sent to Rhode-Island was reduced to act on the defensive as a mere garrison, being kept closely blocked up by the Admirals Arbuth-

not and Graves. On the departure of M. Guichen, **CHAP.**  
George Rodney, who had been stationed at St. Lucia, **XIX.**  
failed from thence with a view to save the naval force at  
New-York and Rhode-Island; but though he found his  
care in this respect useless, his removal from that station  
was the means of preserving his fleet from the dreadful  
hurricane which was about to take place in the West-  
Indies.

1780.  
Sir G.  
Rodney ar-  
rives at  
New-  
York.  
Sept. 14.

The particulars of this terrible calamity shall afterwards  
be given; in the mean time, we shall pursue, without in-  
terruption, the history of the American war till its final  
catastrophe.—The continent of America had pretty well  
escaped the ravages of the hurricane, while the univer-  
sal horror, occasioned by its dreadful devastation, suspen-  
ded, for a while, the calamities of war. Admiral Arbuth-  
not still continued to block up the French in Rhode-Is-  
land; while they, on their part, were assiduous in strength-  
ening their fortifications, from an apprehension of be-  
ing attacked by the force of the Admirals Arbuthnot and  
Graves, combined with that of sir George Rodney. No  
attempt, however, was made to profit by the present na-  
val superiority, which gave occasion to much criticism on  
the conduct of the present commanders, as well as of  
those who had gone before them.

During this apparent calm, and a sort of tacit cessation  
of hostility, the revolt of general Arnold had almost pro-  
duced a decisive stroke against the liberties of America.  
That commander, having retired from military service  
on account of the wound he had received, was appoin-  
ted to the government of Philadelphia on the retreat of  
the British army; but in this employment, his conduct  
had been of such a nature, that he fell under the general  
odium of the inhabitants, as well as of the province in  
general, being charged with extortion, oppression, and  
exorbitant and enormous charges on the public, in his  
accounts. Matters had at last proceeded to such a height,  
that commissioners, appointed by congress to inspect  
these accounts, had rejected one half of them; but Mr.  
Arnold, not satisfied with their judgment, appealed from  
them to the congress itself. A committee of congress hav-  
ing been appointed to settle the business, not only con-  
firmed the accounts given by the Commissioners, but re-  
ported, that more had been allowed him than he had any  
right to expect or demand. This determination proved  
highly disagreeable to Mr. Arnold, who thereupon utter-  
ed violent invectives against both congress and commis-  
sioners. However, he was soon obliged to abide by the

Arnold re-  
volts from  
the Ameri-  
can service.

**CHAP.** determination of a court martial, upon the various charges of malversation in office exhibited against him by the executive government of Philadelphia, as well as on some other grounds. His conduct was, in general terms, declared to be highly reprehensible; and he was ordered to be reprimanded by the commander in chief. This sentence proved unsatisfactory to both parties; the accusers representing it as too mild, and Arnold himself making loud complaints of the ingratitude and injustice of his countrymen. His favour with Washington, however, still continued; and soon after his reprimand, he was again taken into actual service, and appointed to a station of considerable rank and trust. In this situation, he determined to revenge himself; in consequence of which, he carried on a negociation with sir Henry Clinton, for the purpose of returning to his allegiance, and delivering up the post, and that part of the army which he commanded, to the British general.

His negociation with the British commanders.

In what manner this negociation was first begun, or how it was carried on, are matters which never were published to the world. The failure of it, however, was attended with the destruction of major Andre, the British adjutant-general, who had been unhappily drawn into a connection with it.—The departure of M. de Guichen, with the French fleet, having overthrown all schemes of carrying on an offensive war for the present season, Washington stationed his army, for the winter, in some strong holds in the Highlands on both sides of the North River, where its situation afforded an opportunity of watching the motions of the British forces, and of repressing the incursions from New-York. In this arrangement of the American forces, the strong and very important post of West-Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a wing, or very considerable division of the army, was entrusted to the care of major-general Arnold.

Washington's absence in Connecticut was deemed a favourable opportunity for putting a final conclusion to this treaty. The Vulture sloop of war, had, for some time, been stationed in the North River, at such a distance from Arnold's post, as, without exciting suspicion, would serve for carrying on any communication. A written correspondence, by other means, had also been carried on between Arnold and Andre, under the feigned names of *Gustavus* and *Anderson*.

The outlines of this project were, that Arnold should make such a disposition of the division under his com-

mand, as would enable the British general completely to surprise their strong posts and batteries, and throw the troops so entirely into his hands, that they must inevitably either throw down their arms, or be cut to pieces on the spot.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
  
1780.

The necessary preparation being made, major Andre was landed on the night of September 21, 1780, from the sloop of war, without the American posts, where he found Arnold waiting for him on the shore. The latter conveyed him into the camp, where he continued with him during the night and the following day; during which time, it unfortunately became necessary to change the British uniform of his regiment, which he had hitherto worn under a furtout coat, for some common dress. From some cause, a proper account of which was never laid before the public, Arnold could not fulfil his promise of conveying him back by the same way he had come, in order to get on board the Vulture. He was, therefore, conducted through a remote part of the camp; where, being furnished with an horse and a passport, he got clear of the different advanced guards, all of which he passed under the assumed name of *Anderson*.

Major  
Andre  
employed.  
Sept. 21

Major Andre had now a journey of considerable length to pursue, alone and unattended. However, as he had got clear of the enemy's camp, the less danger was to be apprehended during the remainder of the journey. But, on the day after his leaving the camp, he was stopped at a place called Tarry-town, by three young volunteers, or militia men, who were not at that time on any particular duty. On producing his passport, they suffered him to proceed; but he had not been gone many yards, when one of them, struck by something particular in the behaviour of the stranger, peremptorily insisted on his being called back and more strictly examined. Major Andre now, apprehensive of being detained, offered the captors a very valuable watch, and a considerable purse of gold, to let him pass; but the three militia men, notwithstanding their low station, withstood, with great fortitude, not only this bribe, but the more fascinating offers of permanent provision, and future promotion in the British army, on conveying and accompanying the major to New-York.

Taken up  
as a spy.

But though the first seizure of his papers subjected this unfortunate gentleman to the summary execution practised on spies, he chose rather to run the risk of this sudden and ignominious death, than to say any thing which might tend to criminate Arnold. The papers, which were found in the major's boot, were all in Arnold's

**CHAP.** hand-writing, and contained exact returns of the state of  
**XIX.** the forces, ordnance, and defences at West-Point, and its  
 dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks  
 1780. on the works, an estimate of the number of men ordinarily on duty to man them, with a copy of some very interesting affairs which had lately been laid before a council of war by the commander in chief.

**Sept. 25.** General Washington returned from Connecticut on the 25th of September, after major Andre had been full 48 hours in custody, without any knowledge of the transaction having yet reached the camp. At Arnold's quarters the general was informed, that he had been out for some hours, and it was supposed that he had gone to West-Point; but, on going thither, he was surprised to find that Arnold had not been there that day; and still more so, when on returning to his quarters, he was discovered to be absent. A packet, however, soon arrived, with an account of the capture of John Anderson, inclosing the papers found upon him; accompanied likewise with a letter from the prisoner himself to the general. He was now informed, that Arnold, previous to his departure in the morning, had received a letter which threw him into visible agitation. Orders were instantly issued to prevent his escape, if possible; but these were now too late, as he had already got down the river, under the protection of a flag, and was safe on board the Vulture sloop of war.

Arnold, while yet in the camp, had been apprised, as has already been mentioned, of the discovery of his treachery; upon which he fled with so much precipitation, that he had taken no precaution to secure or destroy his papers, or even to facilitate the removal of his wife from a place where it was evident she could not remain any longer without danger. He was, therefore, reduced to the necessity of writing a humiliating letter to general Washington, requesting that Mrs. Arnold might be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to him, as she thought proper; and that his clothes, and baggage of little value, might be delivered to him, for which, if required, he would pay their worth in money.—Both these requests were punctually complied with, but no other notice was taken of this or any other letter from Arnold.

The same day, a letter was sent by colonel Robertson, who had likewise been on board the Vulture, and appears to have been concerned in the same enterprise with Andre, reclaiming him on the footing of his having had a flag of truce, passports from Arnold, &c. and next day



he was reclaimed by general Clinton himself on the same grounds.—To these letters, however, the American commander did not return any immediate answer; but having appointed a board of 14 general officers, of whom were the two foreign major-generals, la Fayette and the Baron de Steuben, to inquire into the circumstances of the case, and to determine the degree of punishment he ought to suffer, resolved to wait their decision.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1780.

The trial commenced on the 29th of September, when major Andre, disdaining all subterfuge and evasion, and studying only by the magnanimity which he should now display, to throw such a lustre over his character as might prevent the smallest share of that imputation which he so much dreaded, voluntarily confessed more than he was asked; seeking not to palliate, in the least, any thing that could make against himself, but manifesting the utmost nicety in uttering what might involve others in his calamity. He acknowledged that the boat in which he came on shore carried no flag; that he wore a furtout coat over his regimentals; that he changed his dress in the camp; that Arnold's papers were found concealed in his boot; and that a letter from New-York, signed *John Anderson*, was his own hand writing.

Trial of  
Major An-  
dre, Sept.  
29.

Though the board were exceedingly struck with the candour and magnanimity of the prisoner, it produced no effect on their final resolution. They did not indeed examine a single witness; but founded their report merely on his own confession. In this, after reciting a few of the facts already mentioned, they declared "that major Andre, adjutant general to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it was their opinion, that he ought to suffer death."

General Washington now wrote a short letter to the British commander, in which he informed him, that though major Andre had been taken under such circumstances as would have justified the most summary proceedings against him, he had, however, determined to refer his case to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, whose report, founded on his free and voluntary confession and letters, was inclosed. From these proceedings, it was evident, that major Andre had been employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce; and that gentleman himself had, with the greatest candour, confessed that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came under the sanction of a flag of truce. This produced another let-

**CHAP.** ter from sir Henry Clinton, who, under a presumption  
**XIX.** that the board of general officers could not have been  
 1780. rightly informed of all the circumstances on which their  
 judgment ought to be founded, proposed to send lieutenant  
 general Robinson, the governor of New-York, and  
 two other gentlemen, as well to give his excellency a  
 true state of facts, as to explain and declare to him his  
 own sentiments and resolutions upon the subject. But  
 though general Robinson was readily permitted to con-  
 verse with general Greene upon the subject, though  
 another letter was written by Clinton himself, and two  
 by general Arnold, not the least abatement of the sen-  
 tence could be made. The last request made by the un-  
 fortunate major, concerning the mode of his death, was  
 even refused, though it was thought more consistent  
 with humanity to evade than give a direct answer to his  
 request. He suffered on the 2d of October, 1780, and  
 met his fate with great dignity and composure.

His execu-  
 tion, Oct 2.

Notwithstanding the severity with which this sentence  
 was put in execution, and which might be apologized  
 for by the peculiar circumstances of the times, the sym-  
 pathy which Andre excited in the American army is  
 perhaps unexampled. It is said, that the whole board  
 of general officers shed tears at the time of drawing up  
 and signing the report; and that even Washington's  
 eyes were not dry at hearing the circumstances of his  
 death.

Operations  
 of lord  
 Cornwallis  
 in South  
 Carolina.

Sept. 16.  
 He seques-  
 trates  
 estates.

During these transactions on the side of New-York,  
 lord Cornwallis had been prevented from making any  
 further progress in Carolina for a considerable time after  
 the battle of Camden. As the rebellious disposition of  
 the province was still far from being subdued, his lord-  
 ship, about the middle of September, issued a proclama-  
 tion for sequestrating the estates of those persons within  
 the province, who were either actually in arms, who  
 had abandoned their plantations with a view of joining  
 or supporting the enemy, or who, by an avowal of re-  
 bellious principles, and other criminal acts, should ma-  
 nifest a desperate perseverance in opposing the re-estab-  
 lishment of his majesty's government. For this purpose,  
 he appointed a commissioner to take possession of such  
 estates and property, the annual product of which, ex-  
 cepting the part allotted for the maintenance of the  
 families of the parties, was to be applied to the public  
 service, in contributing towards the expenses of the  
 war.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1780.

Colonel  
Fergusson  
defeated &  
killed.

In the mean time, colonel Fergusson had been detached, with his own body of light infantry, and another of militia which was attached to it, to make incursions on the borders of North-Carolina. No great consequences were expected from this expedition; yet, as he was neither incumbered with baggage nor artillery, and his troops were particularly distinguished by their alertness and activity, it was conceived that they might still further break the spirits of the enemy, and prevent them from collecting together any considerable force in these parts. This commander was, however, tempted, by the hopes of cutting off a colonel Clarke, who, with his party, were returning from an expedition into Georgia, to stay longer in the mountainous parts than was absolutely necessary; and to this he was the more encouraged, that he had no idea there was any force in the country now capable of looking him in the face. The scattered inhabitants of the mountains, however, assembled without noise or warning, under the conduct of five or six of their militia colonels; and forming a body of 1600 horsemen, excellently mounted, eagerly pursued and overtook him on his way to pass the Catawba ford. Having discovered his danger, from which he could not escape, he took the best position the place would admit, and which was by no means disadvantageous. But his men being covered neither with horse nor artillery, and besides dismayed and astonished at finding themselves so unexpectedly surrounded and attacked on every side by this cavalry, were not at all capable of withstanding such an impetuous assault. A total rout ensued; the colonel, with 150 of his men, were killed on the spot; about as many were wounded; and the prisoners, including the wounded, amounted to 800. According to the American accounts, 1500 stand of arms were taken, and Fergusson's force was said to amount to 1400 men.

This defeat proved exceedingly detrimental to the royal cause; and even the loss of the colonel himself was very sensibly felt. He was perhaps the best marksman living; and probably brought the art of rifle-shooting to its utmost perfection. He had invented a gun of that kind, upon a new construction, which was said to have exceeded, in execution and facility, every thing of the kind that had been known. He was even said to have greatly exceeded the American Indians in the adroitness and quickness of firing and loading, and the certainty of hitting the mark, lying upon the back, belly, or every other possible position of the body. It is said, that, at the battle

**CHAP.** of Germantown, General Washington owed his life to  
**XIX.** this gentleman's total ignorance of his person, as he had  
 been sufficiently within reach and view during that action  
 1780. for the purpose.

General  
 Sumpter  
 defeated by  
 Colonel  
 Tarleton.

This misfortune, the first that Lord Cornwallis had yet experienced, was soon apparently recompensed by a severe blow given to general Sumpter by colonel Tarleton. The former having raised 1000 men, advanced towards the post called Ninety-Six, with a view of attacking either it, or some others in its neighbourhood. Confiding, as he had formerly done, in the distance of his enemy, he had almost been surprised on the south banks of the river Enorree; and though, by a lucky information, he was enabled to pass the river before the enemy came up, he could not prevent his rear-guard from being cut in pieces. He continued his flight to the river Tyger, but was pursued with the utmost rapidity by Tarleton, with the cavalry of his legion, and the 63d. regiment mounted on horseback; the infantry of the legion, with a three pounder, being all the artillery he had, were left several miles behind.—Sumpter, unwilling to pass the river in sight of an enemy already flushed with success, perceiving that Tarleton had left his infantry behind, and confiding also in his superior numbers, attacked the British forces, but was obliged to pass the river in the utmost disorder, after having lost 120 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Three American colonels were killed, and Sumpter himself dangerously wounded. Of the British troops, above 50 were killed or wounded; and among the former were some gallant and promising young officers. Tarleton pursued the blow with the same rapidity which usually distinguished his operations; nor did he leave the pursuit until this body was totally dispersed.

Address of  
 general Arnold to his  
 countrymen.

In the mean time, General Arnold, having failed in his grand project, finding himself utterly reprobated and proscribed by his countrymen as a traitor, and, instead of performing any meritorious service to the cause in which he was embarked, having occasioned the death of a brave and much esteemed officer, determined if possible to efface these stains by some signal exploit. Having been made a brigadier-general in the royal army, he began with issuing an address directed to the inhabitants of America; in which he took a review of his former conduct, assigned his motives for it, and justified those by which he was then influenced.

This proclamation was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army

who had the real interest of their country at heart, and were determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress or of France. In this he rejoiced in the opportunity he now had of inviting those whom he addressed to join his Majesty's arms. He was authorised to raise a corps of infantry and cavalry, who, with respect to pay, clothing, and subsistence were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. The private men were to receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment at the full value for horses, arms, and accoutrements; and as he had the appointment of officers, he should, with the greatest satisfaction, embrace the opportunity of advancing men to whose valour he had been witness. Great as these encouragements, he said, must appear, to such as had suffered every distress of want of pay, hunger and nakedness, from the neglect, contempt, and corruption of Congress, they were nothing to the motives which, he expected, would influence their brave and generous minds. He wished to lead a chosen band of Americans to the attainment of peace, liberty, and safety; and to share with them in the glory of rescuing their native country from the grasping hand of France, as well as from the ambitious and interested views of a desperate party among themselves, who had already brought the colonies to the very brink of destruction.

CHAP  
XIX.

1780.

These proclamations were at present seconded by the most powerful arguments that could influence the minds of any people; we mean the distresses in which the country was really involved. The depreciation of the American paper currency was now arrived at its utmost height. Some of the earlier emissions had fallen below the real value in the proportion of one hundred to one; and even the latter emissions, which were most valued, had fallen at the rate of forty to one; at the same time that the circumstances of the war had raised the price of foreign commodities and every necessary of life to the most enormous pitch. This was exceedingly ruinous to the American officers, more than even to the soldiers; for though the latter were ill clad, they had in general been well supplied with provisions; while the officers had, for the most part, been obliged to mortgage their small estates almost to the full value, in order to defray the enormous expenses of the service. These grievances had been long and repeatedly complained of, both to the Congress, and the general assemblies of their respective states, without receiving any redress, so that a great number of officers were on the point of throwing up their commissions.

Distresses of  
the Americans.

**CHAP.** Notwithstanding all this discontent, however, and  
**XIX.** the real grievances that occasioned it, the proclamations  
 issued by general Arnold, and the vast offers held out to  
 them, produced not the least effect in the American  
 army. The high reputation which that general had ac-  
 quired was so totally sunk in the detestation of his trea-  
 chery, that, far from being able to bring over any confi-  
 derable body, it never could gain a single officer, nor  
 even, as far as appeared at the time, a single soldier to the  
 cause of Britain.

**Infatuation** On the part of this country, however, it was a mis-  
**of Britain.** fortune that every instance of success was considered as  
 decisive and final. The frenzy of making rejoicings and  
 illuminations for our supposed victories was carried to  
 such an extreme, as to become altogether ridiculous;\*  
 and it does not appear that even the commanders in  
 America were free from the general deception. The  
 victory at Camden was looked upon to be so decisive  
 with regard to the southern colonies, that no farther ob-  
 struction was thought to lie in the way of lord Corn-  
 wallis from South Carolina to the Chesapeake; and  
 under this mistaken notion, that the resistance in these  
 parts was absolutely at an end, the commander in chief  
 at New-York dispatched general Leslie with 3000 men  
 to the Chesapeake, in order to co-operate with his lord-  
 ship, and to prevent any succours from passing to the  
 assistance of the southern colonies; but at all events he  
 was to act entirely according to the orders he received  
 from Cornwallis. His lordship, however, being at too  
 great a distance either to profit by a diversion, or to form  
 a junction with Leslie, orders were instantly sent to that  
 commander to proceed for Charlestown. Here he ar-  
 rived in the month of December, and Leslie, with one-  
 half of his troops, was ordered to join the army, while  
 the other was stationed in Charlestown for the security  
 of the place, and in order to preserve communications.

General  
 Leslie's ex-  
 pedition  
 to Charle-  
 town.

\* It is to be questioned whether so many illuminations were occa-  
 sioned by the splendid victories of the war of 1755, as by those in-  
 decisive instances of British valour during the war with America. In  
 the metropolis of Scotland, illumination-candlesticks were advertised,  
 as if we had been forever sure of an uninterrupted course of victory.

## CHAPTER XX.

*General Greene appointed in place of Gates—Tarleton defeated by Morgan—Cornwallis pursues Morgan—Destroys his baggage—Defeats Davidson—Takes Wilmington—Defeats Greene at Guilford—Colonel Webster killed—Exploits of Philips and Arnold in Virginia—Discontents of the Americans—Lord Rawdon defeats Greene—Abandons Camden—Retires to Nelson's Ferry—Relieves Fort Ninety-Six—Cornwallis's operations in Virginia—Attacked by Fayette and Wayne—Fortifies York-Town and Gloucester—Plan laid for his capture—Sir Samuel Hood arrives off Chesapeak—Arnold's expedition into Connecticut—Engagement between de Grasse and admiral Greaves—Cornwallis besieged at York-Town and Gloucester—Capitulates.*

**T**OWARDS the close of the year, while Cornwallis was making preparations for a powerful invasion of North-Carolina, general Greene was sent by Washington to take the command of the southern army instead of Gates, who had been set aside after his misfortune at Camden, though without any mark of dishonour, but rather of applause. The new commander brought no troops along with him, but was obliged to depend entirely on the resources he should find in the southern colonies. He was looked upon to be the best officer in the

CHAP.  
XX.  
1780.  
General  
Greene  
succeeds  
Gates.

**CHAP. XX.** American service next to Washington himself, with whom he was in high favour; and he was accompanied by colonel Morgan, a brave and distinguished partizan, who, like Ferguson in the royal army, excelled in the knowledge of rifle-arms. He had commanded those rifle-men who opposed Burgoyne in the northern war, and who so much excelled the Indians in their own way, that, to use the expression of that general, "they could not be brought within the sound of a rifle-shot."

1781.

Tarleton  
defeated by  
Morgan,  
Jan. 18.

The new commander lost no time in assembling his force, which had its rendezvous in Meclenburg county, North-Carolina. Being as yet in no condition to encounter the royal army, which was advancing towards the borders between the Broad and Catawba rivers, he attempted to impede their progress by making an attack on the important post of Ninety-Six; while, to favour and support the diversion, Morgan advanced with 500 regular troops, mostly belonging to Virginia, and some hundreds of militia, with a detachment of 100 cavalry under colonel Washington, upon the river Paulet. Here he was encountered by colonel Tarleton, who, with his legion, of about 300 cavalry and as many infantry, the first battalion of the 71st regiment, and one three pounder, the 7th regiment, and another three pounder, was ordered to strike a blow, if possible, at Morgan; or, at all events, to oblige him to pass the Broad river, and thus prevent all future embarrassment on that side. Morgan boldly stood on his defence, and drew up his troops with great judgment. Seven hundred militia, on whom he placed no great dependence, were exposed to open view in the first line on the edge of a wood; but the second line, composed of the continental and Virginia troops, were out of sight in the wood itself, where they were drawn up in excellent order, and prepared for all events.

The British troops began the attack with their usual impetuosity; and the American militia, by no means able to resist such an assault, were routed and scattered in every direction. The victors pursued them into the wood with great eagerness; but the second line of the Americans having opened to the right and left, to afford a passage to the fugitives, as well as to inclose their pursuers, as soon as they perceived the latter were far enough advanced, poured in a close and deadly fire on both sides. The ground was in an instant covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded, and a total rout ensued. Tarleton, however, in the midst of this dis-



after, retained his usual spirit, and having rallied apart of his routed cavalry, unexpectedly charged and defeated Washington's horse, and retook his baggage, after destroying the slender guard in whose custody it was. In this unfortunate action, the loss of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was not under 400 men. The colours of the 7th regiment were also lost, with the two three-pounders; and all the artillery-men were killed.

CHAP.  
XX.

1781.

Such an unexpected stroke could not but be very mortifying to lord Cornwallis, as well as detrimental to the operations of the subsequent campaign. The British commander, however, persevered with great resolution in his plan of penetrating into North-Carolina. His great objects were, by rapid marches, to get between general Greene and Virginia, to cut off his reinforcements from that country, and either to reduce him to a necessity of fighting with the force he then had, or to abandon North-Carolina altogether.

Lord Cornwallis's activity.

The first attempt made by his lordship after the defeat of Tarleton, was to intercept Morgan, or at least to recover the prisoners; for which purpose he dispatched a part of the army, unincumbered with any baggage; but such were the difficulties, owing to rains, &c. that Morgan had gained the upper fords on the Catawba before they could reach him.

Pursues Morgan without success.

The army was then assembled, on the 25th of January, 1781, at a place called Ramfoure's Mills, on the south fork of the Catawba. The loss of the light troops was now severely felt; and as it could only be remedied by the general activity of the whole army, two days were spent in the destruction of all the superfluous baggage, as well as every thing that could possibly retard the celerity of the troops, and which was not absolutely necessary to their action or existence. To this, as well as a great many other trials, the troops submitted with the most exemplary patience. They beheld the destruction of their most valuable, and even great part of their necessary baggage, without repining: they saw their spirituous liquors staved at a season when they would be most wanted, and when no prospect of a future supply remained. These hardships, however, seemed the less grievous, as the example was set by the commander in chief with the utmost rigour; so that his quarters were incapable of affording either a glass of wine, or any strong liquor whatever; and his table was as destitute of any kind of furniture as the common soldiers.

Jan. 25.

Destroys his baggage.

CHAP. XX. Having thus cleared himself of every incumbrance, lord Cornwallis set forward in quest of the enemy. The north fork of the Catawba had been for several days rendered impassable by the rains, and all the fords for more than forty miles above the fork were vigilantly guarded by the enemy, composed not only of Morgan's corps, but the militia of the counties of Rowen and Mecklenburg, under the command of a general Davidson. Having spared no pains, however, to procure proper information, his lordship dispatched colonel Webster, with a part of the army, and all the remaining baggage, to a ford called Beattie's, where general Davidson was posted with about 500 men.

Defeats  
general  
Davidson,  
who is kil-  
led.

The British troops were not in the least disordered by being exposed during their passage over the river, to the cool and deliberate aim of the enemy. Being arrived at the opposite bank, they quickly routed and dispersed those who opposed them with considerable loss. General Davidson himself, who had unexpectedly arrived at this ford the preceding evening, with about 300 militia, was killed, with several other officers; while the loss on the British side, except that of colonel Hall of the guards, was exceedingly trifling. On this disaster, the enemy abandoned Beattie's ford; but the continual fall of rain, and the swelling of the river, had rendered the passage both difficult and tedious to colonel Webster. It was accomplished, however, towards the evening; and he was enabled to join the commander in chief some time after dark, at about six miles distance from the ford.

Intelligence being now received that Morgan was on his march at no great distance, he was eagerly pursued by the whole army; nor was the commander without hopes of being able to overtake and retaliate upon him for Tarleton's defeat, while he was entangled among the rivers with which that country abounds. This, however, was prevented by the difficulties of bad roads, bad weather, and swelled creeks; and his lordship being obliged to make some short stay at Salisbury, in order to procure provisions, he there received intelligence that Morgan had quitted the banks of the Yadkin, and that Greene was marching with the utmost expedition to join him at Guildford.

The opposite armies now vied with each other in dispatch, but at last the British succeeded, and cut off Greene from the upper fords. As his lordship was assured that the lower fords were now impracticable, and that the country could not afford any number of boats sufficient for the passage of Greene's army, he thought

he could not now escape without a decisive blow, and accordingly pursued him with the utmost expedition. This was, however, impeded by great and numerous difficulties. Intelligence was not only very difficult to be obtained, but seems to have been intently false. The want of light troops was again very severely felt; and the enemy, by having a great number of them, were enabled to break down all the bridges in the line of march, and to throw many other impediments in their way. At last, when they arrived at Boyd's Ferry, on the 15th of Feb. they discovered, to their great mortification, that all their labour had been in vain; the enemy, notwithstanding the assurances they had received to the contrary, had been furnished with boats sufficient for the purpose of conveying their whole army and baggage over the river.

By reason of the difficulties and hardships which had attended lord Cornwallis's army in this march, they were now in no condition to think of invading the powerful province of Virginia. His lordship, therefore, after giving his wearied forces one day's rest, led them, by easy marches, to Hillsborough, where he set up the royal standard. This soon produced the usual effect of raising a number of people in arms; but the same bad success with which they had been originally attended, still waited upon them.—These unfortunate royalists, who had notice of Tarleton's approach, mistook the enemy for his detachment, and thus suffered themselves to be surrounded without the least effort to extricate themselves; and most of them were said to have been inhumanly murdered, not only without resistance, but while they were crying out for quarter.

During these transactions, colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charlestown, equipped a small force for an expedition to Cape Fear River, not only to co-operate with lord Cornwallis, by a diversion on that side, and gaining possession of Wilmington, but to establish by that way a conveyance for furnishing the army with those necessary supplies, which, in the present state of the war, could scarcely be done by any other method. Major Craig, with about 300 men, was dispatched on this service towards the end of January; and the men were conveyed and supported by captain Barclay, who had under his command a frigate and two sloops of war. In order to supply the weakness of the land force, captain Barclay landed all the marines about nine miles from Wilmington. The town's people proposed terms, which

CHAP.  
XX.

1781.

A party of  
loyal Ame-  
ricans cut  
off.

January.

CH A P. were not listened to; and the town being abandoned by  
 XX. its defensive force, consisting of about 150 men, was  
 taken without resistance. The batteries being closed in,  
 and the works repaired or completed, Wilmington was  
 made a post of some strength, and continued to be of im-  
 portance while lord Cornwallis remained in that coun-  
 try.

1781.  
 Lord Corn-  
 wallis takes  
 Wilming-  
 ton.

In the mean time the British commander, having re-  
 ceived intelligence that Greene, being reinforced in Vir-  
 ginia, had repassed the Dan, thought proper to recal co-  
 lonel Tarleton; and forage and provisions growing scarce  
 in the neighbourhood of Hillsborough, as well as for  
 other reasons, made a movement to the Haw River,  
 which he passed, and advanced towards the Allemance  
 Creek; having pushed Tarleton a few miles towards the  
 Deep River, with the cavalry, the light company of the  
 guards, and 150 of Webster's brigade. Greene's light  
 troops soon made their appearance; upon which orders  
 were sent to Tarleton to move forward, and, with pro-  
 per precaution, to make what discovery he could of the  
 motions and designs of the enemy.

March 2.

This officer had not advanced far when he fell in with  
 a considerable corps of the enemy, whom he instantly  
 attacked and routed; but being ignorant of their force,  
 and how they were supported, he did not think it pru-  
 dent to pursue them. From the prisoners, however,  
 he learned, that the body he had engaged consisted of  
 Lee's legion, 300 or 400 Back Mountain men, and some  
 militia, under a colonel Preston.

March 13.

The distresses of the army being now become almost  
 insupportable, lord Cornwallis was determined at all  
 events to fight the enemy, if their army approached;  
 being well convinced that nothing but a decided superio-  
 rity in arms could answer the purpose of their exceeding-  
 ly arduous and toilsome winter campaign, which was to  
 draw forth into action the supposed numerous loyalists  
 who inhabited that province. In consequence of this  
 plan, the army encamped on the 13th of March at the  
 Quaker meeting-house, within the forks of the Deep  
 River.—The following day his lordship received intelli-  
 gence that general Butler with a body of North-Carolina  
 militia, together with the expected reinforcements from  
 Virginia, had all joined the American commander,  
 whose force was now represented to be no less than 9 or  
 10,000 men; at the same time, that he was in full march  
 to attack the British army; and the same evening he

was informed, that Greene had advanced to Guildford, about twelve miles from the British camp. CHAP. XX.

Cornwallis being now fully persuaded that the enemy intended to venture an engagement, thought it necessary to send the waggons and baggage under a stronger escort than he could well spare to Bell's Mills, a place considerably lower down on the Deep River, in the heart of the well-affected country.—Next morning, March 15th, at day-break, he marched with the remainder of the army, either to meet the enemy by the way, or to attack them in their camp. About four miles from Guildford the advanced guard, under colonel Tarleton, fell in with Lee's legion, and the other light troops, whom they had formerly engaged and defeated. Their success was not less on this occasion, the latter being routed at the first onset; after which the main body of the enemy was discovered drawn up in order of battle, on a rising ground, about a mile and an half from Guildford court-house.


1781.  
Battle of  
Guildford,  
in which  
Greene is  
defeated  
by Corn-  
wallis.  
March 15.

The country in general was a wilderness, covered with tall woods, and these rendered intricate by shrubs and thick underwood, but interspersed here and there by a few plantations and cleared fields.—It is probable that the whole force of the American army at this time was little short of 6000 men; nor is it likely that the army under Cornwallis was more than one-third of the number.—The American general had drawn up his army in three lines. The front line, which was only visible to the British army, was composed of the two brigades of North-Carolina militia, under their own generals, Butler and Eaton. The second, drawn up in the wood, consisted of two brigades of Virginia militia, commanded by the generals Stephens and Lawton. But the hope and main strength of the army was placed in the third line, which consisted of two brigades of Virginia and Maryland continental or regular forces, under the command of General Huger and colonel Williams. Colonel Washington, with his dragoons, a detachment of continental light infantry, and Lynch's regiment of riflemen, formed a separate body to cover the right flank; while colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and Campbell's rifle-men, were appointed to cover the left.

The British commander disposed his troops in the following manner:—On the right were the Hessian regiment of Bose, with the 17th British regiment, led on by general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards. On the left were the 23d and 33d regiments,

CH AP. led on by colonel Webster, supported by the grenadiers

XX. and second battalion of guards, under the conduct of brig-

1781.  gadier-general O'Hara. The German Yagers, with the light infantry of the guards, remained in the wood on the left of the guns; and the cavalry, under colonel Tarleton, were drawn up in the road, in order to be in readiness to act as circumstances might require.

The action began about half an hour after one in the afternoon, and, owing in a great measure to the embarrassed situation of the ground, was one of the most obstinate and much diversified which perhaps ever happened in any age or country; for while the British carried all before them in one part of the wood, they were surprised or overpowered by numbers in another. At last, after various bloody conflicts, in which the greatest bravery and good conduct were displayed, the victory clearly belonged to the British. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the officers and troops engaged in the action, particularly on the noble commander himself, who notwithstanding an exceeding bad state of health, seemed to be every where present. Two horses were shot under him. This victory, however, was attended with all the bad consequences of a defeat. The loss, indeed, comparatively speaking, was very moderate; but with regard to the absolute number of the army, its ability to bear the loss, or the intrinsic value of the troops, was great indeed. In whole it exceeded 500 men. It is certain, that by this action the army was deprived of a full fourth part of its number, and those by no means the least valuable. Colonel Stuart of the guards, with the captains Schutz, Mynard, and Goodricke, besides subalterns, were killed. Colonel Webster, a brave and experienced officer, who commanded the brigade on the left, died of his wounds, to the no small regret of the general \*, as well as of the whole army. Among the wounded were, also, the brigadier-generals

\* This gentleman was son to the late Rev. Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to whom the British commander sent the following letter of consolation on his death.

*Wilmington, April 23, 1781.*

" DEAR SIR,

" It gives me great concern to undertake a task which is not only a bitter renewal of my own grief, but must be a violent shock to an affectionate parent.

" You have for your support the assistance of religion, good sense, and an experience of the uncertainty of all human happiness. You have for your satisfaction that your son fell nobly in the cause of his country, honoured and lamented by all his fellow-soldiers; that he led a life of honour and virtue, which must secure him everlasting

O'Hara and Howard, as well as colonel Tarleton, and several other officers. CHAP: XX.

The Americans having given no fair statement of loss, no proper estimate of it could be made by the British, as the action happened in the woods; but it must have been very considerable. It was also well known, that the houses for many miles round were filled with their wounded. 1781.

After the defeat at Guildford, the American commander, according to his own account, retreated three or four miles from the scene of action; but, by lord Cornwallis's account, he did not stop till he arrived at the iron-works on Troublesome Creek, eighteen miles from the field of battle. However this might be, it is certain, that the royal army were in no condition to pursue their victory. So distressed indeed was lord Cornwallis at present, that for two days the British troops continued at Guildford after the battle, they were entirely destitute of bread. On his removal to Bell's Mill, he was obliged to leave 70 of the worst of his wounded men in the power of the enemy. Distress of lord Cornwallis. March 18.


At this place he continued two days, in order to refresh the troops, and procure a scanty supply of provisions; but the necessities of the army in general, with the distressed situation of the sick and wounded, rendered it now absolutely necessary to retreat to Wilmington; thus abandoning the country in a great measure to the mercy of the enemy. Having arrived there on the 7th of April, April 7. the army began to enjoy a short repose only to fit them for further misfortunes and fatigues.

During these transactions in the Carolinas, general Arnold had been dispatched by sir Henry Clinton to make a diversion in Virginia. His force on this occasion consisted of the Edinburgh regiment, commanded by lieutenant colonel Dundas, estimated at 600 men; of a mixed American corps, composed of horse and foot, about the same number, under lieutenant colonel Simcoe, called the queen's rangers; of colonel Robinson's provincials; and a small corps of 200 men, which Arnold himself had been able to raise at New-York; the whole force amounting to near 1700 men. The expedition was supported by a naval force sufficient to enable this general to do infinite mischief on the rivers, and along the coasts of Virginia. Exploits of Arnold in Virginia.

happiness. When the keen sensibility of the passions begins a little to subside, these considerations will give you real comfort.

"That the Almighty may give you fortitude to bear this severest of trials, is the earnest wish of your companion in affliction, and most faithful servant,

CORNWALLIS.

**CHAP.** The Americans all this while were torn by internal  
**XX.** dissentions and discontents. These, in a great measure,  
 proceeded from the slowness of several of the states in  
 1781. furnishing their respective quotas, whether of men, mo-  
 Discontents ney, provisions, or clothing, for the supply of the army.  
 of the Ame- This was the more intolerable, on account of the little  
 ricans. hope there was of redress, as the nature of their go-  
 vernment did not as yet admit of a sufficient degree of  
 coercive power.

These grievances had at last become so intolerable,  
 Pennsylvania Line in that, on the first day of January, 1781, the Pennsylvan-  
 the American service ia line, who were huddled at Morris-town, in the Jer-  
 revolts, sies, quitted their camp, to the number of 1300 men,  
 January 1. declaring that they would serve no longer, unless their  
 grievances were redressed.

In this situation of things, sir Henry Clinton, natural-  
 Refuse to ly concluding that he might turn this revolt to the service  
 negotiate with the of the cause in which he was engaged, sent three agents,  
 British natives of America, to make proposals to them.—The  
 Commander, invincible aversion of the Americans to Britain, however,  
 and deliver up the never appeared more evident than in this transaction.  
 agents sent Every proposal from sir Henry Clinton was rejected. But  
 for that a committee of congress, of whom general Sullivan and  
 purpose. Dr. Witherspoon were members, being at last sent to treat  
 with them, matters were soon finally adjusted; the af-  
 fairs relating to pay, clothing, and arrears, were settled;  
 those who had served out their time were discharged;  
 and the unfortunate emissaries from New-York were de-  
 livered up and hanged.—A similar meeting of the New-  
 Jersey line was soon after accommodated in much the  
 same way.

Mean time, general Arnold having committed such ra-  
 Virginia vages in Virginia, as threatened the destruction of the  
 terribly ra- very sources of war, and the annihilation of every hope  
 vaged by of independency. General Washington, notwithstanding  
 Arnold. his weakness at present, was obliged to detach 2000  
 men, under the conduct of the marquis de la Fayette,  
 The Mar- to its relief; and the French at Rhode-Island now  
 quis de la thought an opportunity offered of atoning for their past  
 Fayette inactivity, by cutting off Arnold's retreat from the Che-  
 comes to its sapeake. They were further encouraged to make this  
 relief. attempt, by having lately acquired some addition to their  
 own naval force, and the British fleet having suffered  
 much by a dreadful tempest, in which the Culloden, a  
 fine new ship of 74 guns, was totally lost; the Bedford,  
 another of the same force, was dismasted; and the Ame-  
 rica, separated from her companions, and driven so far



out to sea, that she was, for some time, supposed to be **CHAP.**  
lost. **XX.**

The scheme, however, seems now to have failed, through the delay of putting it in execution. Instead of instantly blocking up the Chesapeak while it was in their power, the French only sent thither a ship of the line, with some frigates, with a view to surprise the small marine force of Britain lying there at that time, as well as to obtain certain intelligence of the state of the country; so that, though they had the good fortune to surprise the *Romulus*, a 44 gun ship, the British Admirals, Arbuthnot and Graves, had time to repair their damages. Accordingly, count Rochambeau having afterwards embarked with the land forces, and sailed from Rhode-Island, on the 8th of March, in the fleet commanded by M. de Ternay, they were intercepted in their passage to Chesapeak, and obliged to stand an engagement. This, however, the French managed so prudently, that they not only came off without much loss, but so disabled three of the British fleet, by destroying their rigging, that no pursuit could be made; nor was it, during any part of the time, in the power of the British Admirals to force them to a closer action. The essential consequences of a victory, however, were obtained; the enemy were cut off from the Chesapeak, and obliged to return without landing their troops, or affecting any one of the purposes of their expedition.

A few days after this engagement, a convoy arrived from New-York, having on board general Philips, with 2000 chosen troops. This officer, with his companions who were taken at Saratoga, had been, after long confinement, at last released by a new cartel concluded some months before, and he was now appointed commander in chief of the Virginia forces.

Generals Philips and Arnold, having joined their forces, carried every thing before them in Virginia. The best troops belonging to that colony, indeed, had gone to the southward, so that only the militia remained to defend their own country, and these were defeated in every encounter. The long navigation of James's river, and its numerous dependent branches and creeks, laid the country open to them, in every direction, for a very great extent, and the mischief they did was in proportion. At Petersburg, on the southern branch of this river, called Appomatax, 4000 hogheads of tobacco were destroyed. The damage done by the destruction of shipping, and vessels of every sort, as well as of barracks, warehouses,

1781.  
Scheme for  
the capture  
of Arnold  
fails.

March 16.

March 26.

Great ravages in  
Virginia  
by Arnold  
and Philips.

CH A P. and stores of every kind, was almost incredible.—About  
 XX. four miles above a place called Osborne's, on the same  
 branch, a state ship of 20 guns; another of 26 guns; a  
 1781. state brigantine of 14 guns, besides many other armed  
 vessels, were destroyed. Two ships, and ten smaller ves-  
 sels, loaded with 2000 hogshheads of tobacco, cordage,  
 and flour, fell into Arnold's hands.—At Manchester,  
 which lies up the Fork, on the north branch of the river,  
 at least 150 miles from its mouth, they destroyed 1200  
 hogshheads of tobacco; the marquis de la Fayette, with  
 his army, who had arrived at Richmond, on the opposite  
 side, being spectators of the conflagration, without at-  
 tempting to put a stop to it. A magazine of flour, with  
 a large range of rope-walks, were destroyed at Warwick,  
 together with the ships on the stocks and in the river.  
 Along with these, a number of warehouses filled with to-  
 bacco and other commodities, tan-houses full of hides  
 and bark, together with several fine mills, were all con-  
 sumed in one general conflagration. After which, the  
 troops having reembarked on board their ships, fell down  
 towards the mouth of the river.

We must now return to take a view of the operations  
 in the Carolinas, after the battle of Guildford, and the  
 retreat of lord Cornwallis to Wilmington.

Operations  
 in the Ca-  
 rolinas.

April 19.

This unfortunate retreat left South-Carolina exposed to  
 the attempts of the enemy, who did not neglect to make a  
 good use of the opportunity. The communication betwixt  
 the two provinces had been so totally cut off, that lord  
 Rawdon, who had been left at Camden with a consider-  
 able body of troops, had obtained no intelligence of Corn-  
 wallis's motions after the battle of Guildford. It was not  
 without great surprise, therefore, that he received the  
 news of general Greene, whom he believed to be ruined,  
 or at least fled to Virginia, being in full march to South-  
 Carolina, with a force greatly superior, in order to at-  
 tack him. He was also informed, that colonel Lee had ef-  
 fected a junction with Marion, and was about to enter  
 the province on the eastern quarter. At this time his  
 lordship was so much distressed for want of provisions,  
 that he found himself obliged, merely on that account,  
 to refuse the assistance of a body of loyalists, who had  
 come from a considerable distance to offer their services.  
 In these circumstances, he received intelligence from co-  
 lonel Balfour, governor of Charlestown, of the situation  
 of lord Cornwallis, with directions to abandon Camden  
 without loss of time. This, however, though apparently  
 very necessary, was not now in his power.

CHAP.  
XX.

1781.  
General  
Greene de-  
feated by  
lord Raw-  
don.

In such an unfavourable state of things, some bold or decisive stroke appeared the only method of preventing much greater evils than any which had yet befallen him; and luckily, the injudicious conduct of Greene, at this critical juncture, afforded a better opportunity than could have been expected. With a view of making a general assault on the British posts, that officer had sent off his artillery and baggage a day's march in the rear of his army; but soon after he abandoned that resolution, and detached all his militia to bring them back.—Lord Rawdon instantly perceived the advantage offered, and determined to seize it. For this purpose, he armed the musicians, drummers, and every person in the army capable of carrying a firelock, by which means he mustered a force of about 900 men, including 60 dragoons, with whom, and two six pounders, he boldly marched, April 25, to attack the enemy in their camp about ten o'clock in the morning, committing the care of the redoubts, and every thing about Camden, to the militia and a few sick soldiers.—His success was answerable to the boldness and judgment with which the enterprize was conducted. The enemy were so much off their guard, that they had no intelligence of the army's approach, until they found themselves suddenly attacked in flank by the Irish volunteers. Early in the action the Americans were encouraged by the arrival of three six-pounders, which was soon announced to their enemies by showers of grape-shot. The attack on that side was conducted with great spirit by colonel Campbell at the head of the 63d, and the king's American regiment; but the extent of the enemy's line soon obliged the commander in chief to bring forward the Irish volunteers from the reserve. These three corps pushed the enemy with such resolution, that they drove them to the summit of a hill called Hobkirks, on which they had posted themselves; and having made room for the rest of the troops to come into action, their rout quickly became total.

April 25.

This victory, though in itself not inferior to any that had yet been gained by the British in that country, as the enemy were computed to have lost no fewer than 500 men, was yet attended with the same ill consequences which had followed the action at Guildford. The killed, wounded, and missing, were computed at 258, a loss by far too great to be borne in the present situation of affairs. Greene retired behind the farther part of a creek about 14 miles from Camden, where he took post in order to collect his scattered forces. The consequences, in other res-

Ill conse-  
quences of  
the battle.

**CHAP.** pects, was the revolt of the whole interior country at the  
**XX.** back of the British army, so that the situation of lord  
 1781. Rawdon, instead of being any way relieved by his victory, became so much embarrassed, that his difficulties seemed now to be absolutely insurmountable. He, therefore, determined to wait in his post at Camden for the reinforcements he had so long expected, and which, at length, under the conduct of colonel Watson, joined him on the seventh of May.

May 7.

Most of the  
 southern  
 colonies re-  
 covered by  
 general  
 Greene.

On the day that colonel Watson arrived, intelligence was received, that the enemy had invested and opened batteries against the post of Motte's house, in the rear, situated near the junction of the Congaree with the Santee. The relief of this post, as well as other causes, determined lord Rawdon to make a retreat to Nelson's ferry, upon the Santee, which was 60 miles from Camden, and not much lower than the post which had been invested.

May 9.  
 Lord Raw-  
 don aban-  
 dons Cam-  
 den.

The day following, the army were made acquainted with the design of abandoning Camden. Such of the militia as chose to accompany him were offered all possible assistance. The night was spent in destroying the works, and in sending off the baggage under a strong escort.

Retires to  
 Nelson's  
 Ferry.  
 May 13.

The army passed the Santee on the 13th, when his lordship received the unwelcome intelligence, that the post at Motte's house had fallen into the hands of the enemy, after a gallant defence. This was a heavy stroke, as here they had made a deposit of all the provisions intended for Camden. But this was not the only misfortune; for, though intelligence was not yet received of it, another post named Orangeburg was at this time likewise in their hands, and fort Granby soon after.

The British commander was met at Nelson's ferry by colonel Balfour, commandant of Charlestown, by whom he was now informed, that the revolt of the province was almost universal; that, from the little reason there had been to apprehend such a serious and alarming turn of affairs, the old works in Charlestown had been in part levelled to make way for new ones which were not yet constructed; that he had full conviction of the disaffection in general of the inhabitants; and that, under these circumstances, his garrison was inadequate to its defence against any force of consequence that might make an attempt upon it.

His lordship, however, being just now joined by major M<sup>r</sup>Arthur, with about 300 foot and 80 dragoons, he conceived he might endeavour to check the operations of the enemy on the Congaree.—From a number of vague,

and, in many respects, contradictory reports, it was concluded with some certainty, that Greene had passed that river, and was marching down the road from Orangeburg with a considerable army; by which intelligence the British commander found himself not only obliged to relinquish his design of advancing to the Congaree, but to fall back a considerable way for the protection of Charlestown, and the rich country which intervened.—By this unfortunate retreat, the post of Ninety-Six was now exposed to the assaults of general Greene, who besieged it in form. The garrison, however, consisting of about 400 regular troops, made a gallant defence, from the 22d of May to the 3d of June, when the fortunate arrival of three regiments from Ireland, under the conduct of colonel Gould, to the assistance of lord Rawdon, once more turned the scale of fortune in favour of the British.

CHAP. XX.

1781.

Ninety-Six besieged by general Greene, June 30

As his lordship's force was now augmented to 1700 foot and 150 horse, he lost no time in setting out for the relief of Ninety-Six. On his way, he was joined by colonel Doyle, with some troops he had left at Monk's Corner, when he retreated from Camden. His lordship deviated from the ordinary road so much, that an opportunity was given colonel Middleton of harrassing his army on its march, and particularly of obstructing the parties which were necessarily engaged in collecting cattle for the support of the army. After giving some trouble of this nature, however, Middleton being decoyed into a well-concerted ambush, was so totally routed, that he never afterwards ventured to appear. On the 21st of June, his lordship arrived at Ninety-Six, where, having received intelligence that general Greene had halted in a strong position behind Bush river, at about 16 miles distance, he determined to make an attempt to surprize or attack him in his camp, especially as he knew that his antagonist was still incumbered with some baggage and waggons. He therefore crossed the Saluda on the following night, leaving behind him, at Ninety-Six, every kind of baggage, even the men's packs. Greene, however, was now so well acquainted with the character of his enemy, and so well guarded against a surprize, that the British troops had scarcely passed the Saluda, when he moved with the utmost expedition from Bush river. Lord Rawdon pursued him rapidly, and arrived at the fords of Ennoree, 40 miles from Ninety-Six, only two hours after Greene's army had passed them. The troops, however, were so spent with fatigue, and overcome by

Is relieved by lord Rawdon, June 21.

CHAP. the heat of the weather, that nothing more could be  
 XX. done; though Greene was so apprehensive of his ene-  
 mies, that he continued his flight without ceasing, till  
 1781. he had passed both the Tyger and Broad rivers.

Notwithstanding this apparent success, the British  
 commander found it necessary to abandon the post of  
 Ninety-Six.—Accordingly, having left colonel Cruger  
 behind with the best part of the troops, he himself, with  
 only 800 infantry and 60 horse, proceeded for the Congarees, in expectation of being speedily reinforced from Charlestown by colonel Stuart.

Further operations of lord Rawdon. The expected reinforcements were appointed to meet lord Rawdon at Orangeburg, on their way to which they were to form a junction at the Congaree on the 2d of July; but no sooner were they set out from Charlestown, than the supposed appearance of a French fleet off that coast occasioned their immediate recal; and as they had fallen back as far as Dorchester before the mistake was discovered, his lordship was thus again exposed to the most imminent danger.

The day after his arrival at Orangeburg, lord Rawdon was joined by colonel Stuart with his own regiment; but was greatly disappointed at finding that he had not brought a body of cavalry which had been promised, and which were at present so much wanted. At the same time, advice was received, that general Greene had passed the Congaree, and was in full march to attack the British army. But that commander, having collected all the force of the neighbouring country, and closely reconnoitred the situation of the British army, at last abandoned his camp, and retreated with such expedition in the night, that he had secured his passage across the Congaree before lord Rawdon had any notice of his motions. This retreat, with an unsuccessful attempt made by Sumpter, Marion and Lee, upon the 19th regiment stationed at Monk's corner, closed the campaign in South-Carolina, the violent heat of the climate for some time putting a stop to all military operations. The American generals having joined their forces, took post on the high hills of Santee, to the eastward of that river; the Santee, the Congaree, and the Edisto, being then the established boundaries on the British side.

In the mean time, lord Cornwallis remained at Wilmington in a very difficult and distressed situation. The force he had with him was not now greatly above 1000 effective men; so that it appeared equally impossible to return to the assistance of lord Rawdon, of whose mis-

fortunes he had heard, or to maintain his ground in the station he then occupied. He, therefore, took the bold and hazardous resolution of marching into Virginia, and affecting a junction with general Philips. This, though the best he could have taken in the circumstances in which he was, must be owned to have been a very perilous adventure. The troops had already experienced the miseries of traversing an inhospitable country, for above 800 miles, in different directions, and they had still 300 more to travel under circumstances worse than ever. Notwithstanding the supplies they had received at Wilmington, they were still so destitute of necessaries, that, according to the commander's own account, his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but shoes—"neither," says he, "are in any condition to move, and yet they must march to-morrow."

CHAP. XX.

1781.

To provide against all events, instructions were dispatched to colonel Balfour, desiring him to send provisions and transports to Wilmington, in order to receive the troops in case of any misfortune; after which, his lordship began his march on the 25th of April. The Marquis de la Fayette, who kept on the north side of James's river, being informed of his design, made a rapid movement, in order to get before the British. In this, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of his lordship, who arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia, in something less than a month. Here he received intelligence of the death of general Philips, who had been cut off by a fever a few days before; after which the command had devolved on general Arnold, and now of course on Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton, who had determined to send general Robertson, governor of New-York, to assume the command of the troops in this country, now dispatched a reinforcement of 2000 men, in order to enable his lordship to carry on the war with the greater vigour.

April 25.

Lord Cornwallis arrives in Virginia.

Death of general Philips, May 13.

Lord Cornwallis having taken upon himself the command of the army, and having received such a considerable reinforcement, found no enemy capable of opposing him in the field. The country people, therefore, being at his mercy, daily came in in great numbers, in order to receive protections, and give their paroles. Having stationed a body of troops at Portsmouth, under general Leslie, he advanced from Petersburg, on the Appomatax, to the river James; which having crossed, he passed through Hanover county, and crossed the South-Anna or Pomonky river. From thence he dis-

Operations of lord Cornwallis in Virginia

Passes the rivers James and Anna.

CHAP. patched colonels Simcoe and Tarleton with separate bo-  
 XX. dies to scour the country. These officers, besides des-  
 ~~~~~ troying several thousand stand of arms which were un-  
 1781. der repair, with large quantities of gun-powder, salt,
 harnes, and other matters which were either designed
 for, or capable of being applied to military services, were
 very near cutting off the baron de Steuben, with 800
 men, and who with difficulty prevented his rear-guard
 from being destroyed. On their return, his lordship re-
 treated to Richmond on the river James; and after-
 wards, still proceeding towards the sea, arrived, near
 the end of June, at Williamsburg, the capital of the
 province, which lies about mid-way between York and
 James rivers. In the course of his march to the capital,
 besides other articles, upwards of 2000 hogshheads of
 tobacco, with some brass, and a great number of iron
 ordnance, were destroyed; and a few of the most va-
 luable of the former, with a quantity of shells and shot,
 were brought off; all of which was performed without
 any opposition, excepting that, as the army approached
 Williamsburg, Simcoe's corps, which brought up the
 rear, was warmly pursued and attacked by a strong body
 of the enemy, who, however, were at last repulsed.

Arrives at
 Williams-
 burgh.

This expedition concluded the success of the British
 army. The Marquis de la Fayette, having been strongly re-
 inforced by the arrival of gen. Wayne with succours from
 Pennsylvania, by the corps under the baron de Steuben,
 as well as by a considerable number of the militia of the
 province, became so powerful, as not only to prevent all
 distant operations on the part of the British commander,
 but even to render it dangerous to make any movement
 whatever. The ultimate purpose of the campaign, in-
 deed, and to which lord Cornwallis was now obliged to
 direct his attention, had been to establish some post in
 the province, furnished with a good harbour, or having
 the command of some of the large navigable rivers,
 which might at once serve for a place of arms, and faci-
 litate the future operations by sea and land. For this
 purpose, his lordship examined the town of Portsmouth
 personally; likewise another post, named Point Com-
 fort; both of which were found to be altogether incapa-
 ble of answering the end. York-Town, on the river of
 that name, and Gloucester-Point, on the opposite side of
 the river, afforded the only remaining choice.

That nothing might be left untried, however, lord
 Cornwallis, during the hot and sickly season, which it
 was supposed would suspend all military operations, de-
 parted from Williamsburg, with a view of crossing

James's river, in order to examine every place on that side which might be thought capable of being converted into a post. The army, upon this movement, having encamped in an open field near James-Town, but under the cover of their shipping, preparatory to their passing the river, the French commander determined to pursue them, and, if possible, to derive some advantage from their situation, or to interrupt their design.

CHAP. XX.

1781.
Encamps
at James-
Town.

On the 6th of July, about noon, lord Cornwallis received intelligence that the enemy were approaching; and, about four in the afternoon, they had made a vigorous attack upon his out-posts with considerable force. As his lordship was persuaded they would not venture a serious attack, excepting under the apprehension that only the rear-guard were left on that side of the river, he accordingly used all means to encourage them in that belief. This stratagem had the desired effect. About sunset, a body of troops, with artillery, began to form in his front; upon which he immediately ordered the army to advance in two lines upon the enemy. The attack was begun by the first line with great vigour, and there being only militia opposed to the light-infantry on the right, the action was soon over on that side. But colonel Dundas's brigade on the left, consisting of the 43d, 76th, and 80th regiments, meeting the Pennsylvania line, with a detachment of continentals from the corps of De la Fayette, with two six-pounders, under the conduct of general Wayne, a very warm action ensued, in which, however, the Americans were soon repulsed, and obliged to abandon their cannon. The darkness prevented any pursuit, and the British army passed the river in the night.

Attacked
by Fayette
and Wayne,
who are
repulsed.
July 6.

Lord Cornwallis, not being able to find any place on the south side of the river that would answer the purpose of a permanent post, returned in August, with the army to that peninsula which lies between the great rivers James and York, and composes one of the richest and most beautiful parts of Virginia. York-Town is situated on the river of that name, on the narrowest part of the peninsula, where it is about five miles over; Gloucester Point is on the north and opposite side, and projects so far into the river, that the distance betwixt the two is little more than a mile. They entirely command the navigation of the river, which here is of sufficient depth to admit ships of a very large size and burthen. Both these posts, therefore, were now fortified with the utmost care and diligence, and every method taken to make them equally strong on the sides of the land and water; the

Fortifies
York-Town
and Gloucester-Point.
August.

CHAP. whole of his force amounting to about 7000 excellent
XX. troops.



1781.
Plan laid
by general
Washington for the
capture of
the British
army.

But while his lordship was thus exerting himself to render his post impregnable to the enemy, general Washington was concerting a plan for his total ruin, and that with an address scarcely to be equalled. This artful general wrote letters to general Greene, and other officers on the southern department, informing them of his utter inability to relieve Virginia by any other method than a direct attack upon New-York in concert with the French forces. The difficulties of this enterprise were stated in their fullest point of view; and he seemed to adopt the measure, not so much from any great hope of success, as merely from necessity, and because it appeared to him to be the last resource for the protection of Virginia.

These letters, with others of the same nature to the French resident at Philadelphia, were sent off in such a manner as to ensure their being intercepted; and it is not to be doubted that they very much influenced the commander in chief at New-York, particularly in his insisting so much upon the recall of the troops from Virginia.

Junction
between
the French
and Ame-
rican forces.

In the beginning of July, Washington, having broke up his camp at New-Windsor, proceeded towards the White-Plains, where he joined the French forces, under Rochambeau, on the New-England side of the river.—The better to carry on the deception, the allies encamped at Philipsburg, in such a situation as might keep the troops at King's-Bridge, and other out-posts of New-York, in continual alarm, during the remainder of the month of July, and that of August, amusing the commander in chief with the daily expectations of an attack.

Combined
army sets
out for
Virginia.
August 19.

At last the time arrived when deception could no longer be practised.—On the 19th of August, Washington suddenly crossed the Croton, and soon afterwards the North River; taking, at the same time, such a position as seemed still to indicate that Staten Island was the object. Every thing, however, being in readiness, the combined army took its course towards Trenton on the Delaware; but so strongly was the commander in chief impressed with the belief of an intended attack upon New-York, that he considered this movement only as a feint, until the allies had actually crossed the Delaware. They passed through Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th of September, whence they marched directly to the Head of Elk, at the bottom of the Chesapeak Bay. Here

Sept. 4.

they found all the transports and vessels that could be collected in readiness to transport them to Virginia. CHA P. XX.

In the mean time, sir Samuel Hood, one of the British admirals; had arrived from the West Indies off the Chesapeak, on the 25th of August, with fourteen sail of the line, some frigates, and a fireship. Here he expected to have met admiral Graves with the squadron from New-York; but, being disappointed, he first dispatched a frigate with intelligence of his arrival to that commander, and afterwards followed with the squadron to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th of the month. The reason of this disappointment was, that, through some misfortune, the dispatches sent by admiral Rodney had not arrived at New-York in time to give any intelligence of admiral Hood's destination to the Chesapeak; and besides, the squadron under admiral Graves had been so much deranged by a tempest, that some time was necessary to refit.

1781.
Sir Samuel Hood arrives off Chesapeak. August 25-

On the very day of sir Samuel Hood's arrival, the commanders at New-York received intelligence, that M. de Barras, who succeeded M. de Ternay in the command at Rhode-Island, had sailed three days before to the southward, in order to join M. de Grasse. On the 28th, the latter arrived at the Chesapeak from the West-Indies; and within an hour after the combined armies had reached the head of the Elk, their commanders received the welcome news of his arrival and situation in the bay. M. de Barras, however, did not arrive in the Chesapeak till near a fortnight after; having been obliged to take a circuit by the Bermuda islands, in order to avoid falling in with the British fleet, who he knew would endeavour, if possible, to intercept him. In the present case, this was absolutely necessary, as this commander had under his care ten transports employed in carrying from Rhode-Island the heavy ordnance, and other materials, without which the siege of York-Town could not be carried on.

In the mean time, as the passage of the Delaware had left no room to doubt of the real destination of the combined armies, the commander in chief determined to make a diversion in Connecticut, in order, if possible, to recal part of the enemy's force to the defence of that country. The conduct of this expedition was committed to general Arnold, and its object was the thriving town of New-London, on the river Thames.—The troops embarked at Long-Island on the 6th of September, and were landed in two detachments on each side of the

Expedition into Connecticut, under Arnold.

Sept. 6.

CHAP. XX. harbour in the morning; that on the one side being commanded by the general, and on the other by colonel Eyre.—Arnold met with little difficulty on his part; the town being entirely defenceless, and a fort called Trumbull, with a redoubt intended to cover the harbour and town, being taken with little trouble.—On the other side, however, affairs became more serious. The garrison in fort Griswold made a most desperate defence, and fought, hand to hand, with long spears. With one of these, major Montgomery, who had taken the command, on colonel Eyre being wounded, was killed as he entered the works. At last, however, the garrison were compelled to yield to superior numbers, after having lost their brave commander, colonel Ladyard, with 85 of his men, besides 60 who were disabled, and the greater part mortally wounded. About 70 others were made prisoners. On the part of the British, 46 private men, and two commissioned officers, were killed on the spot, besides eight missing, who probably likewise shared the same fate; eight commissioned officers, some of whom died, and 135 non-commissioned privates were wounded. Sixteen of the American ships escaped up the river, and 12 others were burnt. An immense destruction succeeded. The quantities of naval stores, European goods, as well as of East and West-India commodities, are said to have been almost incredible. The town, with every thing in it, was destroyed by fire; nothing being carried off, excepting such small articles of spoil as afforded little or no trouble in the conveyance.

1781.
He takes
New-London, with
forts,
Trumbull
and Griswold.

Chesapeake
blocked up
by de
Grasse, who
engages ad-
miral
Graves.

The first step taken by Count de Grasse, after his arrival at Chesapeake bay, was to block up York, and take possession of James's rivers; the latter of which he filled with his armed vessels and cruizers, to a considerable distance, as well to prevent lord Cornwallis from retreating to the Carolinas, as to cover the boats of the fleet which were to convey the Marquis de St. Simon, with 3300 land forces from the West-Indies, eighteen leagues up the river, to form a junction with the Marquis de la Fayette. Admiral Graves, on the first news of M. de Barras having departed from Rhode-Island, set out in quest of him; but failed in his attempt, by reason of the delay in refitting his fleet, which had given his antagonist the advantage of six days sailing before he could set out. On his arrival at Chesapeake, on the 5th of September, he was surprised by the appearance of the whole French fleet, to the number of 24 sail of the line, lying within the mouth of the bay. The enemy, who were

Sept. 5-

CHAP
XX.

1781.

evidently thrown into some disorder by their unexpected appearance, immediately slipped their cables, and turning out from the anchoring ground, the French admiral threw out a signal for the ships severally to form the line of battle as they could come up, without any regard to their particular stations. Though the British fleet amounted only to 19 sail of the line, the French commander did not think proper to venture a close engagement; as on the other hand, admiral Hood, notwithstanding his inferiority, would by no means have declined the combat. By reason of the various manœuvres on both sides, therefore, the battle did not begin till four in the afternoon, and even then, only the van of the British fleet found means to engage the enemy, the centre not being able to come up till long after, and seven sail of the line never coming within cannon-shot of the enemy. The consequence of all this was, that the British van, having to do with a great part of the French fleet, suffered severely; and though little was lost, the slain amounting only to 90, and the wounded to 230, the ships were found incapable of renewing the engagement next day. The two fleets continued five days in sight of each other; but at last the damage of the British fleet was so much increased by a storm, that after burning the *Terrible* man of war, as being unfit for service, it was found necessary, in order to refit, to return to New-York, where they arrived on the 20th of September, leaving the army in Virginia to its fate.

In the mean time, general Washington, then at the head of the Elk with the combined French and American army, lost no time in preparing to co-operate with his allies who had been so successful by sea. It had been his first intention to proceed by sea from the head of the Elk to the place of his destination; but the immense destruction of the Virginia shipping by the British troops had not left a number of transports sufficient for the conveyance of the whole forces; on which account it was necessary for the greatest part to travel by land. The French light troops were complimented with this easy mode of conveyance, while general Washington, with the bulk of both armies, pursued their march by land to Baltimore and Annapolis in Maryland. But the French being now entirely masters of the bay, the transports brought by de Barras were employed to convey the troops from Annapolis; which was accomplished with such good fortune, that they arrived at Williamsburg before the end of September.

Combined
army pro-
ceed to
Williams-
burg.

CHAP. XX. During the three last days of the month, the combined armies closely invested lord Cornwallis in York-Town. Their whole numbers amounted to about 8000 French, as many Continentals, and 5000 militia. They had a numerous and powerful train of artillery, excellently supplied with ammunition. It consisted of 15 twenty-four pounders, 18 eighteen pounders, 8 sixteen pounders, 12 twelve pounders, 26 mortars, and 32 howizers of different sizes. On the other hand, the fortifications of York-Town consisted only of earthen works as yet by no means complete, and at any rate incapable of resisting the impression of such a powerful artillery.

1781.
Cornwallis
besieged at
York-Town
and Gloucester
Point
Sept. 30.

The British general found it necessary to contract his posts and defences, which having been extended for the purpose of commanding the peninsula, were now too remote to be maintained, and were of course seized by the enemy as fast as they were abandoned. The post of Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the river, which was occupied by colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry and some infantry, amounting to about 600 men, was at the same time closely invested by the Duc de Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Widen. On the other side, the French extended from the river above the town to a morass in the centre, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the opposite side from the river to that spot.

On the Gloucester side, a warm skirmish took place, which ended in driving in the outposts of the British army, without any other attempt being afterwards made; but, on the night between the 6th and 7th of October, the batteries were opened against York-Town. The attacks were carried on with such vigour, and accompanied with such dreadful discharges of the numerous artillery, as the works were by no means able to resist, being in such an imperfect state, that the besieged were not less employed in their construction than in defending those which were completed, and which were ruined almost as soon as finished. In a few days, therefore, most of their guns were silenced, the defences in most places utterly demolished, while the enemy's shells not only pervaded every part of the fortifications, but reached the harbour, where the *Charon* of 44 guns, with some transports, were burnt.

In the mean time, as the fate of Cornwallis was no longer dubious, unless succours were very speedily sent, every endeavour for this purpose was made at New-York. By the arrival of Admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from England, with the *Prudent*, man of war, and

Sir Henry
Clinton re-
solves to re-
lieve Corn-
wallis.

several frigates from the West-Indies, the fleet now CHAP. amounted to 25 sail of the line, two 50 gun ships, and XX. eight frigates, having on board sir Henry Clinton, with 7000 of his best troops, all determined to submit to the most desperate decisions of war, rather than suffer the brave general and his army to fall into the hands of the enemy. 1781.

The allies, sensible that every effort would be used for the relief of the besieged, and unwilling to risk a matter of such importance on the event of a naval engagement, even with all the superiority which the French fleet at present possessed, made such exertions, that nothing could stand before them. On the night of the 11th of October they began their second parallel within 300 yards of the place, being just half the distance of the former, and carried it on with unremitting industry. Nothing less than the expectation of speedy relief could have induced lord Cornwallis to attempt the defence of a place which he deemed so incapable of resisting the force opposed to it as that which he now occupied; otherwise he would rather have attempted a retreat, however difficult and dangerous; or, as he himself said, have tried his fortune in the field, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, leaving the rest to the decision of fortune. His hope was farther confirmed by a letter from sir Henry Clinton, dated September 24th, by which he was informed, that the intended relief would sail from New-York about the 5th of October. His lordship, therefore, could not think himself authorised to abandon his post, in order to run such desperate risks as must have in that event ensued. So many difficulties, however, occurred, that the fate of Cornwallis and of America was decided. October 11.

The enemy had been greatly incommoded by two redoubts which were advanced about 300 yards on the left, and which still continued to retard their progress; for which reason, it was determined to attack both at the same hour, on the evening of the 14th, as soon as it was dark. To accomplish their reduction as soon as possible, and to excite an emulation, as well as to prevent any jealousies from arising between the two nations, the attack of the one was committed to the conduct of colonel Hamilton, Washington's aid-de-camp, with a detachment of Americans; of the other, to a detachment of French. The former marched to the assault with unloaded arms, and passing the abbatis and palisades without waiting to remove them, attacked the redoubt on all sides, and carried it in an instant, with very little loss; the commanding officer being

Two British redoubts taken

CHAP. taken prisoner by young Laurens, son to the former president of the congress. The French were equally successful, but with a greater expence of men, having lost, according to their own account, 100 in killed and wounded.

1781.

The taking of these two redoubts reduced the British army to the most deplorable situation. Their condition at this time can be best explained by a letter from Cornwallis himself to sir Henry Clinton, written the day after this misfortune:—"Last evening," says he, "the enemy carried my two advanced redoubts on the left by storm; and during the night, have included them in their second parallel, which they are at present busy in perfecting. My situation now becomes very critical. We dare not shew a gun to their old batteries, and I expect their new ones will be open to-morrow morning. Experience has shewn, that our fresh earthen works do not resist their powerful artillery; so that we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers. The safety of the place is therefore so precarious, that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavouring to save us."

Successful
sally of the
besieged.
Oct. 16.

Their brave commander, however, left nothing untried in order to procrastinate the fate which he could not avert. Being sensible that his works could not stand many hours after the opening of the batteries of the second parallel, he took every possible method to interrupt that work. New embrasures were made for the guns; a constant fire kept up with the howitzers and small mortars; and a vigorous sally was made on the morning of the 16th. On this occasion, the party, consisting of 350 men, under lieutenant colonel Abercrombie, were ordered to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest forwardness, and to spike up their guns. The attack was made with irresistible impetuosity: the two redoubts which covered the batteries were instantly forced, and the guns spiked up, the French troops who had the guard of that part of the entrenchment being defeated with considerable slaughter. No essential advantages, however, was obtained by this service. The cannon, having been hastily spiked, were soon rendered serviceable; and the industry of the enemy was so great, that, before night, the whole parallel and batteries seemed nearly completed; at the same time, the works of the besieged were so completely ruined, that there was no part of the whole where they durst shew a single gun; and their shells, on which

CHAP.
XX.

1781.

Unsuccessful attempt to carry the troops across the river.

they depended as their last resource, were nearly expended. In these unfortunate circumstances, lord Cornwallis had no other choice left but to prepare for a surrender on the following day, or to endeavour to escape with the remaining part of the troops by conveying them over to Gloucester point.

In this last precarious and almost desperate enterprise, he was disappointed by the weather. Having prepared, on some other pretences, boats for conveying the troops to the other side of the river, he made his arrangements with the utmost secrecy. It was his intention to abandon the baggage, and leave a detachment behind to make a capitulation for the town's people; for which purpose, a letter was to be left for Washington: but after the first embarkation had got over, and the troops were already landed, the weather which hitherto had continued moderate and calm, instantly changed to a violent storm of wind and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops, were all driven down the river, and the design of passing them over not only frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army, by this untoward accident, was involved in a state of the most imminent danger. To increase the danger and distresses of their present situation, the enemies batteries were opened with great vigour at day-break; and the passage to Gloucester was much exposed to their fire.

The fatal crisis, therefore, could now no longer be delayed. The works were, every-where, sinking under the prodigious discharge of artillery, which had been kept up in such a manner, as to exceed any thing remembered even by veterans in the service. The engineers were of opinion, and lord Cornwallis himself could not help concurring in the same, that they were already assailable in several places; so that, by the continuance of the dreadful fire, which now took place from the new batteries, only for a few hours longer, they must be reduced to such a situation, that it would be a desperate attempt to defend them, at the same time that the French ships seemed to be preparing for an attack by water also.

In such deplorable circumstances, his lordship could not but consider it as extreme cruelty to expose the remains of that gallant army, who had encountered so many dangers, to an assault, which must certainly prove successful. He, therefore, wrote a letter to general Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty

Cornwallis obliged to capitulate.

Oct. 17.

CHAP. ty-four hours, and that commissioners might be mutually appointed to settle the terms of capitulation. In the present situation of affairs, few terms could be insisted upon by the besieged; however, they were as favourable as could have been expected. The troops, with the same honours which had been granted to the garrison at Charlestown, became prisoners of war. Their number, exclusive of 1500 seamen, amounted to between 5000 and 6000; but they had been so much reduced by sickness and the casualties of war, that only 3800 were now fit for service. The Guadalupe frigate of 24 guns, with a considerable number of transports, and a fine train of artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The land forces became prisoners to America; but the seamen, with the ships and furniture, were assigned to M. de Grasse, as a compliment to and return for the French naval power and assistance.

The British general strove in vain to obtain better terms, particularly, that the British and German troops might be returned to their respective countries, as prisoners on parole, on condition of not serving against France and America during the war, or until they were exchanged. Some favourable conditions which he wished to obtain in behalf of the inhabitants of York-Town, and other Americans who were under the protection of the British army, were likewise refused, on the footing of their being civil matters, and without the jurisdiction of the commander in chief. To set at liberty these Americans, however, who would have been exposed to the most imminent danger, Cornwallis made it a point that the Bonetta sloop, which was to convey his dispatches to New-York, should pass without search or examination; he being only answerable, that the number of persons she conveyed should be accounted for as prisoners of war upon an exchange. It was also provided, that no article of this capitulation should be violated under pretence of reprisals, or on any account whatever. The general himself, with all civil and military officers, excepting only those who were necessarily retained for the protection and government of the soldiers, were at liberty to go upon parole, either to England, or New-York; and the troops, divided as much as possible into regiments, were to remain within the government of Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania.

ea. 19.

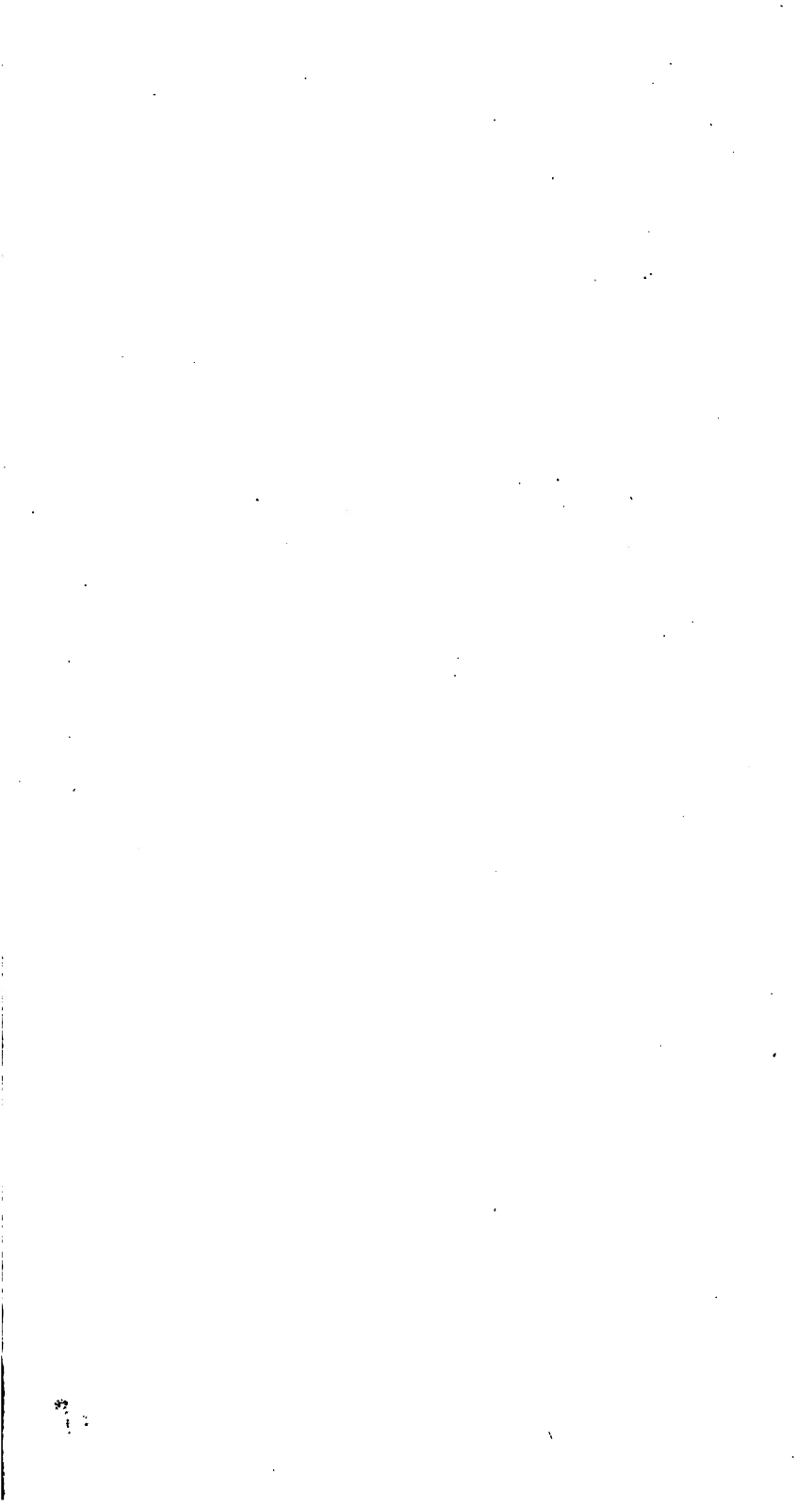
This capitulation, concluded on the 19th of October, was considered by all parties, whether in America or Britain, as decisive of the independence of the colonies,

and thanks were offered up in the churches, as if that **CHAP.**
 event had already happened, and the independence of **XX.**
 America been ratified by the Court of Britain. The **1781.**
 preachers pointed out the extraordinary combination of
 circumstances which had led to this great event, as evi-
 dently demonstrating the special interposition of Provi-
 dence in their favour. Washington manifested his ex-
 ultation by a general release of all who lay under arrest,
 from whatever cause, that there might not, as he ex-
 pressed himself, be a single American who should not
 partake of the universal joy. Two days after the capitula-
 tion, divine service was performed in all the brigades
 of the American army, in order to return thanks to the
 Almighty for this decisive event; and the general recom-
 mended to all the troops that were not upon duty, that
 they would assist at divine service "with a serious de-
 portment, and with that sensibility of heart, which the
 recollection of the surprising and particular interposition
 of Providence in their favour claimed."

No bounds were set to the congratulations of the com-
 mander in chief. The Congress resolved that their thanks
 should be presented to his excellency general Washing-
 ton, for the eminent services which he had rendered to
 the United States, and particularly for the well-concert-
 ed plan against the British garrisons in York and Glou-
 cester; for the vigour, attention, and military skill with
 which the plan was executed, and for the wisdom and
 prudence manifested in the capitulation.—Addresses of
 congratulation were also presented to him by all the dif-
 ferent public bodies in America.—To the French com-
 manders by sea and land, the thanks of Congress were
 likewise voted.

END OF VOLUME FIVE.

RS
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